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# The American Catholic quarterly review



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Bonum est homini ut eum veritas volentem, quia malum est homini ut eum veritas vincat  
in vitum. Nam ipsa vincat necesse est, sive negantur sive contentum.

S. AUG. EPIST. cccxxviii. AD PASCENT.

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EIGHTH YEAR.

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# THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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VOL. VIII.—JANUARY, 1883.—No. 29.

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## SOCIAL AND MORAL ASPECT OF ITALY AND OTHER CATHOLIC COUNTRIES.

*Laing's Notes of a Traveller.—Alison's History of Europe.*

THE inter-social conditions of the nations of Southern Europe has been often referred to as one of the scandals of our age. Of late years Spain seems to have partly recovered from her former anarchy, and, in spite of the extravagance of political parties, to be seeking to find a basis for a conservative policy. France, owing to the excesses of a radical faction, is still deeply agitated, while Italy, under the leadership of base, anti-Christian statesmen, appears to be mad with a revolutionary frenzy. Explain this state of things to the world as best you may, there will still remain in the minds of many the latent thought that the Catholic Church is somehow to be held responsible for the political confusion and criminal record of those countries. This reflection, formed merely at first view, is rounded off by the study of the condition of England and Germany, two Protestant nations, at present among the most powerful of the nations of the world.

The fact itself, it must be admitted, is very striking, and, when not studied in relation to the great question which it covers, is apt to confuse minds, and beget prejudice. National wealth, indeed, and national grandeur, and high national intellectual culture, recommend themselves, as the world goes, to general esteem; but no one, surely, would take either of these, or all of them, to be a test of Christian truth or morality. Riches or national glory is not the measure of Christianity, nor is high mental training, as even experience shows, a fully reliable proof of moral goodness..

VOL. VIII.—I

Pagan Rome and Greece, given up to lewdness and idolatry, attained to greater wealth and glory and higher literary excellence than the foremost among modern nations. It was not the rich whom Christ pronounced "blessed," nor was it human honor and learning that He marked out as the characteristics of His followers. Let the contrast, then, between the nations alluded to, be all that it is said to be, or let it be admitted that England and Germany are really as happy and prosperous as they are represented, the argument is beside the point, and actually borrows its major premise from the temptation of our Lord by Satan: "All the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them . . . all these will I give thee." But, baseless as this argument against Catholic teaching is in itself, there are facts connected with it which require explanation, and which, with some persons, may stand for arguments.

That there are most scandalous things done in Catholic countries, there can be no question; that, in them, there have been most flagrant violations of justice, and of Christian faith and manly honor, no one will deny; but, to what source these crimes are to be attributed, and under what influence and by what agency they have increased, men often overlook. Before them are effects, shocking to Christian sense and decorum, and they care not to look into the cause of them, or even to read the candid statements of those who have done so. There are, however, involved in the subject considerations which every honest man ought to take into account; (1), some of them touching the relations between faith and moral conduct; (2), others, regarding the difficulties of arriving at an adequate estimate of the criminality of a people; and (3), others, again, derived from obstacles put in the way of the mission of the Church.

And, first of all, the truth is often ignored that moral conduct does not follow from the teaching of supernatural faith as a necessary consequence, neither can it be estimated according to a fixed uniform law, after the manner of physical phenomena. There is no tie which binds a man's action to this or that special motive, as, for instance, combustion is allied to fire, or physical bodies to the law of gravitation. In human agency, the motive and action are not precisely in the relation of physical cause to physical effect, and this because of the medium of man's free will. By this "perilous gift" man is created the master of his actions, responsible for his conduct in this world to his Maker, and with divine grace the builder of his fortune in the next. He can, as consciousness tells him, comply with God's law, profit by His graces and gifts, or these same gifts and graces he can fling back into God's face, trample on all law, and, by indulging wild passion, take to himself the malice of a fiend. All this he has the physical, native will-power of doing; out of his own perverse nature he can, there-

fore, forge his own fetters, and, by living until death an enemy of his Creator, can create his own hell. Judas did so. Such, then, conscience testifying, is the naked force of free-will in man. On the other hand, faith does not constrain that will; it does not hold the mind to itself by the luminousness of evidence, as if by a self-evident axiom, nor does it produce for reason a metaphysical but a moral certitude. The grounds of Christian belief do not flash on the mind their evidence with the force of a mathematical demonstration, although with a wider and an incomparably stronger grasp they seize on man's whole being, intellectual and moral. Men will readily die for their faith, but hardly, I should think, for the truth of a mathematical problem. Faith, as presented by the Church, is a stronger motive-power for souls than even evidence, and moral certitude a firmer basis of action than metaphysical reasoning. Still, this certitude does not so rivet the will to faith that, should man yield to temptation, he cannot shake it off, nor does it so bind the human will to God's law that it cannot break it. Man's submission to Catholic faith, God wishes, should be a free offering, a homage coming from a free will and a free heart, a "reasonable service," grounded on the illumination of faith and on man's co-operation with it.

Catholics, then, no matter of what nation, have the bare physical power of resisting God's revelation, and of becoming rebels to Him and to His Church. This conclusion, drawn from the consciousness of each one, is easily admitted. But here the further question arises: Why do Catholics, in the countries spoken of, apostatize, as it were, in such numbers, and with such shameless professions of blatant infidelity? Just after leaving the mother of their faith, they rage against her with the frenzy of energumens. To many persons this conduct is unaccountable; there are influences about it which they cannot see nor fathom, but which the true, faithful believer may easily discern. For him there is enough in the beginnings of Christianity to teach him that apostasy from the faith of Christ often begets the deadliest hatred of it, even treason, like that of Judas, and cruel intentions, like unto those of the Scribes and Pharisees. It was of apostates that the Apostle wrote, they "were made partakers of the Holy Ghost and are fallen away, . . . crucifying again to themselves the Son of God, and making Him a mockery." The light of divine faith in their souls they have eclipsed by the darkness of passion; the work of God's grace in them they have undone, and the spouse of Christ, who loved them, they have shamefully abandoned. But, do what they may, or go where they may, they cannot escape her shadow, and when they would try to cast her out from their sight, she rises before them like a spectre. To this unnatural rage of apostates from the

Catholic Church the calm charity of converts from all Christian denominations is in marked contrast. For them there is no breaking of the laws of divine faith, no tearing asunder by sacrilegious hands of God's work, but the departure from the region of the darkness of error into the kingdom of the light of truth, the joyful entrance, after having wandered in the by-paths of heresy, into the home on earth of their Lord and their God.<sup>1</sup>

In regard to Christian sects themselves, their bonds of union, severally, are so loose, their faith so undefined and unsettled in its authority, that men pass from one to the other apparently with as much unconcern as they change their lodging. To their conduct no censure is attached by public opinion, no charge of unfaithfulness to solemn obligations is brought against them, and hardly no estrangement of former acquaintances is felt by them. On the score of mere argument nothing can be said against them, since they have only followed out logically the very first lesson of Protestantism, namely, the doctrine of private judgment in determining one's creed. To be sure, this doctrine, in despite of logic, has been modified by the formulas of faith of various sects, but the primal rule of the new faith has never been expressly abrogated; no matter to what Christian denomination one belongs, he feels that back of the hedge of the special teaching of his co-religionists there is always open to him a way, through which he may separate from them, without a breach of his faith in Protestantism. This marking out for God the creed by which man intends to serve Him, is ludicrous indeed, and yet painfully sad in its far-reaching consequences, but for all the hollowness and falsity that lie beneath it the world cares very little. Without even the shadow of reproach from it, men may glide as often as they please from one sectarian communion to another, or out of them all into a negation of all creeds and into agnosticism. What the world often resents, and that in no measured terms, is the generous conduct of those who abandon the temples of error for the Church of the living God.

In its very marrow, then, Protestantism has its own solvent, so that, unnoticed by the world at large, hundreds can change one form of it for another, or merely hang on to it, and nominally belong to a Christian communion; and thus a people silently and imperceptibly can renounce their faith, to a considerable extent, without attracting much public notice by the process. Statistics go to show that the Anglican Establishment, in a numerical sense, is no longer the national church of England. This fact does not

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<sup>1</sup> "I have always observed," writes Count Stolberg, a convert to the Catholic Church, "that the worst Catholics become very easily the best Protestants, and even parsons; but it is my everyday's experience that a good Protestant, such as I was, finds it a very hard work to become even a passable Catholic."

attract or shock the sense of the public, but apostasy from the Catholic Church they seem to look on as a prodigy, and this particularly when it is inflamed by political passion and made to cover, as it were, past wrong-doing. Then, no right, no sense of justice, no decency, will restrain the apostate spirit. The end it has in view it will try to reach, it cares not how; it will tear down the State, if it think that necessary in order to pull down the Church, and will rake up every past calumny or scandal in order to cast it at her. That this apostate spirit animates the anti-Christian factions of Catholic nations their acts sufficiently bear witness. With might and main they are striving to undermine all Catholic institutions, to belittle the Catholic clergy, and, if possible, to efface the Catholic name, and the see of Peter. Comparatively few in number, these radicals, by their reckless daring, and with State support, have conquered their position. Heeding no law but the watchword of their party, they strike terror by their outrages into the hearts of the timid, and through an irreligious press poison the minds of millions with their vicious doctrines. The rebellious clamor which they raise is echoed day after day through the world, until at last, in many quarters, it is believed that there is something socially and religiously wrong with Catholic nations. The virtues of their people keep them aloof from that wretched mob, and a sense of self-respect, perhaps, or, it may be, the strength and military resources of their enemy, hinder them from opposing force by force.

But here the critical temper will probably not be satisfied with the statement that the present Italian disorder is the work of a handful of Italian revolutionists. It will insist that the source of this religious and political discontent is deeper and more widespread, or that it is the result of bad morals and of bad education. Now, in regard to the morality of a people, if morality be taken in its adequate sense, I admit that it is impossible to state it in figures; its source is beyond the ken of human observation, and its essential quality cannot be gauged by any human experiment. It is in the human heart that morality is essentially formed. It is there that it is conceived and begotten in its specific nature. There it springs from deliberate thoughts and desires and motives, and, because it depends on the advertence of the mind and the free deliberateness of the will, it qualifies necessarily every deliberate rational act. The external object and its circumstances, the objective law or its violation, man by his deliberate will assimilates, as it were, to his purpose, and by his motive or aim gives them a moral character. Down deep in the heart reason, or conscience, which is "somehow a dictate of reason," applies the eternal law, the invariable, primary rule of right and wrong, to actual thoughts and words and

actions. "From the heart," says Christ, "come forth evil thoughts, murders, adulteries, fornications, thefts, false testimonies, blasphemies." The external act, indeed, if, of its own nature, it be good or bad, will communicate its goodness or badness to man's disposition; or, again, by the application of the purpose which it supposes, or by the repetition of acts which may precede it, will intensify those dispositions for good or for evil. The injustice, also, or scandal, or uncharitableness, that may be connected with an external sinful act, will add to its sinfulness; while, on the other hand, the edification that results from virtuous action will enhance its worth; but, in either case, the primal root of morality will be in the human heart, and man's merit or demerit will mainly spring from the deliberate intents of the soul. He can, therefore, entertain a deliberate purpose of murder, and close his heart on it; no human eye sees it, and no friend or foe knows of it; it is seen and known in the fulness of its malice by God alone. Such a one can also commit many sinful acts privately without the knowledge of any human being, and society, having no data for censure, has no right to misjudge him. Men see only external facts, but these, unless in themselves evil, or necessarily implying deliberate malice, do not make morals. Courts of justice, even, do not take cognizance so much of the violation of a law, as of the deliberateness there was in the violation. By testimony, by manifold investigation, they want to know how far the accused was responsible for his act, whether it was deliberate or the result of momentary impulse, and according to the conclusion come to on this count they pass sentence. Under the calm covering, therefore, of a polished society there may lie much viciousness, dark envy, and hatred, and jealousy, an insatiable pride and vanity, plans of murder and of theft, and sodden impurity in its most loathsome forms, while to the eye all is generally decorum, persons and things being kept in their place by minute police regulations. From these reflections we may infer that statistics can give only an imperfect knowledge of the morality of a people. But, besides, they are a hard, cruel record. Into them do not enter the extenuating circumstances of sin, such as temptations, indeliberateness, ignorance, or poverty. In them there is often no account taken of the degrees of guilt, but criminals are classified under some general heading, as, for instance, when the inmates of a penitentiary are written down "convicts," this term covering the crime of the astute, trained swindler of \$10,000, as well as that of the thief who, perhaps, pinched by poverty, stole some few articles for his immediate relief. But, such as they are, statistics of crime are useful, both to the statesman in order that he may know whereon to legislate, and to the preacher of God's word in order that he may learn against what vices par-

ticularly he should warn his hearers. Indeed, occasionally, for some years past, statistics of crime have been appealed to as a test of religions. The issue was raised on the comparative morality of Protestant and Catholic countries, and sides were taken by the advocates of both. In the discussions that followed some persons seemed to think that moral and religious truth was to be proved by a sum in arithmetic, and that the orthodoxy of a creed was solely to be estimated from the small number of the sins of those who professed it. Well, great researches were made; town-registers, parliamentary reports, national almanacs, were examined, and the conclusion was reached that, even on the score of morals in figures, Catholic nations more than held their own. Among them, Italy was acknowledged by all parties to be one of the highest; but it is fair to add that this acknowledgment was made while the Pope was in actual possession of temporal sovereignty. The controversy at the time was principally about facts, but had it taken a wider range and searched into the sources of Christian morality, it could have found apt illustrations of its theme in the religious history of the last three hundred years.

The very surroundings of the new faith, in the sixteenth century, furnished proofs of what that faith could do in the way of producing religious and moral goodness. From the nations which embraced it it received every facility for developing the resources of its teachings. It had state protection and support; all obstacles to its propagation were removed; it had wealth, and the education of all classes under its control; and yet, what the deplorable results of its principles were, the very authors of the so-called Reformation were forced to admit. To Luther one of the most disheartening reflections was, that wherever his doctrines spread immorality spread with them, and that the people, under this new gospel, so far from having more respect for the word of God, despised it, interpreting it to suit their own fancy, and attributing to it the great increase of crime then prevalent.

"It is deplorable," said he, "that among our own there is found so much scandal, and so little true amendment. This condition of things is the reason why the worldly-wise (?) thus object to our gospel: 'If it were really a holy and sanctifying doctrine, it would not make people worse instead of making them better.' . . . With the exception of a very small number, who receive our preaching with favor and gratitude, all others are ungrateful, dissipated, imprudent. . . . The men who live according to our gospel are more given to hatred, more choleric, more lustful, more avaricious than they were under Popery. The more one preaches and propagates the gospel the worse things become. . . . The peasants have

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<sup>1</sup> Dr. Dœllinger, "*La Reforme*," etc., vol. i., pp. 203, 306.



come to such a degree of license that they imagine that there is nothing forbidden to them . . . 'We have the faith,' they say; 'that ought to suffice.'"

On this same subject Erasmus wrote: "Has not Luther himself avowed that he would prefer to live still under the rule of the popes and the monks than with that race of men (his own followers) who, under the gospel, lead the lives of Sybarites? Melanchthon, in his letters, has made the same avowal, and Œcolampadius, in his conferences, says the same thing."<sup>1</sup>

These citations from among many of the like kind that might be made from the writings of the first so-called Reformers, force on us the inference that the increase of immorality at that time, in Germany, was the outcome of the working of the doctrines of the new faith. It was then in the flush of its first development, putting forth all the energy it could command, for bettering the world, and still, by its teachings, the world became worse. In the circumstances it was no wonder that men should apply the test, "by their fruits you shall know them." But here, in all fairness, it should not be forgotten that in the web of divine and human elements that form Christian morality the human will is a great factor. It can reject the choicest graces, abuse the best doctrines, and originate the wretched fallacy which makes the abuse of a thing to be the standard of its value, teaches that a law is bad because men often break it, or that a religious system is wrong because those who adhere to it sin against it. To disapprove the fallacy, however, that system must not be defective in the least in its constituent parts; it must clearly show forth its divine origin, and give ample practical proof of its elevating, sanctifying power. No degree of zeal or philanthropy, no sincere devotedness of a single life to God's service, and no works performed from the purest motives, can stanch the radical defects and errors of a religious creed. Good grain does not spring from cockle; men do not gather grapes of thorns, nor figs of thistles.

Now in its constitution the new religion embodied the principle that when there is question of moral good or evil man's will has no liberty of choice, and if he sin, it is in virtue of a predetermining divine decree. Liberty, however, it was admitted, he has, but it is not that which lies in the very choice of the will, but that which consists merely in immunity from external restraint; not that which makes man a moral agent, the master of his own acts, and responsible for them, but that which gives him power to roam at large, unfettered. It was in this latter sense that Luther's following, and, more openly still, that of Calvin, understood human liberty. Their definition, dealing with the accident, and not with the essence

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<sup>1</sup> *Ib.*, p. 18.

of the thing defined, sufficed, however, for their purpose. They could not do away with free will altogether; against that the moral consciousness and experience of the human race protested; but, by retaining the word, and changing its meaning, they promoted their own opinions, and did not shock the common sense of the world. Men, prone to sin, were satisfied to be told that their vicious acts were not imputable to them, and, though their souls may have recoiled from making God the author of evil, they were content to leave that enormity to their teachers, to be settled by them as best they could. But the floodgates of evil were opened, and it was not the fault of this new religious teaching that the world was not inundated by immorality.

What the disintegrating nature of the doctrine of "private judgment" was and is, we have already alluded to; fomenting pride, it is as a canker-worm in the dogmatic teaching of Protestantism, and a temptation for the interpreting of the moral teaching of the Gospel to suit caprice or inclination. The Reformation had not an existence of five years when the sect of the Anabaptists arose, between whom and the Lutherans, according to Mœhler, there was an undeniable affinity. "An indescribable confusion," he adds, "prevailed in the minds of the new sectaries, and a fearful fanaticism drove them to every species of extravagance and violence."

The Antinomians, using the license granted them in dealing with God's word, upheld, as their principal tenet, that they were not bound by the moral law. The Hernhutters sent an embassy to Luther to protest against the immorality of his disciples, while, says Dr. Milner, they denied "that even the moral law, as contained in the Scriptures, is a rule of life for believers."

These and other sects were the natural logical outcome of the broad, loose principles of the new faith,—the conclusions drawn from the doctrines which the Reformers preached. To be sure they protested against such conclusions, but they had sown the wind, they had laid down the premises, and it was now idle on their part to quarrel with the conclusions. If these were bad, it was because the source from which they had been derived was vicious. Had a glimpse of the future been vouchsafed to Luther and Calvin, they could have seen how, in this century, their views worked themselves out to their extreme length in the schools of Strauss and Bruno Bauer.

The great majority, however, of those who embraced the principles of the new creed shrank from those sectaries, and condemned their immoral practices as forcibly as did all orthodox Christians. But this they did, not in virtue of any intrinsic elements of their creeds, but by the force of strong common sense, as well as of the Catholic traditions which were around them. These traditions

were as so many subtle influences that entered into social life, that gave its character to Christian civilization; recognized or not, they had a bearing on the conduct and discipline of every Christian community, underlay much of the literature of the age, and were blended largely with the legislation of all Christian nations. The atmosphere in which Christian nations live is impregnated, as it were, by those traditions; and, as we learn from the work of Dr. Morselli, when brought in contact with non-Catholic teaching, will serve to clear up that dark gloom of soul which lures some persons to self-destruction.

In consequence, then, of those imperceptible Catholic influences, and of the restraining powers of the moral law, many non-Catholics were and are better than their religious principles. But what the standing of Protestant Christianity is in the world of to-day, and how its inherent defects are reaching their final ends, Mr. Mallock describes in his work, *Is Life Worth Living?*

"It is at last beginning to exhibit to us," he writes, "the true result of the denial of infallibility to a religion that professes to be supernatural. We are at last beginning to see in it neither the purifier of a corrupted revelation, nor the corrupter of a pure revelation, but the practical denier of all revelation whatever. It is fast evaporating into a mere natural theism, and is thus showing us what, as a governing power, natural theism is. Let us look at England, Europe, and America, and consider the condition of the entire Protestant world. Religion, it is true, we shall find in it, but it is religion from which not only the supernatural element is disappearing, but in which the natural element is fast becoming nebulous."—P. 268.

The very contrary of all this he writes of the Catholic Church. Guided by the Holy Spirit, she exalts man while she teaches him. The lowering of one's reason to a fellow-man to be instructed by him, although often perfectly legitimate and justly prescribed, has in it, however, something humiliating for human nature; but the submitting of the soul to the infinite reason of God teaching through His Vicar on earth or His Church is an exaltation for human reason, an ennobling of man's nature. The Catholic is not left to the caprice of any man for what he is to believe, nor is his creed fashioned for the occasion from the opinions of men, but his soul rests on God's word as infallibly declared to him, and his creed is derived from divine revelations infallibly interpreted for him. In the doctrines which he believes there exist perfect harmony and the highest sanctity; in every shade of relationship they hold together with the fullest consistency, and when lived up to produce the greatest fruits of holiness, as all Christian history teaches. In regard to the nature and the attributes of God the teaching of the Church

is in keeping with His supreme, infinite sanctity ; in regard to man it recognizes the noble faculties of his nature and strives to impress on him the sense of his high destinies. In season, out of season, the Church preaches the authentic word of God, strictly enforces the observance of the decalogue, encourages the profession of the evangelical councils, educates all classes, enjoins fasts and abstinence, and binds her children under grievous penalty to the hearing of mass on Sundays and holy-days. By these and many other means she endeavors to promote Christian piety and good morals among her children, or to restrain the evil propensities of fallen nature. Through the sacraments left to her by her divine Founder as so many channels of grace she reforms, comforts, strengthens souls. The tribunal of penance alone is the greatest school of moral teaching in the world. In it the Church by her ministers instructs each soul individually, and applies to it the laws of the Gospel ; she solves doubts, lays down principles of conduct, exacts promises of amendment, exhorts, consoles, corrects ; the claims of justice she vindicates, and by her advice repairs or strengthens the bonds of fraternal charity. Through the humble confession of the penitent she looks into the source of all morality, the human heart, and, if need be, applies remedies to its hidden wounds. At this tribunal the learned and unlearned—Pope, king, and beggar—alike kneel to be instructed and judged according to Christ's great mercy.

Of the sacrament of penance Leibnitz wrote: "Nor can it be denied that this is an ordinance in every respect worthy of the divine wisdom, and if there be in the Christian religion anything admirable and deserving of praise, assuredly it is this institution which won the admiration even of the people of China and Japan, for by the necessity of confessing, many, especially those who are not yet hardened, are deterred from sin, and to those who have actually fallen it affords great consolation, insomuch that I regard a pious, grave, and prudent confessor as a great instrument of God for the salvation of souls ; for his counsel assists us in governing our passions, in discovering our vices, in avoiding occasions of sin, in making restitution, in repairing injuries, in dissipating doubts, in overcoming despondency, and in fine in removing or mitigating all the ills of the soul. And if in the ordinary concerns of life there is nothing more precious than a faithful friend, what must it be to have a friend who is bound by even the inviolable obligation of a divine sacrament to hold faith with us and assist us in our need?"<sup>1</sup>

In order, however, that those resources of the Church should be of avail for the bettering of men, she must be free to use them. To deny her this freedom and then come and reproach her with

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<sup>1</sup> A System of Theology. Translated by Charles William Russell, D.D.

the ignorance and viciousness of her people sounds like the bitterest irony. According to Christ's design she must be perfectly free in superintending the education of her children, blending largely with it her own teaching on faith and morals; in her disciplinary laws, in her property-rights, in the administration of the sacraments she must be free,—free to preach, to teach, to reprove,—uncontrolled in her relations with her supreme head, the Roman Pontiff, and perfectly unrestrained in the full exercise of her divine jurisdiction. We have seen how Protestantism has been supported by the state, but the Catholic Church has not often met, in modern times, with the same good fortune. Influenced by ambitious views or swayed by heretical or infidel teaching temporal rulers have often curtailed or trampled on her rights, robbed her of her property, and this while they encouraged rebellion against her authority. Some of her children, even, rejecting "faith and a good conscience," like Hymeneus and Alexander, of whom the apostle speaks, "have made shipwreck concerning the faith." Under this point of view thousands of facts might be ranged to illustrate the subject. At present we shall confine ourselves to some events of Italian history for the last hundred years.

Opposition to the Church in Catholic countries is often, by reason of its complex character, a puzzle to the popular mind. What open, downright persecution is, it can easily understand; but this opposition which comes from diplomacy, or from the secret plotting of nominal Catholics, or from the effects of bad literature, or from the extravagant sympathies of nationalism, it cannot so well appreciate. The antagonism of enemies or unbelievers it is prepared for, but the official intrigue and uncatholic conduct of "false brethren," and these representative men, it hardly expects. To this unseemly state of things phrases that are in common use contribute not a little; the worrying of the Church by the government of a Catholic nation persons will speak of as if it were the conduct of the nation itself; they will not take into account that that government either professes no religion at all, or bases its policy on false or heretical principles, or even that it is a Jew or an infidel or a Calvinist who is its chief organ, or who, perhaps, holds the *portefeuille* of a minister of worship. And as in everyday life it is from the political order principally that the world at large comes to know a nation, men will be prone to judge of its character from the acts of its government. They will judge, for instance, of the moral or religious tone of France or of Austria from the political measures taken by the French or Austrian governments, although these measures may be in direct conflict with the teaching of the Church. In the estimate that is formed of Catholic nations, it is often also ignored that some of them have not been exclusively

Catholic. Almost from the dawn of the Reformation Protestantism or its offshoot, Jansenism, settled in them, sat sometimes even near the throne, opened its schools and churches, and put forth in writing its views on religion and government. It flattered state power, and this, ambitious and aggressive enough surely in the past, now frequently pushed its resistance to the Church even beyond the lines of orthodoxy. French kings and Austrian emperors sometimes arrogated to themselves rights which belong only to the successors of St. Peter.

To judge fairly of the condition of Catholic countries and of their influence one on the other, it is necessary to take the foregoing facts into consideration. In their light we shall study the disturbing elements of Italian life. Composed of kingdoms, of republics, of duchies, of Austrian provinces, and of the Papal States, Italy, towards the close of the last century, was under laws and customs that varied with the nature and spirit of her governments. The battlefield of Europe for centuries, and torn by the quarrels of internal factions, she inherited some of the political principles of the nations that had ruled her. At one time it was the political views of France that were in the ascendant in her counsels, at another those of Spain, but generally it was those of Germany. This latter country, claiming to be the heir of the holy Roman Empire, seemed to think that Italy was under German tutelage, and was not able to stand by herself without the support of the imperial successors of Henry IV. and of Frederick Barbarossa. Up to a few years since the richest Italian provinces belonged to the house of Hapsburg, while Italian dukes or kings were often united to the same house by ties of kindred or by treaties. In the last quarter of the eighteenth century Lombardy was subject to the eldest son of that noble empress, Maria Theresa. Leopold, her second son, became Duke of Tuscany, and Ferdinand, her third son, Duke of Modena; Caroline, one of her daughters, was married to Ferdinand, King of Naples, while another of them, Maria Amelia, was wife of the Duke of Parma. Under Maria Theresa herself the Church was, at least, externally in the enjoyment of her rights; though, at the time, Jansenism and Gallicanism together were striving to change her constitution by exaggerating the powers of the episcopal office, and consequently by lessening the Pope's authority in matters of faith and his jurisdiction in matters of ecclesiastical government and discipline. Even then, through the influence of Joseph II., the University of Vienna was infected with Jansenism. Dutch professors tried to introduce it into court circles, and its advocates sometimes supplanted Catholic teachers in the very ecclesiastical seminaries of the empire. So relaxed had clerical discipline grown, or so remiss had the clergy

become in defending the rights of the Church, that the temper of many of them was not averse to some, at least, of the religious innovations introduced by the Emperor. Without any vigorous protest or opposition, he could decree that no bull, or rescript, or brief of the Pope should be published in his dominions unless it had received the imperial placet. Without the consent of the Emperor bishops should not confer holy orders; religious associations were suppressed, monasteries and convents were turned into military barracks, and a politico-moral catechism was taught in the schools, the leading principles of which were nationalism and an aversion to all foreign spiritual authority. "It was ordained that the text of the bull *Unigenitus* should be removed from any theological work in which it might be found, and that professors should speak of it only as a purely historical document without any religious value," says Daras. To this legislation the Church in Lombardy was subjected; her bishops, nominated by the Emperor, were merely to be confirmed by the Pope; meanwhile, her seminaries were suppressed, and the teaching of her colleges leavened with the false theories of the age.

However, Joseph II. was not averse to ecclesiastical knowledge, provided it was according to his own taste. In place of the seminaries he founded a general university at Pavia, and, in spite of the censures of Rome, appointed therein professors who favored his views. Natali, who had been censured by the Holy See for teaching Jansenism, became professor of theology. Zola, whose works were put on the Index, taught ecclesiastical history; and Tamburini, who was imbued with Gallican opinions and became afterwards secretary to the heretical synod of Pistoia, filled the chair of canon law and natural right.

While this legislation was unsettling the faith of some of the inhabitants of Lombardy, a more open and hostile attack was made on it in Tuscany. Its Grand Duke, Leopold, favored not only the curtailment of ecclesiastical rights, but with all his authority supported the teaching of Jansenistic doctrines. Unfaithful churchmen were found to second the views of their duke, because these flattered their ambition. Under the apostate prelate Ricci a synod was held at Pistoia in which heresy was clearly taught, the discipline of the Church changed, devotions and ceremonies abolished, and the authority of the Holy See slighted and set at naught. Education in all its departments was expected to conform to the new teaching, and for this end Leopold sent to the bishops—if you please—the catechisms which they were to use in their respective dioceses. He also pointed out the books that should be read by the faithful, laid down rubrics for religious solemnities and processions, explained how the church-bell was to be

rung, and how a corpse was to be buried, and, in short, acted "the sacristan," like his imperial brother of Austria.

Jansenism became the court doctrine at Florence, religious orders were forbidden to correspond with any authority outside the boundaries of the state, and it came to be well understood that unless one were a rebel to Rome he could not be the friend of Cæsar. The Tuscan people, however, were worried by changes which struck at the roots of their religion and did away with objects of their liveliest and most cherished veneration. Their strong, simple Catholic faith could not brook heresy, and was decidedly averse to accepting it either from duke or from bishop. The irreligion of the court of Florence had its counterpart in the scandals of the court of Parma. Here a spirit of opposition to Catholicity had been created by the wily statesman Du Tillot, until, little duchy as it was, it became as impertinent towards the Church as if it had an army of one hundred thousand men to back its insolence. The Duke of Modena was more moderate in his views than either his brother of Austria or he of Florence, but still he held on to that policy which cramps the Church's action and hinders her from putting forth all her energy in behalf of souls.

In the south of Italy at this period things were no better than in the north, although in the south the fault lay with the house of Bourbon, and not with that of Hapsburg. Charles, the son of Philip V. of Spain, having become Duke of Parma, afterwards succeeded to the crown of Naples, and, on the death of his brother, to that of Spain. Naturally weak-minded, Charles III. was ruled by his ministers. While in Parma, Tanucci became his confidant and accompanied him to Naples to become his prime minister. On the promotion of Charles to the throne of Spain, his son Ferdinand, at the age of eight years, succeeded him and had Tanucci as president of the council of the regency for the kingdom of the Two Sicilies. A lawyer by profession and an extreme liberal in his religious views, Tanucci ignored the principles of Christian statesmanship. Through the influence of Gallican and Jansenistic teaching, to thwart the Holy See in the exercise of its rights and to interfere with the ordinary discipline of the Church was generally the policy of that period through European nations. Into it the Neapolitan statesman entered largely. Without his permission the Pope could not correspond with the faithful of the Neapolitan kingdom; bishops were not permitted to ordain priests or to inflict censures but at the discretion of Tanucci; convents were suppressed, ecclesiastical property sequestered, and education withdrawn, in great measure, from the superintendence of the Church. To the want of religion Tanucci joined a want of humanity. In order to keep his place he had Ferdinand reared like a boor; and,



to satisfy the instincts of hatred, had hundreds of unoffending religious men cast on the Pope's territories. Still this was the man whose word was law in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies for forty-three years.

It was certainly a singular anomaly and a historical scandal to see how Catholic kings behaved towards the Holy See as if they were so many Turks. But the truth is the state-doctrines and state-pride of a few centuries had given them extravagant pretensions and led them into wrong views about the nature and powers of the kingly office. Established for the temporal well-being or happiness of the people, the state is called upon to take all lawful means to secure that end. By laws, by a just policy, by financial arrangements, by promoting enterprise, by supplying the means of education, by succoring distress under every form, and by contributing to all the arts of civilized life, it may further national greatness or interest. In this sphere of duty the state is independent, provided all the while it conforms to natural justice and divine law. While dealing directly with the temporal as its special immediate object, it ought, however, for its own stability and under the direction of Christian jurisprudence, to protect morality and religion. The object of the Church, according to her divine Founder, is to fit men in time for the enjoyment of happiness in eternity. And as it is the end which a society has in view that gives it its specific character, the spiritual is the Church's great formative element; it underlies her government, it is embodied in the sacraments, it enters into her motives, into her labors, and into her manner of dealing with the world. This life-element men do not see and frequently do not understand, and therefore misinterpret her actions. They see how doggedly she holds to some grave point of ecclesiastical law, or to some term expressive of Catholic doctrine, and because she will not compromise principle they accuse her of uncalled-for obstinacy. In the circumstances the state would perhaps cut the Gordian knot by yielding to expediency, but the Church cannot do so; come what may, she must stand by God's truth, natural and supernatural. The "kingdom of God" on earth, she has received from His hands her organization and hierarchy, and her world-wide jurisdiction and her powers to distribute Christ's graces unto the salvation of souls; shaped in her fulness of form by the divine immediate action, she stretches her roots on earth into all natural equity, and sanctions, and elevates, and unfolds it.

Created, however, for men and bodily made up of men, the Church has her human side, and for her high purposes, according to Christ's appointment, needs human aid and coöperation. With a mission before her that aims at man's spiritual good here and hereafter, she ought not to be trammelled in the fulfilling of it; she

must be neither dependent on any earthly power for the due exercise of her authority, nor, if possible, should she be wanting in those temporal resources which enable her to discharge her functions. Her needs are manifold; she has needs arising from the support and training of her clergy, needs that come from the education of her children, from the distress of her poor, of her orphans, of her various missions, or from the expenses incurred in the proper maintenance of divine worship. To meet all these wants she requires funds, of course; and had the state always recognized what would be to its profit, it would surely not grudge to supply her with them. Then its taxes would not weigh so heavily on it, and men without any sense of humiliation would have been comforted in receiving relief from the generous, open-handed charity of religion. But, apart from that view, the Church, being an independent divinely appointed society, composed not of angels or disembodied spirits and needing temporal things for the furtherance of her mission, has, by divine law, a right to hold and possess property. As citizens her clergy do not forfeit their rights, and even by reason of their calling are bound to be loyal to the state. Allegiance to temporal rulers the Church teaches as a primary rule of civil life; and while she firmly upholds the rights of the people, she condemns all conspiracies and rebellions against lawful authority. She teaches, of course, with the apostle, that "there is no power but from God," and "therefore he that resisteth the power resisteth the ordinance of God."

In spiritual matters, or in things appertaining to faith and morals, all Catholics obey her teaching with unquestioning submission; in matters relating to the civil or political order they obey the just laws of the state. Their submission to the one does not interfere with their allegiance to the other, no more than the obedience which a son owes to his parents interferes with his civil duties towards his country. "The divine right," says St. Thomas, "which comes by grace, does not destroy the human right which is in the order of nature" (2 v., 2 c., qu. 10, art. 10). Man's allegiance to the Church is in the spiritual order, his allegiance to the state in the temporal order; his duties to both do not clash because the just requirements of both are different; they are distinct aspects or goals of life to which he tends by distinct lines of duty, and these even in the natural order he may multiply without putting one in conflict with the other. A person does not become a rebel to his state, because he submits to the laws of a literary club, or of a trades-union, or of a royal society.

How compatible civil allegiance is with submission to ecclesiastical authority, or how the same person is bound in conscience to obey, in their respective spheres, the Pope and the king, Holy

Scripture often teaches. We have seen with what emphasis St. Paul inculcates obedience to temporal lords, but with greater emphasis still he enjoins obedience to ecclesiastical authority. "Remember your prelates," he writes, "who have spoken the word of God to you, whose faith follow, considering the end of their conversation." And again, "Obey your prelates and be subject to them" (Heb. ch. 13, v. 7-17). These are inspired interpretations of the great saying of our divine Lord, "Render, therefore, to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's."

Those principles derived from the elementary teaching of Christian doctrine were frequently slighted or ignored by lay temporal Italian rulers at the end of the last century. They treated the Church as if she were a dependent power, and seemed to consider the temporal first and the spiritual after. Since the sixteenth century there was much, indeed, in regal assumption to confuse their idea of royalty. In the nations which embraced Protestantism the temporal sovereign came to be recognized, expressly or virtually, as head of the Church as well as head of the state, and his high tribunal also came to be considered as the source of all jurisdiction, spiritual and civil, within the realm. Hobbes maintained even that the king has absolute power to impose a religion on his subjects, and to render, therefore, a refusal to obey it an act of rebellion. The centralization of power thus became the great national policy; chartered privileges, Catholic immunities, municipal rights, provincial parliaments were abolished, and "public law was proclaimed the sole rule of morals," "the citizen's only conscience," says Hobbes. These public institutions which in Catholic ages were so many checks on royalty were now merged in the centralized governments that became the fashion through Europe.

"It is remarkable," writes Balmes, "that the greatest increase of royal power dates from the commencement of Protestantism." The new religion was not only the solvent of faith but also of civil liberty; and men found out that in pulling down the Church they also pulled down the guardian of their rights as freemen. They put her away by denying her divine authority, her lawful inheritance, and they fell under the state which claimed the exercise of divine powers to which it had no right. They were quite bewildered and overpowered for the time. But the lever wherewith they overturned the Church they were aware they might also use to overturn the state; if they applied "private judgment" to destroy faith, they saw no reason why they should not employ the same to destroy governments. Revolution or civil dissension followed in the wake of the so-called Reformation as a necessary consequence. These were doctrines that permeated some European

nations in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and though not accepted by Catholic rulers or peoples, were not, however, without their influence on them. In Italy they had their expression in what has been called Josephism and in a certain unsettling of Catholic loyalty, but did not affect, in any material way, the faith of the Italian people. They were, however, the prelude of fearful ruin.

Ever since the opening of the French Constituent Assembly Italy was not at ease. The echoes of the revolution were heard along her borders, and her rulers, great and small, occupied themselves about their prospects in the coming crisis. Piedmont and Savoy gave asylum to French royalists; King Victor Amedæus even, by invading French territory, was so rash as to provoke a French invasion. In the campaign that ensued some victories were gained by the French troops over the Austrians and Italians, but none of great account, until Napoleon Bonaparte was appointed commander of the Army of Italy. Eminent in the arts of peace, Italians, by training, were better fitted to embellish their country than to defend it,—and this especially against men of iron-courage who had crossed swords with Germans and English in many a battle, and had been inured to bloodshed in the streets of Paris and on the plains of La Vendée. State after state went down before the French army; Parma, Modena, Tuscany, were disorganized; the Pope had to give up Ferrara, Bologna, and the Romagna, out of all of which Napoleon formed the Cisalpine republic. Pius VI. died in exile, and when Italy became a kingdom, and France an empire, Pius VII. was led to Paris, and confined a prisoner at Fontainebleau. From the Alps to Calabria there was confusion through Italy. French invasion of her territory was not only an invasion of armies, but much more, an invasion of ideas. It scattered broadcast through the nation the maxims taught by the French Assembly of 1789, introduced the Italian mind to the irreligious sarcasm of Rousseau and Voltaire, and covered the country with the impious writings of heretics and infidels.

“The philosophical doctrines,” says Farini, “which take their name from the encyclopedists, had penetrated among us during the sway of the French, so that the authority of Rome had greatly declined among the educated classes, and men thought and wrote in the French manner.” The Code Napoléon, infidel principles, and the French school system were imported into Italy. Bonaparte, in the spirit of mean spite, which was in keeping with his nature, as we learn from the *Mémoires* of Madame de Rémusat, insisted that Catholic bishops and priests should swear to maintain the doctrines of the four condemned Gallican propositions of 1682. It was a crisis, or a time for sifting souls. Cardinals and bishops who

stood nobly by their post were either exiled or imprisoned by this imperial tyrant, and humble priests who were true to conscience were sometimes banished from their country, sometimes forced to labor among the slave-gangs of Toulon. "Napoleon," writes Cardinal Pacca, "had recourse to the species of tyranny imagined by Julian the Apostate, to pervert the faithful, sometimes by perfidious acts of kindness, and at other times by threats and violence,—wearying the patience of the clergy by depriving them of their preferment, and subjecting them, by exile, to every species of inconvenience and suffering." Never, perhaps, since the time of Gregory VII. was there such a struggle of right against might, and never, we may say, did the divine power of the Church, in defence of justice and of the sovereignty with which Christ endowed her, come out in such majesty. Some churchmen, to be sure, through cowardice, went down in the fight, but the Church herself, in Italy, amid a flood of iniquity, stripped of all her temporal possessions, and hampered in her ministry, by penal legislation and anti-Christian officials, remained immovable on the rock—Peter. His apostolic firmness cost the Pope much, but it saved the sacredness of right.

Between 1796 and 1814 Italy was under French influence and partly under French rule. The current of her political life was quickened by foreign elements and the traditions of Catholic teaching partly broken up by the materialistic philosophy of Condillac.

But the teaching of the schools seems to many persons to be far removed from the practical issues of life. "What matters it," they would say, "what young fellows think about 'sensations and ideas,' about the special characteristics of the human soul, or about 'being' and 'substance,' and 'creation?' When they go into the world, they shall leave these behind them, and learn, in contact with men in daily life, all that befits a man." Nothing can be more false, nothing more contrary to experience. "The boy," according to the common saying, "is father to the man,"—a familiar manner of expressing the inspired proverb, "A young man according to his way, even when he is old, he will not depart from it." Inoculate a youth with the seed of a fatal disease, by degrees it will grow into his system, will wind itself around his nerves and muscles, will corrupt his blood, eat into his flesh, and consume his heart; or else give him only husks to eat, reduce him almost to starvation fare, or put him down in the prison-pit of a dark mine to work, or shut him up in a factory the livelong day, where he inhales fetid air, or steel-dust, or gas-vapors, in either case you ruin or undermine his bodily constitution. Much after the same manner you can ruin his soul, and wreck his Christian manhood. Teach that

youth false principles, impress them on his soul by the force of your authority, they will grow around his mind and his will, they will run into his thoughts, and be the lever of his actions and the standard by which he will judge things human and divine, and the rule according to which he will live for time and eternity. By his own will-power indeed, and by God's grace, he may right himself, but this is a difficult task, and one, as all know, which comparatively few accomplish. Or, give him only the bare facts of science, or the events of history, tinctured by a little bigotry; teach him the exact and natural sciences, and every form of human literature, on the one side you have trained him up to more than the height of a giant, on the other,—and that the essential one,—you have left him less than a pigmy. His moral nature, and his Christian faith, out of which Christian character and manhood are formed, you have omitted. You have freighted him, perhaps, with much knowledge, but you have given him no moral or religious principles wherewith to direct himself. The sails of his bark on the sea of life are filled, but he has no rudder to steer himself into port. Or, again, in regard to Catholic doctrine, put the youth on starvation fare, or worse, teach him his Catholic catechism only one hour a week or so. The rest of the time at school he must not invoke God, nor bow to the name and image of his Lord and Saviour, nor must he, under penalty, speak of, or profess faith in his mother, the one holy Catholic Church. He is hardly taught what his faith is, or what Christian morals are, nor how young and old in this life ought to fit themselves for another world. What can one expect from such an education? Within the range, however, of each of the suppositions just stated youths may be found who, owing to the special care of parents, or to certain providential influences, become good and upright Christians. But for this they have not, surely, to thank the schooling which they received.

At all events, the school system which Napoleon introduced into Italy, and the new ideas propagated there by the French army, and by French officials, were not without their evil influence on the middle classes of Italian society. All Napoleon's work toppled over with his fall, the French armies withdrew from Italian territory, but the cockle which they had sown remained and grew. After the Congress of Vienna, the former rulers of Italy came back to their thrones to find that they had now a new enemy to contend with. The secret societies, which had contributed largely to the terrific wrecking of the Church and State in France, and which, amidst torrents of human blood had upturned throne and altar, communicated their methods to Italian society. The Carbonari arose; emissaries, of every kind—republicans, red and black, so-

cialists of every stripe, total-depravity men, and no-religion men, swooped down on the Italian states as on their quarry.

The breezy words, "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity," were again used to fan the fire of rebellious souls. The nature and goodness of forms of government, the rights of kings and people, the grievances of the past, religion, liberty, and national unity were discussed in the cafés of every city and town and by the shopkeepers of every village. In the schools Brutus and the Scipios were the great themes for scholars, the grandeurs of ancient Rome, its liberty minus its slavery and immorality, were subjects on which orators glossed in ecstasies of rhetoric. By contrast, to heighten the coloring of the picture they drew, they did not fail to have a fling at the Church and the Holy See. They misrepresented some facts, ignored others, and did not hesitate, in order to gain their end, to tear out of the records of their country the brightest pages in the history of liberty. Leo the Great, Gregory the Great, Gregory II., Alexander III., whose authority was the bond of the Lombard league, the Italian republics; all these they passed over, forgetting, all the while, that, when there was question of civil liberty, to inveigh against the Popes was like judging Manlius in sight of the Capitol.

Liberty was in the spirit of those ages. "There are two things," said a mediæval monk, "for which every upright man ought to be ready even to shed his blood; these are justice and liberty."<sup>1</sup>

"In the Middle Ages," writes Walter, "self-government, which was preserved by the formation of corporations, was a means of satisfying the Teutonic spirit of freedom, and associations, with their abundant resources, elevated the interests of life and strengthened its energies. Thence came the wonderful wealth of creative power, which was seen to spring forth in that remarkable time, almost without help from the state, in every department of human existence, in science, art, political life, industry, commerce, and in devotion to the higher aims of life."<sup>2</sup>

In reality, indeed, to the minds of some of those orators alluded to, liberty was something very indefinite, a spell for fancy, or a conceit wherewith to inflate national aspirations. Their idea of it seemed to be that which Macaulay attributes to Horace Walpole: "His talk about liberty, whether he knew it or not, was, from the beginning, a mere cant, the remains of a phraseology which had meant something in the mouths of those from whom he had learned it, but which, in his mouth, meant about as much as the oath by

<sup>1</sup> Petrus. Blos. de Inst. Ep., p. iv.

<sup>2</sup> *Naturrecht und Politik*, p. 300, quoted by Cardinal Hergenröther, *Church and State*, p. 272, Eng. trans.

which the Knights of the Bath bind themselves to redress the wrongs of all injured ladies."

To another wing, however, and this the larger one, of the revolutionary faction, civil liberty was something more palpable. It was the expression in the civil order of the physical freedom of their wills in the natural order. In spite of the dictates of reason and the restraints of the moral law, they knew that they had the power of thinking out the most odious crimes and of purposing to commit them; at the beck of every passion in their hearts they could swing their souls, as it were, around the full circle of vice, and, as they could think and purpose as they pleased, they thought that they might also in social life, following the robbers' code, act as they pleased; or, as they could brutalize themselves by crime, that they might brutalize society by barbarism. Such was the sort of liberty that a knot of foreign socialists sought, a few years ago, to inaugurate in New York, in Tomkins Square. But they learned a lesson then, which will perhaps serve them in the future; they were taught by republican authority that to be free, as Lord Mansfield had said, "is to live under a government of law." Another pivot for their views on liberty they took from the fact that they disowned or rejected the authority of the Church. For them the Ten Commandments, as it would seem, had lost their binding force; they would listen neither to Bishop, nor to Council, nor to Pope,—their own liking, or that of their secret association, was their law, and, to their thinking, the governments of the Christian past were somehow leagued against liberty. They had put aside the authority of the Church, and now they thought that they might also put aside the authority of the State; the one they had rejected as a superstition, the other they would reject as a usurpation. For the State, however, they would substitute one of their own making, and would put into it the new liberty; but, as for the Church, they would try to make her pliant to their behests, and, if she would not consent, they would strive with all their might to dig her out from the very roots. These were some of the extravagant views on liberty that circulated among certain coteries of Italian society during the first few decades of this century. Indefinite at first, and only food for national vanity, they took shape, and acquired a body by the astute handling of Joseph Mazzini, the founder of the secret society, "Young Italy." Strange as it should seem, this revolutionary society received its great support from sources from which, perhaps, it had hardly expected it.

The great powers of Europe, worried and exhausted by the wars of a quarter of a century, through which they had passed, met in their representatives at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1818, and formed themselves, as it were, into a high court of arbitration on all national European



troubles. Again, in a congress, held at Troppau in 1820, the supreme rulers of Russia, Prussia, and Austria decided that it was lawful for sovereigns to interfere in the internal affairs of other states in order to suppress rebellion against their lawful rulers, and to put this doctrine in practice, in a meeting held at Laybach, they authorized Austria to march her troops into the kingdom of Naples to reinstate its ruler, King Ferdinand. Against the doctrine of the meddling by foreign powers in the internal government of other nations England, through her prime minister, Castlereagh, strongly protested, although she had no difficulty in admitting the decision come to in regard to Naples. In relation to the unrestricted theory of intervention that had been formulated, the point of the protest was well taken ; it respected the sovereignty of each state, and the independence and right which each government exclusively has of seeing to its own internal organization for the well-being of its people. But it overlooked that international charity which, in the family of nations, binds one state to succor another in its wants, when its legitimate authority asks for foreign aid, or when the self-preservation of a state may necessarily require the ordering of the condition of its neighbor. The policy of intervention adopted by the allied powers, and adopted and strenuously upheld by England afterwards, became most odious, and ran into flagrant injustice. The case of revolution, in which a ruler asked for foreign aid, or that condition of things in one country from which the security of neighboring states might be well endangered, were considered, apparently, not as exceptional, but entering necessarily into the policy or comity which should exist among nations. Kings seemed to think that they ought to be valets to each other, and that, under all circumstances, it was their duty to look to the maintaining of the splendor and etiquette of the royal dignity.

France had just got out of a revolution, and was still torn by violent factions ; England, from one end to the other, heard her people violently clamoring for reform ; the German Confederation was putting down local franchises and national yearning for constitutional government, while Russia was sharpening her sword anew, under the Emperor Nicholas, against her poor persecuted Catholic subjects. Still, it was the sovereigns of those nations, who, in 1831, presented a joint note to Pope Gregory XVI., counselling him to adopt reforms in the government of his dominions. By these confederated powers it was supposed that the Pope's temporal government was defective from top to bottom ; that, in its financial, judicial, and municipal departments, it was a blot on the age, and that it was only by adopting a legislative system, such as existed in France or England, that it could become respectable in

the eyes of the world. Other cases of intervention in foreign states there had been, but none there was that outraged so grossly as this one the independence of a sovereign state, and became the cause, for many years, of so much disaffection among a loyal people. And what was the pretext for this insult offered by the potentates of Europe to a fellow-sovereign and the head of Catholic Christendom? A rebellion in the Romagna, got up by emissaries of secret societies, a rebellious spirit that had overturned a dynasty in France, dethroned monarchs in Spain and Italy, that was still felt beyond the Rhine, and was raging even through the cities of England. Pope Gregory felt what an indignity had been put upon him, and what a motive of action had been given to the secret societies by the conduct of the European powers. Under this trying ordeal of diplomacy he bore himself nobly, entering into no compromise with false liberalism, and upholding firmly his right to legislate for his own people as he judged fit. On this occasion it was pitiful to see the government of Louis Philippe, having more than enough to do at home, worrying itself about theories for the governing of the Papal States. It would promise its protection to the Holy See, only on condition that the reforms mentioned in the official "note" should become the basis of a new code, and that some of the concessions of the charter of Louis XVIII. should be taken as a lesson in legislation by the Sovereign Pontiff. The ambassadors of other European governments seconded the views of the French King, and thus right was called on to yield to intrigue, or to declare itself. To the French demand Cardinal Bernetti, papal secretary of state, answered: "That though the French guarantees appeared important to the Holy See, the Pope believed it impossible to secure them by measures which would amount to a real abdication of pontifical independence;" and to the other states he wrote, "This Roman See, apparently so weak, will never consent to sanction reforms which shall be dictated to it with a tone of imperiousness and with a day fixed for their fulfilment. It reserves to itself its liberty of action and its complete independence. Besides, by its conduct it has long since shown its zeal in looking for and realizing all the reforms desirable and compatible with public security."

Still, the French government persisted in urging the papal power to adopt the views of the diplomatic note or "memorandum;" even a French man-of-war in 1832, without any provocation whatever, bombarded Ancona and hung over it the tri-color; the Austrian army, to suppress an open rebellion, organized by the "secret sects," was forced to occupy the Romagna, while England,—the ambassadors of the other European powers complained,—was fatiguing them by her demands in favor of the revolutionary party.

When the Austrian troops withdrew from the papal territory Europe could see how the conspiracy unmasked itself, and all lovers of justice understood that the Carbonari had made use of European diplomacy to reach their end more safely. Prussia forthwith ordered Baron Bunsen, her plenipotentiary in Rome, to disavow the part he had taken in framing the "memorandum," or diplomatic note; Russia gave almost a like command to her representative; Austria would not sanction the document, in face of recent events; France was silent, though not satisfied; the English government alone publicly protested and demanded, through Lord Palmerston, for the Pope's dominions a representative government, unrestricted liberty of the press, and a national guard, half civil and half military. There certainly was in all this enough to confuse an ordinary statesman, and to cramp his policy, but the statesmanship of the Holy See, broadened by its sense of right, shook off these miserable tricks of politics, and held on to justice. Pope Gregory granted to his States the reforms which he considered suited to them, but, as the enemy was at his very door, he had to be reserved in his concessions, and to temper kindness with strictness. He died in June, 1846, and was succeeded by Pius IX.

Pius inaugurated his pontificate by granting an amnesty to those imprisoned for political offences, excepting, however, from its benefit those who, in sinning, had betrayed the official trust reposed in them. Reforms, most acceptable to the people, were introduced by him into the government of the Papal States amid an enthusiasm which knew no limit; all Italy sent forth a cheer of thankfulness that was echoed back from the Alps and the Apennines. About the sincerity of this joy, at least on the part of some, the Pope himself had serious misgivings, and there were persons who, from signs on the surface of society, saw beneath it the dark currents of treacherous thoughts and purposes. Occasionally conspiracy, as if taken by surprise, showed its hand; it applauded the generous efforts of the noble-hearted Pontiff, but always wanted more; from every office in the Papal States it would expel ecclesiastics, and would so pare down and hem in the powers of the Pope, as temporal ruler, that only the shadow of his authority would remain to him. In those dread days in Italy, with more than the savagery of the Iroquois, conspiracy marked out its victims for assassination; through the press it vilified the clergy, and rendered almost helpless the pontifical government in its labors for order and reform. Amid all this commotion in Rome Russia, Prussia, and Austria stood aloof. They felt probably that in their own homes there was trouble brewing; France, once again in the spirit of her old Catholic chivalry, was ready to send her army to the relief of the Holy Father,

but could not do so, partly through the disfavor of Austria, but principally through the decided opposition of Lord Palmerston. Just at this eventful crisis in Italian affairs Lord Minto was sent by the English cabinet into Italy to promote there the agitation for political reform. In the history of diplomacy no such mission had ever been heard of. Coming into the country as the accredited agent of the English government, he was heralded by the radical party as the champion of Italian independence. What his special powers were men did not care to inquire; they knew only that he came to promote reform, and this they interpreted according to their own cherished views and national aspirations. Wherever he went,—to Turin, Milan, Florence, Rome, Naples, and Sicily,—riot either preceded or followed his arrival; and it became more and more apparent that the Italian movement aimed not merely at the reformation, but also at the destruction of the governments of the peninsula. The mission of Lord Minto was, to say the least of it, a shameful breach of international comity, and “proved in its results,” says Mr. Alison, “most calamitous, and is to be regarded as one of the main causes of the revolution which soon after broke out in the Italian peninsula.”<sup>1</sup>

On the representation of the other great European powers Lord Palmerston wrote to the diplomatic agents of Great Britain in Turin, Naples, and Florence, to cease agitating, but it was too late; the evil had been done, and the political passions that had been stirred to their depths, now lashed into fury, swept with the impetuosity of a torrent over the fields and towns of Italy. At the same time nearly all the governments of Europe were undermined by the “secret societies,” and, in 1848, the year of revolutions, when the train was fired, European thrones either fell or tottered. Louis Philippe lost the French throne. Charles Albert, of Sardinia, had to lay down his crown, in 1849, at the feet of Austria, the King of Prussia had to salute the flag of the revolution, the Emperor of Austria abdicated in favor of Francis Joseph, all the Italian states had to change their constitutions to suit the revolutionary party, while the Pope had to seek refuge in Gaeta from the rebellion and anarchy of Rome.

The passage in Italian history which I have just barely sketched (and it is only of Italian history that I speak directly), reveals some few points that bear on our subject. We see in it that European statesmanship was drifting to a withdrawing of itself more and more from the influences and principles of Christianity, as well as from the conscientious discharge of the duties of political life according to the plain dictates of justice. There were statesmen who maintained that the Christian European State, the crea-

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<sup>1</sup> History of Europe, vol. viii., p. 209.

tion of the Church, should be secularized; or, again, that expediency, whether for right or wrong, was the rule of political action. They seemed to think that politics was a department of public life from which morality was sublimated—a sort of no man's land, in which politicians might riot as they pleased without fear of colliding with the right of the neighbor, or of injuring his property. To them selfishness or utilitarianism seemed to be the legitimate ground of political action. They professed to be conscientious, and this they were after their own fashion. They had one conscience for private or domestic interests, and this, as being the voice of right within them, they seemed to listen to, but, for dealing with foreign nations, or with public business, or with political rivals, they appeared to have quite another—and this one was the voice of national selfishness or dislike—a kind of mental intrigue or warp of the mind, trained to gain its end by all the crooked ways of flattery or deceit. It is hard to conceive how they defined a political act after having taken out of it that which gives it an ethical character. They would not admit that politics are the morals of public life, or that they can be made the subject-matter of duty, and would resent, as impertinent, any protest on the part of priest or bishop in regard to political measures which were palpably unjust. Now, I do not say that European statesmen laid down these views in definite words, but they drew them out in actions by violating rights, and by invading the spiritual domain of the Church. She had to contend with two enemies, conspirators from within Italy, and diplomatists from without it, and both leagued to thwart her teaching, and, if possible, to destroy her power. The agitation which was carried on hindered her undoubtedly from fulfilling her mission with the completeness with which she desired, but, as a rule, that agitation did not materially affect the religion of the people. In cities and towns, particularly, the population was swayed by an unwonted fervor for independence, but, while they sought after the new liberty, they remained, and wished always to remain, the faithful children of the Church. In no other Italian state, perhaps, was the strain on the faith of the people so great, and so continuous, as on that of the people of Tuscany, and yet of them, in 1856, Mr. Mabel S. Crawford writes, in his *Life in Tuscany*: "It is only due to truth to say, that from what fell under my observation during a ten months' residence, it seemed to me that even the warmest opponents of the Church of Rome could not, in fairness, but admit that, far from being a mouldering fragment of the past, the Church, though old, is still a vigorous, living plant, well-rooted in the hearts of the great bulk of the population of that country."

Through that widespread political agitation there were surely some whose moral rectitude was interfered with, and others, and

these the conspirators against social order, who, having practically renounced the faith, entertained the deadliest hatred of the Church. These were the men who kindled and kept alive the furnace-fires of the revolution. Comparatively few, by their writings and talk, as well as by the excitement which they caused, and the outrages which they committed, they made the world suppose that they were the majority of the nation. And at that time, and since, persons looking on from without began to ask, "How comes it that this Catholic Italian people is alienated from the Church?" In the physical world a violent storm will set all the elements in commotion, it will darken the air, cloud the heavens, make the sea rage, it will thrill all nature, and far beyond its march through the universe, by its pressure, will extend the influence of its fury; much after the same way, in the social world, a revolution or a violent political agitation, got up by a political party, will put in commotion, as history teaches, all the social elements; it will draw to itself the attention of all; will excite passion, appeal to the sense of right, weld together the wills of millions, and by that tremendous power strive to gain its end. In attaining a just end by just means this agitation is, perhaps, the strongest of forces; in striving for an unjust end by means no matter of what nature, it is powerful, indeed, but transitory. In 1848 the revolution shook all Europe, as if by a volcano, and from the confusion that ensued it seemed to some observers as if the populations had abandoned the Church and the State alike; but the revolution quickly burned itself out, for the time, within its own crater, and things came back pretty much to their old grooves, and Italian rulers came back to their thrones.

In Italy the Church had now to contend with her old enemies, and these strengthened by new auxiliaries. The secret societies had been frustrated in their aims, but were not vanquished. Quickly they set to plot anew; now, however, they could shelter themselves near the throne of Victor Emmanuel, King of Piedmont, and were at home with Louis Napoleon, who had graduated among them, and whose "first enemies," said the *London Times*, "were the *sbirri* of Leo XII. and the Austrian police." Before his election to the presidency of the French republic, to please the French infidels, he condemned the expedition to Rome for the relief of the Pope as "a dangerous religious demonstration," and the day after, on the very eve of his election, he wrote to the Papal nuncio at Paris, "that the maintenance of the temporal sovereignty of the venerable head of the Church is intimately connected with the splendor of the Catholic religion, as well as with the freedom and independence of Italy." When he became President he showed his colors, and wrote thus, officially, to one of his deputies in

Rome: "It is thus I epitomize the temporal government of the Pope: General amnesty, the secularization of the administration, the Code Napoléon, and a liberal government." To his diplomatic agent to the republicans of Rome he gave one kind of instruction, and quite the very contrary to his ambassador to Pius IX. at Gaeta. This was the man of double mind, and with a conscience made to order, who was emperor of France for nearly twenty years, and during that time was at the bottom of intrigue and discord in Italy.

Victor Emmanuel, leagued with the "sects," was not so astute as his imperial cousin of France, but was less shameless in his conduct. He stated plainly his line of policy, and though this was often disgraceful and unjust, it was, at least, something for the Church to know that she had an open foe. But behind the throne of Piedmont there was one who did for its king his thinking, and by deliberate, scientific intrigue was to him much what Machiavelli might have been to Lorenzo de' Medici. This was Camillus Benso, Count de Cavour. "He was," writes M. A. Lacroix, in his work, *Le Dernier des Napoléons*, "the greatest minister and the most detestable character which Europe had produced since Talleyrand. Journalist, exile, conspirator, Cavour had been at Paris studying the means by which Piedmont might absorb all the states of the Peninsula. . . . He saw at a glance the situation of Europe; he perceived that the time had come when *ruse* or treachery could give to the house of Savoy, by watching the opportunity, what centuries had not been able to accomplish for her. . . . To secure the friendship of France for Piedmont, to drive kings and princes from Italy, under cover of aspirations for independence and nationality, and finally to confiscate the whole to the profit of the house of Savoy, such was the programme of the politician of Piedmont. . . . He understood that, with such an ally as Napoleon, it was enough to promise, and then to bring on, through him and in spite of him, all the plan of Italian emancipation, but that it was necessary to be careful not to confide to him the secrets and developments of the plot, and only to use him to draw enough of blood and millions of money from France for driving Austria out of Italy. Treachery and corruption would deliver the rest of the Peninsula to Piedmontese covetousness." This programme was carried out to the letter. Not that it was written in so many paragraphs, and formulated by a bill in Parliament, but that it entered into the counsels of the successive cabinet ministers of Piedmont, and for thirty years and more underlay their policy. This corrupting of the political order by putting aside the laws of honesty and justice, by an Italian ruler, with the encouragement and aid of the Emperor of France and of English cabinet ministers, did not fail to

affect for evil the condition of Italian society. In other times, diplomacy sometimes covered much double-dealing, and, if you will, base hypocrisy, but, in the case we speak of, it was made to be the mask for the vilest plotting and bribery, and for the sowing of the seeds of rebellion among the populations of neighboring states. Ever since the battle of Novarra, Sardinia was smarting under her defeat by Austria. With the sword, and unaided, she would not dare face her again; but there were other weapons now at her command, with which she could retrieve her loss, and probably finally conquer. By lopping off a part of his original political plan Mazzini became the ally of Victor Emmanuel. Both were for the unity and independence of Italy; the latter, however, wished to be its king; the former aspired to see it a republic, and to be its first president; but this he would forego for the present, in order that their secret agents might, in concert, march into Lombardy and there strive to undermine the power of their common foe. The press was largely on their side; by every means, fair and foul, it tried to make out a strong case against Austria in Lombardy. The youth of cities and towns were taken with highflown views of liberty; riots ensued; the universities of Pavia and Padua were closed, and everybody seemed to feel that there was war in the atmosphere. But the sober-minded, those whose memories went back some years, could interpret the present agitation by what they had experienced in the past; the spell of liberty had been put upon them, and in its cause they saw committed crimes that would have disgraced savages, and sacrileges that only Mussulmans would have been guilty of. These remembrances disenchanted them, especially when they came to know that the new liberty meant stringent laws and more taxes.

On the 1st of January, 1859, as the diplomatic corps were presenting their respects to Napoleon in the Tuileries, turning, in dramatic fashion, after the style of his uncle, to Baron Hübner, the Austrian ambassador, he said to him, "I regret that my relations with your government are not as good as they were." These words, immediately telegraphed to every European court, rang out through the world as a tocsin of war. In the crisis the English conservative ministry, under Lord Derby, endeavored to mediate between Austria and Piedmont, and pressed Count Cavour to adopt a peace policy. Just at the time that he hoped to capture his prey, it was irritating to him to have his spring thus broken by foreign interference. And as an English diplomatist one day plied him pretty hard on the subject, telling him that the public opinion of England was against him, he answered, "Very well; but my opinion is that, first of all, England is accountable for the troubles of Italy. English statesmen, English parliamentary speakers, Eng-



lish diplomatists and writers have been busy for years exciting political passions in this peninsula. Is it not England that urged Sardinia to counterbalance the unlawful preponderance of Austria by the propagation of moral influences?"<sup>1</sup>

These are significant words. But England's mediation failed; Austria sent her ultimatum to Piedmont and was refused; Napoleon publicly proclaimed himself the ally of Victor Emmanuel, and the campaign began. Battle after battle in quick succession was a victory for the French and Piedmontese, until finally Austria, at Solferino, lowered her flag and acknowledged her defeat. The Austrian and French Emperors met at Villafranca, and Lombardy was annexed to the Kingdom of Piedmont.

But in the other central Italian states war had also raised its standard, under the direction of Garibaldi, a new ally of the King of Sardinia. His tactics, however, were not those of regular warfare; his part was to prepare the ground for a change of rulers, or to create "moral influences." In a document issued to the revolutionary circles and clubs of Italy just before the campaign began, he instructed his adherents how they were to get up rebellion; and, when it was successful, how they were to organize a military government in the name of Victor Emmanuel; and how the provisional commissary so appointed was to maintain "the severest and most inexorable discipline, applying to every person, no matter who he may be, the dispositions of military law in time of war." In this way Parma, Modena, and Tuscany were revolutionized and their legitimate rulers set aside by riot and violence. Some time after, the Kingdom of Naples went through the like revolutionary process, and that under the cover of British cannon and with the aid of the Piedmontese army. "The official orders of Cialdini (the commander of that army) and those of other Piedmontese generals, are worthy," said Nicotera in the Parliament of Turin, "of Tamerlane, of Gengis Khan, and of Attila." Open robbery, however, at the point of the bayonet was too shameless a thing in the face of the conservative governments of Europe, and would not be accepted by any decent man as grounds whereon to establish a government. But there were other means at hand, one particularly,—the *plébiscite*,—which some years before Napoleon had tried with good effect after he had shut up in prison his opponents, the leaders of the French Republic. On this occasion, in regard to Italy, he maintained the doctrine of non-intervention, and Lord John Russell, then a cabinet minister, in a speech at Aberdeen said that the Italian people must be let choose their rulers without molestation from any foreign nation. To prepare the people for

<sup>1</sup> From a sketch of the Life of Cavour, written by his intimate friend and cousin, Charles de Mazade. "La Revue des Deux Mondes," July 15th, 1876, p. 369.

voting recourse was had to those expedients which must secure success at all hazards. Many of the inhabitants of Piedmont emigrated freely for the time being into the neighboring states; wholesale bribery and fraud and intimidation were resorted to, and those who went to the booths to vote under the eyes of enemies felt that on their vote perhaps their lives hung. In all the states sweeping majorities were made out in favor of Victor Emmanuel; but what is strange in all this business is that, in Nice and Savoy, where Italian sentiment ran as high as in Naples, Savoy voted its annexation to France by one hundred and thirty-one thousand seven hundred and forty-four votes against two hundred and thirty-three. The fact is, that this apparent expression of the popular will was a farce got up to flatter public opinion. Two years before Cavour had stipulated with Napoleon, at Plombières, that when Piedmont, by the acquisition of Italian territory, would have a population of eleven millions, Nice and Savoy should be given over to France. To test the validity of this voting, however, there was no possibility of establishing an electoral court. But how reckless men had become at the time we may infer from the words of Lord Malmesbury, writing home from Tuscany to England: "I am not scrupulous in political matters," he wrote, "but indulgence has its limits. Bon Compagni, ambassador in Tuscany from the court of Turin, is, if not the head, at least one of the most active conspirators against the sovereign to whom he is accredited." Here is another passage from the *Journal* of M. d'Ideville, which gives us barely a glance at the plotting of the revolution at that time: "Sir James Hudson" (the English minister), he writes, "has been for many years at Turin. It was in his *salon* that, long before it happened, the Italian revolution was prepared. The exiles of Naples and Modena, in fact, all the persons most gravely compromised in political events, found in the house of the English minister a sure asylum, bountiful hospitality, and often even important subsidies. More than once he was in relation with Mazzini. On this subject one of the secretaries of the English legation, Lord Hubert de Burgh, used often to tell me, with a laugh: 'I have just been dining with Sir James. We were ten at table, and, except the minister and myself, all present were people sentenced to death. I still shudder at it.'"<sup>1</sup>

In the events just alluded to, there was certainly enough to corrupt the political life of Italy, and more than enough, were it not for the Church, to pervert the moral and religious sense of the people. Of the secular Italian governments that were then sup-

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<sup>1</sup> "Journal d'un Diplomate en Italie. Notes intimes pour ressort à l'histoire du Second Empire (1859-1862)."

pressed I have no wish to be the apologist. Doubtless there were many features in them which would not suit republican views. But no charge of tyranny or of undue severity or of excessive taxation was clearly proved against them at the time; they had even entered on the way of constitutional reform, in accordance with the wishes of their peoples. The Church, even had she recalled the past, and had she not the spirit of mercy and forgiveness, would have no reason to compassionate the fate of those governments nor the very stock—Bourbon or Hapsburg—from which they had sprung. But for having suffered one wrong she could not sanction another. They were legitimate governments, and their rulers had lawful authority. To deprive them of this, no matter on what plea, was a gross violation of right and of the principles of civilized legislation. But the maxim had gone abroad, through pamphlets attributed to Napoleon, that nationality should be set against treaties, and that mere greatness is better than goodness, or that the grandeur of a state is to be measured solely by the number of its acres. After Austria gave up Venice and the Quadrilateral, Italy, save the Papal States, came under the sceptre of Victor Emmanuel. "Italy was made," as the phrase ran, "but was not completed," and for the future was to take her place among the great nations of the world. This was the enthusiastic hope of Italians. They did not care to examine how far this hope was grounded, out of what materials they had made their nation, or whether there were in it those elements that promise national stability.

To every observer, however, it was evident that neither in its foundation nor in any of its parts was there either right or justice. And right, as they might have learned from Cicero,<sup>1</sup> is the cement of a state. It is its great bond of union, its life-blood. It is the root of its growth, the very soul that quickens every part of the body politic; and, when a strain is put upon it, that fires the national heart with the principles of lofty patriotism. Since its very beginning there has been a blight on the Italian government. "The list of its ministers since Cavour's death is a little limbo of ruined reputations." It crossed swords once with Austria, and was shamefully beaten. It protested against the doings of the French in Africa, but dared not speak loud enough. It has been going begging through the world to save itself from bankruptcy; and, apostate as it is, though it is often called Catholic, it has acted towards the Church in the spirit of an apostate. It is brave only towards the powerless; it has turned out on the world thousands of poor, helpless religious women, and has appropriated their prop-

<sup>1</sup> In his work, "*De Officiis*," he thus defines a state: "*Cœtus hominum jure sociatus.*"

erty. What any humane government of the past never did it has done. It has stripped the minister of the altar of his sacerdotal robes and forced him to put on the uniform of a private soldier. It has exiled or imprisoned brave bishops who stood up for the rights of the Church, has confiscated her possessions, and has closed the schools against her. Nay, it has tried to undermine the faith of youth, to corrupt the clergy, and to create rebellion in the Church. How comes this to pass? One may say, What has brought the government of a civilized country to stoop so low? The history of our times answers, the plotting and spirit of "the secret sects," which is also the spirit of the Italian government, and the persuasion and encouragement of foreign anti-Catholic statesmen.

"Italy was made but was not completed." In the way of the Piedmontese government stood another independent power in Italy, the temporal sovereignty of the Pope. With this were blended certain features, which it was hazardous to deal with. It had a title-deed the most ancient and the most authentic of any royal house of Europe. It arose in the very twilight of Christian ages, not from conquest, nor from the violation of any right, but by the force of circumstances and from the spontaneous generosity of the faithful. Like the plant, it was the growth of nature. Its first fibre scholars have endeavored to find down through the age of Constantine and beyond it, but it has baffled their researches; about its very first origin there seem to lie mysteries analogous to those that lie at the root of every natural product. The power of all other temporal rulers has its own special end; the temporal power of the Pope has the same, but it is moreover to be a shield for the perfect freedom of the exercise of another and a higher power. The sovereignty of others has come through the ordinary laws ordained of God in the social order, the temporal sovereignty of the Pope has been ruled by special dispositions of divine Providence. Sovereignty has come to monarchs often as an inheritance, it has come to the Popes as a trust for the benefit of the Catholic world. The right of monarchs to temporal rule has frequently become extinct, being swallowed up, as it were, by social changes through time in its onward march,—the right of the Popes as temporal rulers has never died. It has often, indeed, been in abeyance; time and again Popes have been imprisoned or driven into exile, and their territories seized by hostile powers; even in this century Pius VII. had been detained a prisoner at Savona and Fontainebleau, by Napoleon I., and Pius IX. had to fly his capital, in order to evade the threats and horrors of the followers of Mazzini; but no matter when violated and how long, this right, by the shaping of events under special providential laws, swung back in the course of time to its normal rule. In the physical world scientists infer that

such or such is a law of nature from the recurrence and uniformity of phenomena ; Newton deduced the law of gravitation from the observation of falling bodies ; with at least an equal force of reasoning the maintenance and restoration of the Pope's temporal sovereignty during fifteen centuries, in spite of all disturbing elements, furnish us with the law of its existence and the necessity of its continuance in the social world. For this sovereignty Italian statesmen have undertaken to find a substitute, to give guarantees for the Pope's independence and freedom, and thus to put in place of an order of divine Providence an expedient of their own making. The fact of their having done so shows that even they recognized the necessity of having the exercise of his sublime powers by the chief pastor of the Church guarded from all external pressure on the part of individuals or nations. But do these guarantees suffice for the Pope's freedom ?

The Pope, indeed, has no gaoler at his door and no hostile guard in his palace ; he is even styled King, although the attributes of royalty have been taken from him ; a sceptre is put into his hand, and not a subject is left him to rule over. He is face to face with a hostile power, nay, he is under it, as he himself has stated ; that power is a standing menace to him. Around his palace he is vilified by the public press ; his high prerogatives as supreme pastor of the Church are ridiculed, the teaching of Catholic truth decried, while the clergy and sacred rites are caricatured in shop-prints and on the stage. What treatment he receives from his enemies the Holy Father himself has told us in an address to Italian pilgrims, October, 1881. "Remember always," said he, "that the supreme pastor of your souls is in the midst of enemies, in whom the power of rage and hatred can reach such an extreme as Rome beheld with horror on that forever ill-omened night when she was accompanying with pious duty to the grave the remains of our venerated predecessor. *Remember that the person and divine authority of the Pontiff are day by day thrown into the mud by the work of an unbridled press, which casts at him outrages and insults by the handful.*" These are words to be remembered not only by Italian Catholics but by Catholics of every nation of the world. They tell us that moral restrictions often curtail the freedom of a sovereign as efficiently as the bars of a prison. Alexander of Russia, through the plotting of the Nihilists, is to-day as helplessly a captive as if he were confined to his winter palace under a hostile guard, and the common Father of the faithful is pilloried in the Vatican, the whole Catholic world looking on. "It is folly to suppose," said Pope Leo, last March, to the Cardinals, "that the Catholics of the world will resign themselves to suffer peacefully their chief and their master to remain long

in a condition so incompatible with his dignity and so trying to their own filial love."

In the crisis the apparent apathy of Catholic peoples seems the more striking when one considers that they have even to tax themselves in order to support the dignity and to supply the wants of the Holy See. They have seen themselves despoiled of the States of the Church, their common patrimony, by their Catholic ancestors given in trust to the Popes for the support of religion; and now, forsooth, they have to bear the burden of this iniquity, to pay money because miscreants, and conspirators, and a king with a robber's title have seized on Rome and the papal provinces. The question is not only one of religion and justice, but also of international finance. It is a question, indeed, which the diplomacy of this age would not readily deal with, but one for the solution of which the Pope, as we have seen, relies on the devotedness and efforts of the whole Catholic body. The moral force of public opinion set in motion by legal agitation unbarred a Parliament closed against Catholics for centuries; were that force increased a hundredfold, it would shatter to pieces any institution based on injustice and on the violation of the sacred rights of millions of people. Or, in other terms, were the hundreds of millions of Catholics through the globe to demand in thunder tones that freedom and independence be granted to their Supreme Pastor, King Humbert would probably do quickly what, it is said, he intends to do finally,—he would leave Rome. The ages of Catholic chivalry are not past, although, indeed, the crowned leaders of Catholic chivalry are dead. Diplomacy in our times has in some countries tied down, and anti-Christian legislation seems well-nigh to have paralyzed, the organized coöperation of Catholics for the Catholic cause; but should their generous impulses have a vent given to them, or should Catholic peoples see clearly their way for redressing the great wrong put on them, it would be soon known that the Catholic heart throbs as strongly and as lovingly as ever for the freedom and rights of the successor of St. Peter.

Indeed, the present position of the Holy Father has, as it were, set the Church ajar, but the manner in which this has been brought about by an influential faction has been well calculated to injure faith and morals in Italy. In all those Italian political movements the revolutionary or apostate party has had two ends in view: the first, to make Italy one; the second, to destroy, if possible, the papacy. To accomplish this double purpose they united all their efforts to sow disaffection among the population of the Papal States, to censure the Pope's government, to misrepresent Catholic doctrine, and to corrupt by the most odious means the faith and morals of the people. In 1860 this party had overturned the papal government in the Romagna and the Marches, and spread everywhere

the seeds of disloyalty to the Pope and to the Church, with the secret approval of Victor Emmanuel and Napoleon. What villainous means were then used to establish this great Italian nationality by the ruffraff of Italian towns and by the scum of some European countries we learn from the indignant protest of the bishops of the Marches addressed to the Piedmontese military governor: "We scarcely believe our own eyes or the testimony of our own hearing," they write, "when we see and learn the excesses, the abominations, the disorders, enacted in the principal cities of our respective dioceses, to the shame and horror of the inhabitants, to the great detriment of religion, of decency, and of public morality, since the ordinances against which we protest prevent us from protecting religion and morality, or from inveighing against the prevailing crimes and licentiousness."

The papal subjects as a rule stood loyally by their sovereign, and to aid the papal troops armed themselves in his defence, but were overpowered by superior numbers. Public, unprovoked spoliation of the territory of the oldest sovereignty in Europe was carried on in the face of the civilized world, and Prussia and Russia alone protested. Already in 1861 the Pope had lost some three-fourths of his subjects, while conspiracy was mining steadily the rest of his dominions, and Rome itself. In the midst of these circumstances, another move on the chess-board of politics was made by Napoleon and Victor Emmanuel. In September, 1864, "*a convention*" was entered into by them, the first article of which stated, "Italy binds herself not to attack the present territory of the Holy Father, and to prevent by force, if need be, all attacks on it from without." France bound herself to withdraw her troops gradually from Rome, and another provision sanctioned the forming of a Papal army. To honest men all this meant security for the Pope, but to cunning Piedmontese statesmen it was only so much language in order to conceal their thoughts. The ink of that treaty was not dry before Nigra, the Italian plenipotentiary, who was a party to it, wrote that it "was not intended to mar the national aspirations." Bands of conspirators forthwith swarmed into the Papal provinces, and into Rome, to join this movement, the soldiers of the Piedmontese army deserted with the connivance of their officers, the loyalty of the Pope's subjects was tampered with, but generally in vain, and the grossest calumnies circulated against the clergy and the Pope's administration. The Italian government had removed from Turin to Florence, and Ratazzi was at this time prime minister.

". . . . Politician,  
With more heads than a beast in a vision,"

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<sup>1</sup> Hudibras.

he could be devoted to the Pope, seemingly frank in his policy with Napoleon, and chuckle over all that as he hatched conspiracy with his associates. Garibaldi, in buckram and red shirt, was the hero of the act that was just then on the political stage. So formidable had he become that, like Napoleon I., he had to be bound to an island. He had broken loose, however, but, as it appeared, for stage effect, for Crispi, a revolutionary leader, had telegraphed to Ratazzi, "All is ready; let loose Garibaldi." And when he was loose, in order to throw dust in the eyes of Napoleon, an attempt must be made to capture him; so Ratazzi telegraphs to the Prefect of Perugia, "Pursue Garibaldi, but so as not to overtake him, and burn this telegram,—Urbano Ratazzi." Fortunately the telegram was not burned; it remains as a sample of the high-toned diplomacy of the court of Florence. In France, Napoleon III. was in a difficult plight. From the Florentine statesman he heard that the tide of revolutionary passion was rising higher and higher among the inhabitants of the Pope's dominions; on the other hand, he heard of the true state of things from Cardinal Antonelli, the papal secretary of state. At home he could notice the rumbling of a threatening storm; the French nation was fairly aroused, the old Gallic chivalry was refurbishing its arms in view of the coming fight, and the French Parliament, led by the great orator, Thiers, spoke in tones which forced the wily imperial policy to uncoil itself. A French fleet, with French troops on board, was ordered to leave Toulon for Civita Vecchia. By the revolutionary leaders it had been arranged that a general attack was to be made on the 22d of October, 1867. The French army embarked on the 18th, and was twice countermanded by Napoleon, so that it was only on the 26th the fleet could set sail. This certainly looked like treason, and that it really was so became a common opinion.<sup>1</sup> Meanwhile, in the Pope's domain, the Pontifical Zouaves were scoring victory after victory over their enemies, until finally, in the battle of Mentana, with the support of the French, they gave them the *coup de grace*. The wave of the revolutionary movement was for the time broken, the people of the Papal States, content with their sovereign, could take some rest. But within a year the European firmament was ablaze with war, and the revolution, without hindrance, could stalk forth from its dens, and the government of Florence, now emancipated from the fear of France, could show its hand. The obligation of a solemn international pact, the sense of justice, or of religion, or of decency, did not stand in the way of

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<sup>1</sup> Twitting General della Marmora, shortly after, with his failure in taking Rome, Napoleon III. said: "You are a set of 'imbeciles.' *I gave you eight days* to do your work, and you did nothing."



that government, and the army of Victor Emmanuel, reinforced by Garibaldian freebooters, following the code of Italian banditti, on the 20th of September, 1870, took possession of Rome. A few days after, the vote of the Roman people was taken, armed men guarding the booths, and when the vote was counted by the conquerors themselves, only forty-six were found to side with the Pope. People had reason to be dissatisfied with this expression of the popular will, and hence, the year following, a vote was taken by the Romans themselves, and then 27,700 declared for the Pope.

Never since the fall of the lower empire had national honor been so outraged as by this violation of sovereign rights and by this high-handed plunder of national property. A breach of public faith, in the eyes of the monarchs of Italy and France, was a trifle, and the plighted word, that would hold to itself the soul of the savage, could not hold the Christian monarchs to the fulfilment of duty. The Pope's estate and capital had, indeed, often before been invaded and seized; this, however, was done by declared enemies in undisguised defiance of all right. But here are two crowned sovereigns acting their mean part, like expert swindlers, in order by sharp practice to rob their brother sovereign. The crying injustice that was in it fills the upright heart with indignation, but the meanness, in which that injustice was set, provokes in all honorable souls a sense of disgust. All this, be it remembered, was done in open day, in sight of Catholic Christendom; and the eldest son of the Church, and the most Christian king, and their apostolic and Catholic majesties had nothing to say,—would do nothing. The world of right had gone backward; justice had retrograded. In 1815 the sovereigns of Europe, with one accord, restored Pius VII. to his possessions; in 1849 the French republic rescued Pius IX. on his throne; in 1867 the French nation, in spite of its emperor, caused French cannon to thunder at Mentana, but in 1870 not a sovereign in Europe was found to raise a finger in order to give to the Pope right and liberty. As the great Pius, in the midst of his woes, expressed it: "The poor old Pope is now bereft of all earthly aid. Relief can only come from above."

"The Church since then is more than ever before under captivity in Italy. Her property has been again confiscated; her religious orders driven from their homes; civil marriage has been legalized, her liberty restricted, and a share in the education of youth denied her. While the nation is deluged with irreligious and immoral literature, recent acts of rebellion and mob-violence are justified and defended; truth is kept back or distorted; the Church and the Sovereign Pontiff are the daily object of revilings and accusa-

tions; and no opinion is too absurd or too pernicious to be scattered broadcast over the world"<sup>1</sup>

What the Church suffers to-day in Italy is the consummation, as we have seen, of what she has had to suffer there during this century. It is not denied that under the pressure of irreligion, and in contact with it, some Italians have fallen, but the Italian people, as such, have preserved through the struggle their Christian faith and morals. In an address read to Pius IX. in 1867, on behalf of the hundred Italian cities, the Count of Modena made his own the saying of a revolutionary leader, to wit: "that the masses of the Italian people are for you and your authority." "Our government," said, a few months ago, the deputy Sonnino Sidney in the Italian Parliament, "is feeble—and I am not speaking of this or that ministry but of the government itself—and thus fulfils its mission badly; it is weak, because our political life has become quite superficial. The overwhelming majority of the population, more than 90 per cent. of it, feels itself a stranger to our institutions; it beholds itself subject to the state, and forced to serve it with blood and with money, but it does not feel that it constitutes a living and organic part of it, and takes no interest in its existence or development." What those grand "national aspirations" have come to, Italian populations have learned to their cost. "Carefully prepared statistics," says a writer in the *North American Review*, "submitted by Senator Pepoli to the Italian senate, in 1879, show that 19½ per cent. of the income of the government is derived from such prime necessities as breadstuffs, meat, and salt, and that nearly one-quarter of the revenue was so levied as to be unduly oppressive to the poor." . . . The ancient city of Venice, once the great mart of the world, has now a population of 140,000, of whom 36,000 are paupers. "The Italian peasants flee from enormous taxes, as those of Germany do from military service," and the writer remarks, "Italy sends abroad emigrants, as industrious, patient, and saving, as any peasantry in Europe."

"Of the population of 26,000,000 Italians," wrote Cardinal Manning, some years ago, "not 3,000,000 have launched themselves in the revolution of the last twenty years. The great bulk of the people are, as they have always been, Christian, Catholic, and loyal." . . . "In my judgment, and I have formed it, not in London from newspaper correspondents, but in Rome during many a long residence, extending in all over seven years, those who have encouraged this chronic agitation against the religion of Italians and the independence of Rome, have been among the chief causes of the present disorder in Italy." As a confirmation of this great testimony, it was only the other day that Pope Leo wrote in one of

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<sup>1</sup> Encycl. to the Bishops of Italy.

his splendid letters: "The large majority of Italians are still earnest Catholics."

NOTE.—Irreligion has entered Italy mainly through political agitation; it entered France principally through anti-Christian and philosophical doctrines. The intercourse between France and England, the works of English Deists translated for French readers, the influence of some English freethinkers on the highest circles of French society, made the French mind acquainted with many features of infidelity as it prevailed in England in the beginning of the eighteenth century. French apologists of Christianity, according to Beurier, complained of the number of infidel books that were imported into their country from England. There is no argument, even the most reckless, of French philosophy in the eighteenth century, Villemain maintains, that is not found in the English school at the beginning of the same age. Lecky tells us that "it was from the writings of Locke and Bacon that Voltaire and his followers drew the principles that shattered the proudest ecclesiastical fabrics of Europe," and in his *Life of Bacon* the German, Fischer, writes: "As Hobbes and Locke have their root in Bacon, so the French philosophy of the eighteenth century had its root in Locke, being related to the English philosophy as a colony to the mother country." These statements are admitted by a writer in the *Saturday Review*, September 12th, 1874, in a notice of Lange's *History of Materialism*: "Strange as the fact may seem to some," he says, "England was the hotbed whence sprang the infidelity that spread over France during the years immediately preceding the first revolution, though it attained new forms in a new atmosphere, and especially in the case of Le Mettrie assumed a tone of indecency unknown to its native home."

Holland had also its share in propagating infidelity in the last century; it was from her printing-presses those infidel works went forth which were retailed through neighboring nations; it was there that Bayle published his dictionary, and that Spinoza, himself a Dutchman, devised his monstrous system of Pantheism.

Switzerland was as active as Holland in this propagandism of error. In 1763 Voltaire wrote to D'Alembert: "In Calvin's own town there are only a few, shabby, beggarly fellows, who believe in Christ," and elsewhere, "England and Switzerland are overrun with men who hate and despise Christianity, like Julian himself."

Jean Jacques Rousseau, a Calvinist, hailed from Geneva.

The same causes that have been at the bottom of Italy's troubles in this century have also been at work in Spain. She, too, has been under the grudging policy of the House of Bourbon. Infidel and immoral literature has been introduced among her

people. False ideas on religion and government were brought to her by foreign armies; and secret societies, under the protection of foreign powers, have been trying to destroy her religion and conservative institutions. Her political life is kept in agitation by a bold faction, but, as all travellers tell us, her people are still Catholic to the core.

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### THE INFLUENCE OF ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI ON MEDIÆVAL ART.

"We owe to the mind of St. Francis that inspiration, nobler than human, which stirred the emulation of the greatest artists."—LEO P. P. XIII., *Encycl.*, 17 Sept., 1882.

**A**T times convictions take possession of a human soul and develop therein with such astonishing power over and beyond all that surrounds it, assuming dimensions in their ultimate results which are out of all proportion with the source whence they appear to spring, that we are forced to look for their reason in some design of Providence bearing testimony to the unfailing truth on which they rest, and giving assurance of their predestined accomplishment. The Catholic Church is the soil on which such souls ordinarily grow. The fact of Calvary, of all human failures in an earthly point of view the most complete, yet with its prodigious effects, unaccountable unless in the light of a higher principle, has established a norm by which we may measure like phenomena.

When St. Francis of Assisi suddenly departed from the common course of men about him, those who loved him best mourned, because, as they said, the beautiful youth had grown mad. But he had turned to follow a master, whom with less reason the enlightened world of old Rome had pointed out as a fool; and so he went on securely in his way, "*ce fou sublime, dont la folie confondit la sagesse du monde.*" And when the few short years of his earthly life had come to their end, he had set into motion and given a lasting impulse to a revolution, which in due time overturned the political, social, and religious world from its existing state. Like the sun, which he affectionately calls his brother, and to which Dante aptly compares him, he, "when not yet much distant from his rising, began to bless the earth by his good influence."<sup>1</sup> He illumined

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<sup>1</sup> *Paradise*, Cant. XI., 53.

the darkness into which the world of those days was deeply merged, and created a new growth upon its face, breathing by the genial warmth of his spirit fresh life into the decaying members of society. Popes, emperors, nay, the obstinate princes of the East, who hated with a natural and religious hatred alike whatever bore the Christian name, bowed to his will and vied with one another in showering favors upon him to whom nothing was dearer than the contempt and poverty of Christ. Even St. Dominic, if we may believe the annalist of a past day,<sup>1</sup> intimate and familiar friend of our saint, seemed for a moment to have lost confidence in his own distinct and stupendous mission, when he came within the circle of that radiant fire of seraphic love.

But it is not our purpose to measure the influence of St. Francis upon his own or later times except in so far as it caused the revival of the fine arts, which in point of time and place assumes definite form immediately after the death and at the tomb of the Saint. It were strange indeed if we could not trace the cause of this sudden change in the sphere of taste to the direct influence of him who from that time forth appeared for several generations at once the devout object and the patron of the fine arts. And no doubt it will be well to recall to mind the means which served to raise so admirable a structure as that which the school of Christian art presents to us in the 13th century, at a time when at least the outward conditions of society are much the same as they were then, with perhaps this difference in our favor, of a far more eager search after a high standard of taste.

In order to estimate correctly the influence of St. Francis upon the life of the fine arts for several centuries after his death, it will be necessary to cast a brief glance upon the character of the man who, by the sole force of his personal endowments, without any assistance from without, was able to produce such gigantic effects. We shall next consider this influence in its further results.

### I.

The most superficial reader of the life of St. Francis will be impressed with two features in the singular career of the Monk of Assisi: that peculiar asceticism, from which, as we know, arose the mystic school of thought, whose best exponent in theology became St. Bonaventure, and which found its truest illustration in the whole range of Christian schools of art, beginning in faint outlines with Giunta Pisano, the friend of St. Francis, and ending, at least for a considerable time, with Raphael, in his earlier works. The other trait, which aside from this strikes us, is the intense love of and sympathy with nature manifested by the Saint on every occasion.

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<sup>1</sup> Vita S. Francisci, Bolland.

Nature was, so to speak, poverty, whom he had chosen as his bride, in her fairest apparel. When he had relinquished all for Christ, he had gained all; the whole great world was now his own, and he felt this possession, and it made him happy beyond earthly happiness.

One day, before he had made his choice, when he was returning from a festival, his companions, seeing him strangely pensive and tarrying behind, asked him laughingly what could absorb the light-hearted Giovanni so profoundly at this time. "I was thinking," said he, "of taking a spouse, but one so noble, so beautiful, that I know none like her on earth." From that day the fair young Bernadone changed. "He is lovesick," they said, and so he was. He had seen a glimpse of some beautiful being, a quick vision of some magnificent reality, and his heart went out to it; went out to God, that Beauty everlasting and surpassing all His creatures. And the Saint loved only the more these creatures, now that he recognized them as love-tokens of God's munificent affection towards his humble spouse. He would cast aside the gilded deckings and don the wedding garment to please but his new choice. So by vigils and fasts, terrific stripes and crucifixions of his tender flesh, he called to heaven for a spotless robe, until the folly of a thoughtless boyhood had been wholly wiped out.

As sin disappears in man, its consequences vanish one after another, or lose their hold on him, and the former state of sinless happiness returns. In Paradise all nature had been subject to Adam. But once he rebelled against his Maker, creation declared enmity to its former master, man. Henceforth his life was one continued toil, and sorrow became as his daily companion. Then, as he bore the burden meekly, it lightened, or perhaps his strength increased, and he felt less of the old crushing weight. Nature grew more kind, the ground yielded more readily to the pressure of his spade, and it brought forth fruit and flower, which lighted up once more his aged care-worn features, and labor, duty, sacrifice, became a consolation. And when the end came they brought to the saintly patriarch the last born of his grandchildren that he might bless it. But he looked strangely out into the open field where stood the tree which he had planted, a twig of Eden's sad tree of life. And in prophetic vision he discerned the fruit that was one day to grow thereon—*arbor decora et fulgida!* And he saw how the curse which he had brought upon his progeny was to depart by the strength of that fruit. It was a rapturous thought, and he loved the tree for its destiny, and the birds that nestled in it, and the flowers that grew beneath its shade; he loved all nature, for he saw in it expressed the ineffable love of his Maker. Then his dying hand blessed the babe with the strength of the expected Redeemer, and when with his last look he gazed into that blessed child's eyes he

saw there the joy which he had seen in Eve before the fall, the joy of innocence, like to no other joy on earth. How often has that process been repeated in the penitents, saints of the Catholic Church! It was in a manner the process which the soul of St. Francis experienced. He had become again a sinless child, in the baptism of penance, in the strength of his Redeemer's Precious Blood. Nature spoke to him, and like a child he spoke to her, until both understood and loved each other as brother and sister of the same heavenly Father. See how it comes out, this love, in all its virginal freshness and innocence as we meet him in the by-ways around Assisi, sweetly caressing a rescued pair of turtle-doves: O siroccie mie tortole, semplici, innocenti e caste—ora io vi voglio scampare da morte e farvi i nidi.<sup>1</sup> Or as we see him stooping to gather up the little worms from the road, lest they be crushed beneath the foot of some unthinking traveller; for he remembers how his Master had once said: I am a worm and not a man.

Such was his tender love for the works of God's hand, and like some magic spell it accompanied him wherever he journeyed, and where his shadow fell the ancient curse seemed forthwith to depart from the earth. The birds of the air, the beasts of the forest, came gladly at his call; the timid roe looked trustingly into that beautiful face and gathered its food from the hand that gave a blessing upon the dumb creature. All nature rejoiced when with him, and the lay "Laudate"<sup>2</sup> of the royal prophet seemed forever on his lips. Well could he write of "true and perfect joy,"<sup>3</sup> for it was always in his heart and round about him.

But this intense love of nature, this perfect harmony between his inner being and the rest of God's image in the outward creation, made St. Francis a poet, we might say an artist, in the truest sense of the word. Every artist is a poet. The history of the great masters amply illustrates this. We know how the genius of Giovanni Santi followed that of Petrarch and Dante, and how the father of the immortal Raphael was celebrated in his day alike for his verses and his paintings. Young Raphael himself was, as Lanzi informs us, a poet. Even Leonardo da Vinci, in spite of his practical turn of mind, has left us some verses. And most of the great painters of the early Italian school were enthusiastic students of Dante.

On the other hand, there exists a close and necessary connection between true art and Religion. Indeed art is a species of religion, in which man pays homage to the divine Beauty. Such was the idea of art even among the Greeks in its best days. When high ideals in religion are united to most perfect natural forms, whether

<sup>1</sup> My dear little sisters, sweet innocent doves,—yes, I am going to save you from death and build you little nests.

<sup>2</sup> 148 Ps.

<sup>3</sup> De vera et perfecta lœtitia—cited by Wadding.

expressed in harmony of sound, or in painting, or in sculpture, we have art in its truest sense.<sup>1</sup> The mystic school of art had its source in the realization of the highest ideal of divine love expressed in the purest types of nature. If we trace the origin of the two most characteristic fruits in the life of St. Francis, his asceticism and his love of nature, we shall find the one source an intense love, which made him identify everything about him with the motives of his Maker. This love terminates in a complete union with the divine will, and produces that harmony between the creature and his creator, identical in a manner with intuition, wherein the soul communes with God directly and faith yields to limited vision. No better argument than the fact of St. Francis can be brought against the assertion of Victor Cousin, that "he who pretends to commune with God in this mystic way, does thereby ignore Him in his manifestations in nature," and that such communication "is a dream and an incredible rashness." Surely no one could have believed in God more essentially through "His manifestations in nature," whilst few saints were more closely united to Him, receiving, as he did, almost all the important commissions regarding the institute of his order, like Moses, directly from God. With St. Francis self no longer existed. It was merged in God. And when he looked upon nature he saw it, too, acting in harmony with that sublime sentiment of entire unselfishness, so beautifully expressed in the lines of a German poet:

O welcher reine heilige Edelmuth  
In der Natur und rings im All,  
Wo Eins dem Andern, und wo Alles Allen  
Mitwirkung, Hilfe, alle seine Kraft  
Und Liebe, selbst sein eignes schoenes Dasein  
Herzinnig treu, mit stiller Freudigkeit  
Dahingibt, ohne je daran zu denken  
Ob auch ein Stäubchen nur dadurch bezahlt sei.

In reality this spirit has always done more, for art as even for abstract science, than did brush, or chisel, or toiling brain. The most devout painters have been more successful as Christian artists than those who possessed the secrets of perfect technique or the most accurate knowledge of anatomy. We know<sup>2</sup> how Cardinal di Lugo, that giant mind, went in his subtle perplexities of theology to consult the boyish novice John Berchmans, that God might re-

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<sup>1</sup> Ruskin goes so far as to maintain that the realization of the divine presence in nature, and the love of nature which springs from and accompanies this consciousness are essential to and the only promise of true art.—*Mod. Painters*, vol. iii., p. 313.

<sup>2</sup> *Vict. Cousin's Lect.*, Wright's translation, p. 103.

<sup>3</sup> *Essay on the interest and characteristics of the Lives of the Saints*, by F. W. Faber.



veal to the prayers of the saint the science withheld from his own comprehensive intellect. Hence, when we come to judge of the effect of this asceticism upon art, we must lay aside the rules of the connoisseur. "Mysticism," says Rio,<sup>1</sup> "is to painting what ecstasy is to psychology. It is necessary, in order to estimate it correctly, to associate ourselves by a strong and profound sympathy to certain religious ideas, with which this artist in his studio, or that monk in his cell have been more particularly preoccupied, and combine the results of this preoccupation with the corresponding sentiments in the minds of their fellow-citizens."

As St. Francis worshipped beauty because it spoke to him of God, the eternal Beauty, reflected in nature, so he found himself drawn to rival nature, or to seek its choicest types, and to beautify, by his own hand, whatever was, in an especial manner, to image forth that heavenly splendor, or to enhance its appreciation among men.

The habitations of his monks were to be severely simple. "*Habentes quibûs tegamur his contenti sumus*," he said, with the apostle. We remember how, on one occasion, he became all aglow with holy indignation when, on one of his visitations, he found that the monks had, with much labor, built a magnificent convent; and how it took all the influence of Cardinal Hugolino, the then protector of the order, to pacify him. "*Nostram hanc domum non agnosco*," he called out, "*neque meos fratres reputo qui in illa permanerint*."<sup>2</sup> But when he reared altars and temples to the Most High, his zeal for their adornment knew no limit. He wanted to be poor, and no other saint in the Church has so entirely made that title of *il povero di Dio* his own. His patrimony he gave for the restoration of a church. Long before he had laid the foundation of the order of Friars Minors, he had devoted himself entirely to the reconstructing and beautifying of the house of God. He went from door to door begging alms, crying aloud in the market-place: "Come, help me to build the Church of St. Damian." It was a passion with him, and people wondered what he meant. Yet he went on restoring. Church after church arose, newly adorned; St. Damian, St. Peter Apostle, and the Portiuncula, in his native city of Assisi. Cardinal Newman tells us somewhere that it was architecture which directed the thoughts of one of the most zealous priests<sup>3</sup> he ever knew towards the Catholic faith. Well, it was architecture which, though in another way, led our Saint to the reform of the spiritual edifice that was swaying to and fro amidst many conflicting elements. When, prostrate before the crucifix in the church, he had first heard the voice of his Lord, bidding him rise and uphold his

<sup>1</sup> The Poetry of Christian Art. p. 122.

<sup>2</sup> Vita S. Francisci, Boll.

<sup>3</sup> The Rev. Hutchison, of the London Oratory.

tottering house, he applied the command as referring entirely to the material church. Yet God had meant it in another sense, and the saint was imperceptibly drifting towards the accomplishment of God's will by beginning his task in this way. With his own hands he set in order and embellished whatever about God's habitation was out of order, and when in after days he found a lovely spot, he would dedicate it to the special glory of the Most High, by raising there a chapel or an altar, or a niche in which to place the statue of some saint, so that it might remind the passing wanderer how good God is in giving us such beautiful things. In a lovely grove between Gemini and Porcaria he erected a church in honor of the Blessed Virgin, very like to the one of St. Maria de Angelis, in Portiuncula. We read, in his life, how, returning from Arezzo to Florence, he was compelled by sickness to stop a few days at Gangheretti. God had blessed the place by causing a fountain to spring up at the request of the languishing saint. As if to guard and beautify the spot where "God had been," he employed the brief time of his convalescence in building a wall about and adorning it.

Thus his love made him happy, for he was ever in full harmony with all that surrounded him. We said above that St. Francis was a poet. In point of time he is one of the first of Italian poets; no less in point of true and deep inspiration. "He burned, all on fire with love," says the author of the last life of St. Teresa,<sup>1</sup> "and that heavenly flame inspired simple but immortal verses." What he has left us of his unquestioned compositions shows that he was not neglectful of form. Poetry in all ages has had two principal sources, one secular, the other religious. Thus, at the time of St. Francis, the Provençal minnesinger sang in glowing words of his lady-love, and the Oriental element imported by the returning crusaders had done nothing to change the existing tendency towards the creation of a voluptuous literature. On the other hand, we find in Italy a healthy element of Christian poetry, asserting its sway from Dante down to Tasso, and beyond. And the sources of this stream, says Brockhoff,<sup>2</sup> we find in St. Francis and his disciples. A celebrated troubadour, whose real name has not come down to us, but who passed among the people as the "king of poets" (*rex versuum*), went one day, in frivolous mood, to hear the strange Assisian preach. Then he laid down his gold-and-purple-trimmed mantle, and begged the garb of a Franciscan monk from our saint. No longer did Brother Pacifico delight the princes in their banquet halls, or the people at high harvest-time; yet we cannot doubt that he sang for the monks, or that he taught St.

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<sup>1</sup> Cited in the *Civiltà Cattolica*, Quad. 774.

<sup>2</sup> Brockhoff, *Die Kloester*.

Francis to put into rhyme the hymns which the saint uttered in his wanderings, and which Brother Leo, who generally accompanied him, always noted down. St. Bonaventure tells us that amidst his frequent infirmities St. Francis often expressed a desire to hear music.<sup>1</sup> Wadding cites among his writings canticles in the vernacular and hymns for the use of the nuns of St. Clare. If we may judge from the few specimens yet remaining and accredited to him, they must have been exquisitely beautiful. There is a peculiar simplicity of style, a sweet flow of melody, in the Italian of that day. Anyone familiar with Latin will be able to enjoy the following prayer, which the saint is said to have used every day :

"O altissimo onnipotente glorioso Idio,  
 Illumina le tenebre del core mio.  
 Doname te prego per tua gran bontade  
 Fede drita, speranza certa, con perfecta charitade.  
 E fame da mi havere perfectio cognoscimento  
 A ciò che sempre obserua el tuo sancto comandamento."<sup>2</sup>

"His canticum solis (*de lo frate sole*) is unquestionably," says Schlosser, in his translation of *I Cantici di S. Francesco*, "one of the finest productions of sacred poetry." The hymns *In foco amor mi mise*, and *Amor de caritade*, found in the works of St. Bernadine of Siena, are, by the weighty authority of Ireneo Affo, attributed to Fra Jacopone, the worthy forerunner of Dante. Yet they breathe all the spirit of St. Francis. Thus sang the Saint. Like a prophecy, reminding us of holy Simeon at once and Zachary, are the last words, the song of the dying swan, when prostrate on the ground, blind, and too weak to reach his beloved Assisi, he turns towards the cherished city with these prophetic words :

"Benedicta tu civitas a Domino  
 Quia per te multæ animæ salvabuntur  
 Et in te multi servi altissimi habitabunt  
 Et de te multi eligentur ad regnum æternum."<sup>3</sup>

How soon the blessing was verified. Less than forty years after, Assisi had sent out of her noviciate 200,000 monks, bearing the seeds of the spirit of St. Francis into every land on the globe.

<sup>1</sup> Ad jucunditatem spiritus excitandam alicujus audiendi soni harmoniaci desiderium habuisset. Vita S. Francisci.

<sup>2</sup> "O almighty, glorious God on high, enlighten the darkness of my heart. Grant me, I pray Thee, in Thy bounty, right faith, firm hope, and perfect charity. And let me plainly know myself, so that I may ever observe Thy holy laws."—This prayer appeared first in an ancient life of St. Clara, printed in Milan, 1492. It is not stated that St. Francis himself composed it, though there can hardly be a doubt of it.

<sup>3</sup> "Blessed art thou, O city, by the Lord, for through thee many souls shall be saved. In thee shall dwell many servants of the Most High, and out of thee many shall be chosen for eternal glory."

During his lifetime the saint had exercised great power over men. As Irnerius drew disciples around him by the fame of his learning, so St. Francis had attracted them by the rumor of his sanctity. Once they had seen him he kept them spellbound by his lovely ways. He was a beautiful man. His broad, chaste brow, and finely-chiselled features, his eyes, with their deep-dreamy joy, catching a spark whenever holy zeal prompted his heart to light them, the grace of his manner, and yet withal, his humble readiness to serve as beast of burden to the first that chose to claim such service,—all these things charmed the men that approached him, and they learned to love the things he loved, they hardly knew why; but there seemed to be so much superior wisdom and happiness in his choice. Now that he was dead, men wandered to his tomb. Assisi became the centre of inspiration, the fountain-head whence

“Many rivulets have since been turned  
Over the garden Catholic to lead  
Their living waters, and have fed its plant.”<sup>1</sup>

## II.

“Sanctitatis nova signa  
Prodierunt laude digna  
Mira valde et benigna  
In Francesco credita,”

sings Brother Thomas à Celano, in his sequence of the Saint. In truth, the effects of that sanctity were at once wonderful and new. Still in the bloom of manhood, according to years, when he left the scene of his activity, his mark was there indelibly. And its impress only deepened and intensified by the shock which his sudden summons to heaven created among those who had felt dependent on him. If there was one thing more pronounced than another, in this influence, it was the fact of a new tendency towards the love of the beautiful as it is in nature, and of its dedication by a unanimous impulse to the highest ends of man. St. Francis was, as we have seen, a poet, and his poetry pervaded, impersonated everything, so that the very atmosphere of Assisi seemed sufficient to create and nourish the inspiration of Christian art.

Let us hear the Protestant Milman on the subject, who yet fails in his attempt to explain the singular phenomenon of this influence:

“Strange it might appear that the arts, the highest luxuries, if we may so speak, of religion, should be fostered, cultivated, cherished, and distributed by those who professed to reduce Christianity to more than its primitive simplicity, its nakedness of all

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<sup>1</sup> Paradiso, Cant. xii., 96.

adornment, its poverty. Strange that these should become the most munificent patrons of art, the most consummate artists; that their cloistered palaces should be the most sumptuous in architecture, and the most richly decorated by sculpture and painting; at once the workshops and the abodes of those who executed most admirably. Assisi, the birthplace of St. Francis, the poor, self-denying wanderer over the face of the earth, who hardly owned the cord which girt him, who possessed not a breviary of his own, who worshipped in the barren mountains, whose companions were the outcasts of human society,—Assisi becomes the capital, the young, gorgeous capital of Christian art.”

He tells us, further on, that men who had an irresistible calling to be artists became Franciscans, because in that order they found those emotions which were to express themselves in art awakened, cherished, and strengthened. And no doubt, as the youth of Europe eager after science journeyed to Bologna, so that in a short time the two great bodies of the university, the Citramontani and the Ultramontani, counted among their hearers students from more than thirty different nationalities, so the youth that loved the arts came from afar to Assisi, there to gather inspiration and gain schooling. And in this concourse of the best geniuses a pious rivalry arose, giving an ever fresh impulse to the work that was going on. With noble generosity each left a monument of his achievements at the tomb of St. Francis as a token of gratitude to him to whom they felt that they owed all. Not a church or chapel, not a convent wall or ceiling in that favored city which is not sacred with the touch of some inspired brush. It is one vast academy, containing the noblest creations of human genius and piety; and though age has destroyed much of that which, after all, was but the faint expression of so much that is noble and admirable in the Christian's soul, yet there remains enough to make that single town of Assisi, even at this day, the choicest collection of purely Christian art.

The disciples of St. Francis, who in his own day could be counted by thousands, who could be met with in every town and city throughout Italy, and even beyond the Alps and the sea, these perpetuated the spirit of their holy founder. It was not strange, then, that in the face of this new growth of feeling and devotion, the old mummy-like images of the Byzantine school were unable any longer to awaken a responsive echo in the soul of the Christian. Painting up to that time had been entirely in the hands of the Greeks. Their stiff, often grotesque forms, conventional coloring, and unnatural drapery had nothing in them of the ancient grace of their early masters. The new generation, growing up under the monastic discipline and general influence in all spheres of life of the Friars Minor, missed the freshness, the life, the something with a seraph touch in it at which their own hearts could catch fire.

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<sup>1</sup> Milman's *Latin Christianity*, vol. viii., p. 477.

But the young artist, the devout painter who drew the breath of inspiration from the hallowed Grotto of Alvernia, him they understood, and quickly his fame spread, and the builders and the guardians of God's house sought him out, that he might breathe life into the walls, which were to instruct their people and at the same time fitly enshrine the holy of holies.

Some writers have dated the beginning of the mystic school from Gentile da Fabriano, perhaps because at that time it presents a more marked contrast to the Florentine and Bolognese schools, to which the anything but beneficial patronage of the Medici gave eventually so dangerous a direction that it actually undid much of the work of St. Francis by substituting the love of nature for its own sake in place of that love for God's sake. Other writers place Oderisio Gubbio at the head of this school, whilst the honor of having been the first at least to abandon the manner of the Greeks is generally accorded to Cimabue. And yet such men as Giunta Pisano, Guido of Sienna, and others of the same day, unquestionably pointed the way to this departure. An old inscription, mentioned by P. Angeli, says of Giunta that he was the first Italian artist.<sup>1</sup>

It is true that in the works of these early painters there is still a great deal of indecision. It could hardly be otherwise. Art is not in every stage of its life the complete expression of either the spirit or the time that produces it. The soul may be said to be breathed into the rough mass of solid stone in the very conception of the artist, but it wants time to assume shape and form and become the perfect reflection of the original mind. It is in the mature man's face that we trace the peculiar character which is his, developed, indeed, in action, but there in all its peculiarity from the days of his babyhood. Thus these artists served as the connecting link between St. Francis and the most perfect exponents in art of his spirit. They gathered the seed and scattered it about the surrounding mountains and valleys, and it was some time before the new flowers grew up to perfume the air about with their sweet odors. As for Giunta, he was certainly under the direct influence of St. Francis. We know that he went to see him at Assisi, where, as we gather from Lanzi, he painted the first known portrait of the Saint. Soon after the death of the latter he returned to Assisi, and here has left us his best pictures. His paintings in the Church of the Angioli are far superior to the best efforts of the Byzantine school, both in truth to human expression and in disposition of the drapery. He also directed the paintings that were to honor St. Francis in his church at Pisa, which Cimabue and Giotto, it appears, afterwards completed. "These paintings may

<sup>1</sup> Juncta Pisanus ruditer a Græcis instructus

Primus ex Italis artem apprehendit circa. Ann. Sal., 1210.

be ruder, but they are not less expressive than the floating forms of Guido or Murillo."<sup>1</sup>

Next in order we have Cimabue. He also had learned his art from the Greeks, and his early manner strongly betrays their style. All at once, however, he seems to have come under the spell of St. Francis. There is a picture of the Saint and various little legends surrounding it in the Church of Santa Croce accredited to him, and bearing decided marks of Byzantine training. If it be authentic, which Lanzi doubts, it certainly indicates the direction which his genius took. It seems as if he had vowed henceforth to paint only for the glory of our Saint. In Pisa he completed an altar-piece for the Sons of St. Francis. He then went to Assisi. Here, as in the case of Giunta, we find his best productions. "None of his frescoes," says Lanzi, "give so good an idea of Cimabue's power as the truly magnificent paintings in the Church of Assisi." Here we see the evangelists and doctors of the Church instructing the monks of the Franciscan Order, executed with an originality of conception and arrangement altogether new in the light of contemporary works.

But Giotto still excels him. The paintings of both masters are side by side. Giotto too, true to the love that gave birth to his conceptions, chose for the principal subject of his brush the life of St. Francis. He became the model for generations throughout Tuscany. With him at the same fountain drank Dante. As in the days of Pericles, so there existed at this time a close resemblance of spirit between the art of poetry and that of painting. It was but natural, then, that there should likewise exist an intimate friendship between men of similar talent and like aims. Dante seems even at one time to have given his attention to painting under Giotto's guidance. He certainly was a master in the art of drawing, and we have it on the authority of Benvenuto da Imola<sup>2</sup> and of Baldinucci, in his *Life of Giotto*, that the latter painted at Naples from designs drawn for him by Dante. We may here add the name of Oderisio da Gubbio, who painted with Giotto. Imagine the intercourse of these three men, great souls, inspired by the same noble motives, they pictured, each in his way, yet all in the same grand way, the glories of St. Francis. They have likewise immortalized each other. The undoubtedly most correct portrait of Dante which we have is from the hand of Giotto, whose praises in turn, together with those of Oderisio, are chanted in the melodious stanzas of the *Divina Commedia*.

Restless in his activity and zeal, we see Giotto, so like his holy

<sup>1</sup> "Schools and Masters of Painting." A. G. Radcliffe.

<sup>2</sup> "Comento al Canto XI. del Purg.," cited from "Vita di Dante," Leon. Aretino.

patron, spreading the newly-learned gospel of his art in all the cities of Italy, from Naples to Lombardy, and beyond.

We must pass over a host of great painters, masters such as Orcagna, Gentile da Fabriano,—so truly the gentle, in name and in character,—the Bartolos, especially Taddeo, and that remarkable devotee of St. Francis, Margaritone of Arezzo, all in turn continuing and swelling the stream that had its source on Mount Alverno. Following the central line of the Apennines, we see it dividing, one branch with sportive and sounding current passing up into the Romagna, the other peacefully and gently flowing southward through Umbria and towards the Eternal City, both reaching out far into the next century, and inundating with their sweet fresh waters the charming valleys of Italy. And looking north, we meet an angel keeping guard over the waters. His white robe is that of the Sons of St. Dominic. With Fra Angelico the Dominicans take the lead in the field of Christian art. Did the angelic youth of Fiesole, so superior in his way, owe aught to St. Francis of Assisi? We shall see.

It is admitted on all hands that Fra Angelico studied Giotto's manner of painting with great assiduity. His angels—and in these he excels—are imitations of the great master-disciple of Assisi, with only the difference that Angelico applied purer colors. This fact alone might be sufficient to convince us that the genius which St. Francis had diffused about him must likewise have touched the young Dominican. We have seen how the flame that issued from the seraphic patriarch had laid its hold even on St. Dominic, in spite of his totally different genius; how he had sought out St. Francis, sat at his feet to listen to his tales of divine love, and eagerly asked permission to be present at the general chapter of the Friars Minor. He wished to learn from men who had no other school than that of charity, no training but that of unlimited obedience in executing works of love, no doctrine but that of Christian poverty and humility. Whilst his was the lofty intellect appointed by God to gather the straying minds, to confound the heresy of the Albigenses, to crush the serpent's head of a false philosophy, St. Francis was the heart overflowing with affectionate sympathy for his fallen brethren, at war with one another, and without peace in themselves. To him had been assigned the giant task to stay the tide of the lust of the eyes, the passions of the flesh, and to counteract the false asceticism which had taken form in the vagaries of the Waldenses. Yet if we may be permitted to judge the comparative strength of two such giants, so different in parts yet exercising a mutual attraction towards each other, we should incline to call St. Francis the stronger. Love informing the will exercises a greater strain than intellect, convincing and moving to action. And like his



master must have felt the disciple, the pure, the simple-hearted Fra Angelico. How often he traversed, as we read in his life, the beautiful valley between Foligno and Assisi to where St. Francis lay entombed and his daughter in Christ, St. Clare; and there, before the masterpieces we have mentioned, he kindled his devotion and animated his genius, for both were one with him; the handling of his brush was but a prayer of the uplifted soul in contemplation. Looking at his own pictures, and there are comparatively few that remain, we find St. Francis introduced wherever the unity in the conception of his subject permitted it. In almost all his more remarkable pictures of the Blessed Virgin the seraphic saint figures prominently.

If the teacher ordinarily transmits his predilections and his zeal to his pupils, Benozzo Gozzoli, the cherished disciple of Fra Angelico, stands as another proof of the spirit which animated the holy friar of San Marco. "Gozzoli," says Rio,<sup>1</sup> "is another star which contributed to the formation of the crown of glory by which the arts encircled the tomb of St. Francis." His pictures are almost transparent in their chaste purity, singularly so those found in the Franciscan church at Montefalco. When he had to paint the portrait of St. Francis he frequently copied the picture at San Marco. Strange to say, when Benozzo left these pure mountain regions to go to Florence, he seemed to lose his inspiration. His works executed between 1464 and 1467 are said to rise scarcely above mediocrity. Yet the frescoes at Pisa, painted in the decline of his years, are simply marvels of what has been called the patriarchal style of Christian art.<sup>2</sup>

We might go on recounting painters, not only such as nourished their talents with the spirit communicated to them by men who had stood in direct relation to the Saint and his order, but such as were devoted to St. Francis as if he were still their only master; who learned nothing from those whom he had taught, but all from himself; artists who flocked to the place of his birth, to the principal scene of his activity and now his earthly resting-place, as if to invoke the aid of his spirit where they could be nearest to his remains—Pinturicchio and Perugino, whose art was so exquisite that it seemed altogether new—*perdita si fuerat pingendi hic retulit artem; si nusquam inventa est, hactenus ipse dedit*,<sup>3</sup> Francia also, friend and rival of Raphael, with Giacomo his son and Giuglio his relative, who sought shelter even in death in the Church of St. Francis, where they are buried. Raphael himself, in his earlier works, has acknowledged the tribute he owed to St. Francis. And

<sup>1</sup> "The Poetry of Christian Art," p. 133.

<sup>2</sup> These have been restored lately, but, according to accounts, to their utter ruin.

<sup>3</sup> Inscription cited by Orsini.

when the Renaissance had given a new turn to art, even then Assisi was still the place where best men sought inspiration, and St. Francis still remained the subject and his glory the object of their labors. There was always enough to allure the artist to that singular spot, independent of the devout memory he might entertain of the saint. The eleven or twelve communities of Franciscans, in devout procession moving to the tomb of the Saint, their solemn chants, above all, the stirring harmonies of the patriarchal choir, famous by the traditions of several ages, would attune the soul to the right appreciation of those marvellous frescoes that adorn the walls. Wherever the eye turns, from chancel to choir, naves all and dome, even the mosaicked floors, are wrought by the hands of the Umbrian masters. Nay, the streets of the city itself are full of devout representations in painting, many of rare artistic merit, all breathing the love and spirit of St. Francis.

Even architecture contributes here in an altogether unique way to verify what we have said in the beginning, that the genius of St. Francis had impersonated everything. The architectural structure of the Grand Basilica in Assisi expresses perfectly the idea of the life of St. Francis. "An Italian writer," says the Abbé Riche,<sup>1</sup> "sees in the creation of so wonderful a monument a supernatural effect of divine Providence. He finds himself unable to explain in any other way its appearance at an age when mankind appeared scarcely to awake from barbarism and ignorance."

Roman architecture, such as it existed before this time, expressed on the whole the idea of rest, of strength. It was, as such, not unworthy as an expression of the Christian faith and the security which it had begotten. But lately, the times had become troubled, not, indeed, with the troubles of the early persecutions, when men felt safest as they approached the torture-block—no, these were other troubles. Darkness of pride and strifes and false lights had dimmed the air, and they that felt the stifling atmosphere looked up and sought the pure light of the noonday, and prayed with raised heart and eye, as we see St. Francis pray, in ecstatic longing for the light. The Gothic architecture expressed, so to say, the new feeling. It was a striving upwards. Its long slender columns supporting the pointed arch seemed to end in heaven, all pointed to the infinite that awaits man. But we see much more than this in the temple which enshrines the remains of St. Francis. There are here two churches,—we might say three,—one within the other. In them we have the twofold aspect of his life. His penitence, with its train of voluntary poverty, sacrifices, and suffering resignation, symbolized in the tomb of the saint, who lies there on the ground as he had desired to die, poor, with barely a shroud to cover him;

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<sup>1</sup> "Fioretti," by Abbé Riche.

and his monument, the little church of Portiuncula, built with his own hand and still untouched as he had left it. And high above it there tower in noble proportion the marble columns and Gothic dome, speaking to the beholder without his asking for the meaning of the symbol, of glorious and immortal transfiguration. Whilst the inner edifice pronounces the idea of humility, of sweet sadness, that plaintive, childlike hope which is at once full of diffidence in self and trust in the strength on which it leans; the other expresses that ineffable joy which knows no limits and no bounds, rising higher and higher until it touches immortality. It was a beautiful but difficult thought to express. Nowhere has it been more successfully done than in this epic in stone at Assisi.

How much more might be said to show how the spirit of St. Francis was the mainspring which produced not merely the enthusiasm and true love for the beautiful in art, but which gave to it at the same time subject, style, and artist, all, in fact, that made Christian art what it was in the Middle Ages.

And wherever the Sons of St. Francis went, whatever the name or garb or particular rule under which they perpetuated throughout long ages his teachings and his spirit, everywhere we see traces of that same enthusiasm for the arts. The convents and churches of the monks became the treasure-houses and nurseries of painting and sculpture. Raphael, Guido Reni, Domenichino, gave them the best of their pencils in Rome. The Church of St. Francis at Rimini became one of the wonders of the age, for here worked, next to Giotto, his most illustrious disciples, and Giorgio da Rimini, who loved to call himself Giorgio Francesco. But it is time that we conclude our sketch.

Perhaps the reader has, to some extent, realized what the love of God in a single individual is able to effect for the benefit of succeeding generations. Art is certainly a valuable element in the production of human happiness, and the very eagerness with which even its shadow and its counterfeit are sought, stands in confirmation of this truth. May we not hope for a chaster growth of true and elevated taste from the intercession of St. Francis? Our venerable Pontiff, Leo XIII., has seen opportune to recommend, with fatherly solicitude, devotion to the Saint as a powerful means of counteracting the existing evils of modern society. And whilst in reality the conditions of our present society are fundamentally different from those in the thirteenth century, when there was still a strong faith underlying all the vagaries of the human intellect and heart, yet the spirit of St. Francis, if we could revive it in its freshness, would heal many wounds, would undoubtedly diffuse a purer atmosphere round about the world of art. The humble monk out of the dark ages, he could bring light to us. May he vouchsafe to do so!

## FREQUENT COMMUNION.

*Joannis Bapt. Franzelin e Soc. Jesu.* S. R. E. Cardinalis.

*Tractatus de SS. Eucharistiæ Sacramento et Sacrificio.* Romæ: Ex. Typog. Polyglotta S. C. de Prop. Fide, 1879.

*De Re Sacramentaria, Prælectiones Scholasticæ Dogmaticæ, quas habebat Aem. M. De Augustinis, S. J.* Woodstock: Ex offic. typog. Collegii, 1878.

*Theologiæ Dogmaticæ Compendium,* H. Hurter, S. J.

*Œniponte.* Libraria Academica Wagner, 1881.

*Le Confesseur de la Jeunesse.* Rev. Père L. J. M. Cros, S. J. Toulouse, 1877.

THE works here mentioned are a standing proof, if such were needed, of the untiring zeal of that great Society which has produced and still presents innumerable champions in every field of literature, and especially those who do valiant service not only in battling against error in its many modern forms, but also in presenting the entire system of the faith once delivered to the saints reasonably and distinctly. In every age, from their institution by St. Ignatius, and in nearly every country, they have been eminently the great thinkers of the Church, from the Council of Trent to that of the Vatican, in each of which their learning and piety were most conspicuous. Yet the practical work, enduring beyond any praise, is probably to be found in the vast erudition of their theologians, who constantly are engaged in enriching the Church of the living God, the mother they love so well, by their marvellous talent in presenting clearly and definitely the most abstruse doctrines, and making the same to be living verities for the salvation of souls.

This is, indeed, the ulterior motive of the existence of that Society which has for its motto the symbol A. M. D. G.—*Ad majorem Dei gloriam*—emblazoned on its banner. And since the greater glory of God consists in the salvation of souls by making known the truth, it has always been the aim of these faithful soldiers of the cross to excel in leading men to a knowledge of the means divinely instituted to attain the end of creation; to know, reverence, and adore their Creator, and thus forever be happy.

The means of advancing in this nobler life of the soul, or spiritual life, are found in the Church, which teaches authoritatively all truth. They may be called, in some sense, subjective and objective. The former require, at all events, some correspondence with Divine grace; the latter include this, indeed, but by the institution of Christ possess in themselves an active principle, whereby cer-

tain graces, not otherwise attainable, are conveyed to the soul of him who places no positive hindrance in the way. The former, always supposing sufficient foregoing grace to act, consist in a thoughtful consideration of one's origin, destiny, and condition,—an examination of one's life; meditation on truths which constantly present themselves to sober minds; and finally, prayer, as the outburst of our needs to Him who can help us.

The Sacraments, however, are of an infinitely greater value, for they are the channels of God's mercy to man, and by the will of Jesus Christ, their Founder and Author, have the power of conveying to the soul that grace which they signify; and this takes place by their own intrinsic worth wheresoever an absolute hindrance be not interposed. This efficacy is contained in each, according to its nature and the object of its institution, which object varies, indeed, according to the different conditions of life, covering every state of society in which men are found. The Sacraments, therefore, offer a complete armor against human frailty, or they lift fallen and disabled nature, which was never destroyed, but only wounded and weakened by original sin, and further depressed by actual transgressions; they give to our lives some foretaste of eternal peace; they elevate our minds to heavenly desires and make us wish for our heritage of true dignity.

Since, then, these are the chief means by and through which we can attain salvation, and since these learned theologians have compressed whole libraries into brief and concise shape, as witnessed above, it would be no easy task to formulate sufficient praise for the work accomplished. In order to do so, it would require something of the immense learning they themselves possess, for, speaking in their praise seems like the work of a tyro in arithmetic daring to discuss concerning numbers with a perfect and accomplished mathematician. To any, even the most superficial, reader, however, it must occur that the magnificent apparatus of doctrinal proof from the teaching of the Church, as shown by plain texts of Holy Scripture, not wrested or twisted to agree with preconceived opinions, but interpreted by the best hermeneutical and exegetical skill; the coinciding testimony of the Fathers, whose works are not ransacked and ravaged and forced to say what the writers never could have thought, and what is incoherent with all the rest of their writings, but the well-weighed-out teachings which are in perfect harmony with the body of doctrine they elsewhere inculcate—*simplex duntaxat et unum*. The doctors of the Church, whether Latin or Greek, fully collated, dispassionately interpreted, clearly understood by the ever living practical voice of tradition, are here marshalled in battle array before the thoughtful student. Well may the saints sing pæans of holy triumph for the overwhelming

victory of the infallible Church, which is ever conquering, for she has and maintains superiority as the unflinching witness of truth throughout all ages.

¶We may very fairly infer that our faith is little likely to suffer any diminution when such works, in marked earnestness, are constantly being edited, for they are but the echo of the living voice of these erudite professors, who have youth under their charge from every part of the world, drinking in deep draughts of wisdom from the fountain and source of truth. The vigor of a living voice in the lecture-room, the magnetism of contact with active and energetic young minds, throbbing with anxious questionings, may be wanting in the dead reading of a book, however interesting that book may be. But in these works we seem to live again, and far from having undergone any diminution, our ardor is in full flow. Not only the young student, but even the advanced theologian feels himself in an incomparably better condition than in former days. Here are the forcible arguments of all time placed before us in the most succinct manner; here we have easy access to the studies of those who have borne the toil of the day and the heat; here are the well-formed conclusions of those who have collected from the most recondite, and to us inaccessible sources, all the learning of our predecessors. Not only these hidden stores have been lavishly bestowed upon us, but the modern wealth of science, the true as well as that "falsely so-called" is not ignored, but duly grappled with by these men who spend their venerable lives in laboring for posterity.

He who reaps the greatest advantage is, perhaps, not the student, just making his course of theology, but rather the priest who is on the mission, yet wishes to keep himself fairly well informed in what is to few an alluring study; for it is given to a very small number to have passed more than the mere threshold of the mighty temple of Theology. Now, he who is thrown into the carking cares of an ill-supplied mission has hardly any time to spare in gathering up the arguments of former years, or collecting the apt similes of the Fathers, however striking they may be. Over and above the fact that a full set of these authorities is certainly not possessed by one in a thousand, even if the works were on hand, how many would have time, or patience, supposing even ability to undertake the search after testimonies, the collating of them when found, the joining of them together into one synoptic whole, and, finally, the deducing of practical arguments. We remember that a very learned Father once had the kindness to say to us that the only method of knowing an author, and, particularly, any of the Fathers, is by reading him through and through. How few have done this with any theological work?

What shall we say of the ponderous tomes of the Greek and Latin Fathers? Only those can have done so who had material time at their disposal.

Here, on the other hand, we have no want of industry ; no deficit of time unapplied ; here is no deficiency in collecting, arranging, examining, and putting in system, what would cost years of trouble, as it costs the learned writers lives of toil and assiduity, to collect and place in form before us a perfect harvest of well-selected crops.

These, surely, are reasons for thankfulness to the authors, quite in keeping with the modest demeanor justly to be observed by us ; it is, therefore, by no means our purpose to speak of the relative merits of the treatises, for we admit our incompetence to criticise,—it is not our *forte*,—we rather admit the profound awe with which we look upon so much accumulated learning, and, in all sincerity, we dare to express even in public our heartfelt thankfulness, and an earnest wish that all priests may obtain the works indicated, and make a diligent use of them.

Whilst we merely indicate our appreciation of the Dogmatical part referred to, it would be well that the practical portion, especially treated by the Rev. Father Cros, S. J., should be read carefully by our clergy. Few books have ever fallen in our way more signally concise in their statements than is the work having for title *Le Confesseur de la Jeunesse*. It is a real treasure, not only for the practical direction of youth, but also of every age and condition of life. After giving in compendious words the facts belonging to Jansenism—that foul insurrection against the voice of legitimate authority, which spread insidiously and rapidly under the guise of superior sanctity, and deluded many Catholics, and left its trail of slime in so many different ways on the theology of France and Belgium and other countries—the assertion is made that the originators of this sect had a design to withdraw the faithful both from their allegiance to the Sovereign Pontiff, which was evident, and from the use of the Sacraments, especially the two which are, and ought to be, of daily importance,—Penance and Holy Communion. Whether or not they actually foresaw what would be the logical effect of their teachings, they certainly obtained such influence over the press as to possess control over many of the spiritual works thence issued, and these were thoroughly saturated with the spirit of ostentatious severity characteristic of the leaders. Instead of bringing the sinner to Christ, in showing that the name Jesus signifies, in its full sense, “He will save His people from their sins,”—St. Matth. i : 21, they represented Him as a formidable judge, who had no compassion until, by a full and rigorous course of justice, the offended majesty of God had been previously satis-

fied. The power which He exercised for the benefit of sinners seemed rather a *reward* of their own good works than a merciful bestowal of omnipotent power by God upon men for the elevation of human nature. In the false theory held by them long and multiplied expiations were requisite in order to receive a favorable sentence. The texts of Scripture which present our Lord as having come "not to call the righteous but sinners to repentance," were carefully kept in the background, whilst the terrific judgments of God upon the impenitent—and all were depraved entirely—were fitfully poured out after a truly Calvinistic method. The choice of a confessor was described as something which required a matured judgment, of which the young were incapable in the nature of things, and the old, or more advanced in years, could not reasonably be expected to make. Then, it was made to be high treason to change one's spiritual guide, and not even in religious communities was the selection free. The examination of conscience was to be made after the most strenuous style, and unless this had been rigorously carried out by the sinner he should be put off until he had done so to the satisfaction of the confessor, who was thus to impress upon his penitent the depth of his depravity. Added to all this, things were asserted to be sins which are not; precepts were made which nowhere appear as obligatory; they proclaimed that sins are possible of commission by us without any knowledge on our part; asserted the utterly depraved nature of man; insisted on the confession of such circumstances as do not change the nature of a sin; reproached in harsh tones the poor sinner who, when he comes, stands much rather in need of help and encouragement, and who has this always in his favor, that the very fact of coming of his own accord is *primâ facie* evidence of his good disposition and actual desire for advance.

The opposite of all tenderness towards the sinner was a standing proof of heresy.

But, if they thus treated the ordinary sinner who had begun to feel, from the saddest experience, his need of the grace of the Sacrament of Penance, what shall we say of the harshness with which they pursued those who fell again? They kept them from the benefit of absolution, and consequently from Communion, under the specious pretext of thus rendering themselves worthy of participating in this *reward of merit*. And to keep up this illusion they constantly kept praising the "primitive church," as they were pleased to style those ages when a system of public penance had (what they should have mentioned) only a temporary place in the polity of the Church. Thence long exhortations on the *Flentes*, or Weepers, who stood at the doors, and, bowed down in grief, testified the sincerity of their sorrow; or on the *Prostrati, Audientes, et Con-*



*sistentes*. In order to restore this pristine rigor, at least as much as possible, long and arduous penances were kept up after the siege of preparation for admission to first Communion, and between that and the subsequent one, and the intervals were made as protracted as the case would admit. Directions of such impracticable character were given, that earthly duties could not be duly attended, and thus the frequenting of the Sacraments was rendered odious, all, mark you well, under the garb of the absolute necessity of greater preparation. The worst form of Jansenism cropped out, however, in the treatment of children and young persons. They were not heard in the sacred tribunal until a definite year had been attained. Even then, despite the fact that children are very different in their precocious mental developments, absolution was invariably refused until they were about to be stretched on the Procustean couch of a first Communion year. This was a favorite theory among the Jansenists, which found not a few imitators even among those who, had they only thought, would never have permitted such perversion of right reason.

After such lengthy arraignment of some of the charges proved against the Jansenists and their adherents, the learned author gives an instruction of the Holy Father, Pius IX., of happy memory, under date March 12th, 1855, to certain French prelates concerning the insufficient manner in which children are prepared for their first Communion, and the time and the method of taking care of them spiritually, both before and after. This instruction is given by the author in full, and deserves very particular mention.

"It has been represented to His Holiness that sacramental absolution is refused to young folks before their first Communion, leaving them, one cannot say on what theological principles, even up to the age of twelve or fourteen years, in a truly dangerous state, in a spiritual point of view.

"Moreover, that even after their admission for the first time to the Holy Table, it is usual to debar them from Communion, even at the Paschal season, and to keep them from the same for a long time, in some places.

"And that there are even seminaries where the custom reigns of keeping the young pupils for several months from Holy Communion, under the pretext of making a riper preparation.

"Knowing of what importance the Sacraments of Penance and the Eucharist are for keeping and preserving the innocence of youth; knowing that the frequent use of the Sacraments contributes admirably to the budding piety of these young hearts, we could hardly admit the exactness of these charges, despite the authority of those who attested them; nevertheless, information

taken from various places established the fact that in a notable measure the *désordres signalés* really exist.

"In consequence, the Holy Father, wishing to put an end to practices so contrary to the spiritual interests of youth, . . . asks you to reform such method, it being opposite to the spirit and discipline of the Church.

" . . . Thus we shall see that young people are everywhere admitted, in a suitable manner, to the frequenting of the Sacraments, and the deplorable customs to the contrary will disappear."

The plan, therefore, of keeping young people from the benefit of the actual use of the Sacraments is distinctly condemned.

In reference to the age at which a child is bound to make the Paschal duty, we have the *minimum* fixed by the IV. Council of Lateran: "Postquam ad annos discretionis pervenerit, semel saltem confiteatur, suscipiens, reverenter, ad minus in Pascha, Eucharistiae Sacramentum." The age of discretion is certainly not the same for all children, but the weight of authority seems to denote the obligation as certainly binding in the tenth year; no *minimum* is in any way fixed for permission to give Holy Communion, beyond the general words of the Council of Trent, session xxi., chap. iv., "Eadem Sancta Synodus docet, parvulos, *usu rationis carentes*, nulla obligari necessitate ad sacramentalem Eucharistiae Communionem," whilst, in like manner, St. Thomas teaches, "quando jam pueri incipiunt *aliqualem usum rationis* habere, ut possint devotionem concipere hujus Sacramenti, tunc potest eis hoc Sacramentum conferri."

If the adage, "train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it," be the Scriptural expression of "the twig being bent, the tree will be inclined," nothing can be of greater importance than the anticipating of evil in the tender mind of the child, by having our Lord to take possession before actual evil has had the chance to find a resting-place. As the Sacraments are not a recompense of virtues which we possess, but remedies against vice, and auxiliary forces divinely appointed, and necessary for even good wills, we should see that the child be placed betimes in proper guardianship. Now, since the year of one's first Communion is usually the best spent, and experience seems to state that after one's first Communion there is still and always marked need of sacramental grace, frequency of Communion should be inculcated, since Christ does not say: "If you receive absolution you shall have life,—he who receiveth absolution remains in me and I in him," but He does say: "He that eateth Me, the same also shall live by Me."

Not only has no law ever been made discountenancing frequent

Communion, but, on the contrary, the most ancient voice of the Church, the perpetual tradition as handed down by the Fathers, councils, and saints, as well as by all orthodox spiritual advisers, inculcates the advisability and even necessity of approaching often to this eternal fount of divine assistance.

What, then, are the dispositions absolutely required to make a fruitful communion? The Council of Trent, Sess. xiii., Chap. vii., says expressly: "Ecclesiastica consuetudo declarat eam probationem necessariam esse, ut nullus sibi conscius mortalis peccati, quantumvis sibi contritus videatur, absque præmissa sacramentali confessione ad Sacram Eucharistiam accedere debeat."

In order to approach Holy Communion in such manner as to fulfil the apostle's precept, "Let a man prove himself" (1 Cor. xi., 28), it is not required that more should necessarily be done than to use such diligence as would be manifested by men who are seriously engaged in a matter of importance in every-day life. This in strict necessity requires, for the purpose in hand, a diligent inspection of those sins which are known to a man's conscience to be weighty, and the conscience of each is sure to speak when untrammelled. Should still further guidance in knowing sins be required, the spiritual director will judiciously impart the same. Then, detesting these sins, with an earnest purpose of amendment, make a true and entire confession of them, with a willingness to accept and perform the satisfaction imposed. Should it happen, as it very frequently does, that nothing serious weighs the conscience, there is no law to hinder an approach to Holy Communion, and the fruit will certainly be produced by the efficacy of the Sacrament in virtue of the promise of Christ: "He who eateth Me, the same shall live by Me" (St. John vi., 58). In either case there will be no fear of falling under the terrible ban of the apostle of "eating or drinking . . . unworthily . . . not discerning the Body of the Lord" (1 Cor. xi., 27-29). This takes away the smallest pretext of calling the Sacrament of Penance a torture of conscience, *conscientiæ carnificinam*, so much harped upon by ancient and modern heretics, and it entitles the sinner to that repose of soul which is otherwise not possible even on merely human grounds; much less can it be called a torture when there is a divine command to examine, and, in conformity therewith, if serious sins appear, to confess, accept guidance, and hear the application of that power which Christ exercised, promised to the Church, and daily grants, through His priests, to the suitably disposed: "Whose sins ye shall forgive, they are forgiven them; and whose sins ye shall retain, they are retained" (St. John xx., 23).

As to smaller faults, which have very justly the title of *venial*, we have distinctly the teaching of the Council of Trent, Sess. xiv.,

Chap. 5, "taceri citra culpam, multisque aliis remediis expiari possunt." Hence, whilst we may confess them with great advantage, yet there is simply no obligation, *per se*, of doing so. The Council insists that the Eucharist is remedy for past, antidote against future sins, and aliment of grace for our souls, whence the doctrine may be summed up for the comfort of timid souls, that no *antecedens*, foregoing, venial sin can hinder the effect of this Divine Sacrament. That by no accompanying, *concomitans* fault (in one free from mortal sin) is an increase of habitual grace impeded, but no increase of sensible devotion is promised at all, or probable, in such case. "Sumi autem voluit Sacramentum hoc, tanquam spiritualem animarum cibum, quo alantur et confortentur viventes vita Illius qui dixit: 'Qui manducat Me, et ipse vivet propter Me, et tanquam antidotum, quo liberemur a culpis quotidianis, et a peccatis mortalibus præservedur,' " Sess. xiii., Chap. 2.

The pious author finishes his work by stating that the whole object of it is chiefly to trace out the general method approved by the Church, through councils, doctors, and saints (whose testimony he produces), in the administration of the Sacraments of Penance and the Holy Eucharist. That these Sacraments must be used for the cure of souls, and that youth should be specially fortified by frequent approach to these sources of grace. It follows, and is subsequently touched upon, that with those who are already accustomed as young people to come to them greater fruits of sanctity may be lawfully and surely expected, but that to advance in the path of virtue without the use of the Sacraments is truly "il voler passar per l'aer' senz'ali,"—an attempt to fly wingless.



## THE IRISH SITUATION.

THE object of the following pages is to lay before the readers of this REVIEW an impartial and accurate estimate—so far as the writer is able—of the forces and factors that are at work in the solution of the Irish question at the present hour. Naturally, if not logically, the first point of consideration will be the position of the Gladstone Cabinet, and the change which the new Rules of Procedure have effected in the parliamentary machine.

A month or so ago, there were even cautious political observers ready to declare that the satisfactory results of the Egyptian campaign had secured for the government a fund of popular favor that could be drawn freely upon for a considerable period to come, and the phrase was common, even among habitual detractors of Mr. Gladstone, that he held the Premiership for life. These prophecies were made on the morrow of a victory in the field, and were naturally suffused with the glow of such an event. Popular enthusiasm with regard to the war has considerably cooled down since then. By the inevitable law of reaction, the English people have grown probably a little shamefaced over their rather disproportional self-gratulation on the defeat of a contemptible foe; and the government have still before them the enormously difficult problem of making a permanent and satisfactory settlement as to the future of Egypt. It will be necessary to make all these abatements in considering the effect of the Egyptian enterprise on the political fortunes of the government, and the final result may be to leave them just a decent balance of reputation—the record of not having done very ill, and not having done very well. Nor would it be safe to predict that, if an immediate appeal were made to the English constituencies, the result would be the return of even as large a majority as that which the Liberal party enjoys in the present House of Commons. No theme has afforded English writers a subject of more frequent self-laudation than the favorable contrast between the stability of English institutions and opinion, and the incalculable instability and fickleness of institutions operating in other lands. The institutions of England are stable; but, there is scarcely any country in the world where political opinion is subject to more sudden and more violent and unaccountable transformations. When Mr. Gladstone was Prime Minister before, his administration was free from any of the disastrous features of his second tenure of office; in the course of five years he framed measures which abolished Protestant ascendancy in Ireland, gave, or was intended to give, the first shake to the absolute power of the rich landlord, de-

stroyed by the ballot territorial and capitalist intimidation in England and Scotland as well as Ireland, put an end to the shameful corruption of purchase in the army, and conferred on the English people their first Education Act; and yet, when, apparently in the plenitude and almost the wantonness of his power, he appealed for a renewal of his mandate to the English constituencies, the English constituencies responded by casting him into impotence, and elevating a cynic, selfish and unbelieving Jew to a position of almost unequalled power. It is, therefore, impossible to predict what is the opinion of the constituencies with regard to the government, and yet it is safe to assume that its position at the present moment is very strong, and has all the superficial signs of durability.

A powerful majority in Parliament is not always a guarantee of the retention of office by a Liberal minister; there are inevitable differences of opinion between the different sections of the Liberal party which exercise a constantly disintegrating force, and under the senseless system by which a hereditary chamber of landowners is clothed with constitutional power equal to that of the chamber elected by popular suffrage, the leader of the Conservative party in the House of Peers has it always within his right to provoke a constitutional crisis. But Mr. Gladstone at the present moment seems quite free from either of these two dangers. Taking the latter peril first, the House of Lords has the characteristic timidity of hereditary chambers,—in the present year, for instance, it repudiated the leadership of the Marquis of Salisbury and swallowed the Arrears Bill,—and the House of Lords rarely exercises its veto on legislation, unless at the same time the minister is weak in the House of Commons and is but feebly backed by the country. And finally, there is this excellent reason for regarding the danger to the ministry from the House of Lords as at the moment infinitesimal: Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues have made up their minds not to be expelled from office by any vote of the House of Lords until the collision comes upon some popular measure, such as the reduction of the franchise in the English counties, which will supply the Liberal party with a splendid grievance and a catching cry. The country, then, being, so far as is known, friendly to the government, and the danger from the House of Lords being small, the key to the situation is the position of the government in the third factor of this triangular problem,—that is to say, in the House of Commons.

On this point, it is easier to use the language of exaggeration than of moderation; for, assuredly, it has rarely fallen to the lot of any man to occupy a place of such commanding authority in any popular assembly as that which is now enjoyed by Mr. Glad-

stone in the House of Commons. This is not the place to enter into a discussion of the mental or moral character of the present Prime Minister of England; it must suffice to say that, in many respects, he is, perhaps, the greatest parliamentarian the English House of Commons has ever produced. He has full command of nearly all the resources of the orator,—passion, forcible exposition of argument, lucidity of statement,—even, occasionally, effective playfulness; and the resources of his power of reply—sometimes just, and very often sophistical—even practically unlimited. He has, besides, the ideal parliamentary temper, for, though he is not supposed to be a good proof of ardor in the individual, he has a power of gathering in the feelings of the crowd around him with a rapidity that amounts to an instinct, and a nature thus readily impressionable and sympathetic enables him to accommodate his mood to that of the very moment as faithfully as the actor of genius expresses the changing temper of a Shakesperian character. It has often been remarked that a deaf man could give some fair guess as to what was going on in the House of Commons, if he could only see and closely observe the face of Mr. Gladstone,—which reflects as faithfully as the mirror, and is as changeable as the sea under the alternate sunshine and cloud of an April sky. All these great natural gifts have been cultivated to the highest point. Mr. Gladstone's knowledge is vast, his memory marvellously retentive, and he has a political and parliamentary experience that reached, on a day in the month of December, the term of fifty years. And, finally, the gifts of mind, fitness of disposition, and acquirements are set off by those physical advantages which form so large a part in the effectiveness of an orator,—a splendid face, a fine figure, and a voice that, though slightly enfeebled, is still melodious, expressive, and powerful.

Mr. Gladstone's own colleagues are said to dislike him, and, as he practically monopolizes all the talk and all the work, and stands out in relief so bold as to dwarf all surrounding men, this is intelligible. But they, at the same time, know that it is he who has the hold over Parliament, and, still more, that he is the centre of popular attention, and the target—so to speak—of popular affection and enthusiasm; and thus they obey and flatter him, and even Sir William Harcourt, who, at one time, dreamed of being a possible rival, and who passes still for being the most venomous among the whole Ministry in his hate to his chief, even Sir William Harcourt is compelled, whenever he speaks, to pour fulsome eulogies on Mr. Gladstone's head. It is the same thing, but, of course, in an exaggerated form, with the rank and file of the Prime Minister's followers. The full and swelling tide of popular enthusiasm, which floated the Liberal party into power in 1880, was the creation of

Gladstone, and of Gladstone alone; Gladstone supplied the popular cry and the magnetic name; and all the electioneering wire-puller, therefore, required, in the selection of candidates at the last General election, was a sufficiency of means,—for election contests continue to be very expensive in England,—and an orthodox faith in the goodness of Mr. Gladstone, and the wickedness of Lord Beaconsfield, the Tories, and the Turks. Nameless men were thus, in the vast majority of cases, returned for the English constituencies; the few intelligent men among the crowd,—owing to the absorption of the time of Parliament in fighting Irish obstruction or passing Irish measures of relief,—have not had any opportunity of distinguishing themselves, and nine out of ten of the entire Liberal members remain with but shadowy names to the constituencies; they knew of Mr. Gladstone, and Mr. Gladstone alone, and even a slight difference from the views of the Prime Minister,—a vote against him on an immaterial point, a feeble or brief protest against any of his remarks,—in one notable case, the mere fact of frequent speaking to the slight interruption of the Premier's plans,—any one of these trifles is sufficient to bring down on the unfortunate member a sharp protest from his constituents.

Finally, the position of Mr. Gladstone is rendered stronger by the contemptible impotency of his opponents. Sir Stafford Northcote's hopeless feebleness has procured for him the unflattering nickname of the "grand old woman." Mr. Gladstone is called by the comic journals, and in the *deshabille* of private conversation, the "grand old man." Lord John Manners is consistently lachrymose. Sir Richard Cross, pettifogging. Mr. Plunkett and Mr. Gibson—the two Irishmen who do a little to relieve the general dulness of the front Opposition bench—are unequal to the situation of leadership; the one, from incurable laziness and constitutional unreadiness; the other, because, though his tongue is fatally fertile in words, his mind is essentially narrow and bigoted. I do not wish to be flippant or irreverent; but the sight of the front Opposition bench, in the House of Commons, always recalls to my mind the row of feeble and frowsy old ladies whom one sees sparsely scattered on the evenings of a week-day in the little Bethel of one of the obscure ranting preachers of London. To sum up: what with his own great powers, the loyalty of his friends, and the feebleness of his foes, Mr. Gladstone, to-day, is supreme in Parliament; the unchecked dictator, rather than the constitutional leader of that assembly.

We have now arrived at a just estimate of one of the principal factors in the problem we are considering; we have reached the conclusion that the position of Mr. Gladstone—that is to say, of the present administration—has all the outward evidence of great



strength. Let us now proceed to the consideration of a second factor in the problem of the Irish situation at the present hour. What is the general position of the Irish party? And how is it affected by the change in the rules of the House of Commons? I may say at once, and in the most distinct terms, that these rules—in so far as it is allowable to pronounce any opinion on laws that have not as yet been brought into full operation—are effectual against Irish obstruction. To this should be added the statement that obstruction has largely helped to get for Ireland many of the great reforms of the last few years; and it would, therefore, be vain and childish to deny that an important parliamentary weapon is finally and regularly removed from the hands of the Irish parliamentarians. But in saying this I have used the words “finally and regularly,” and these words suggest a most important qualification in considering the change in the Irish parliamentary position. For, as a matter of fact, obstruction had been disposed of before the introduction of the new rules at all. Obstruction would live as long—and no longer—as the House of Commons respected its own laws and traditions. These laws and traditions once broken with, obstruction could be easily put down. The first great obstructive fight against coercion by the Irish members was terminated by the speaker's *coup d'état*. The principle laid down by Sir Henry Brand was, that the occurrence of a grave parliamentary crisis justified him in closing the debate at a certain point arbitrarily, of his own motion, and without any consultation, much less vote of the House. The action of Dr. Lyon Playfair, the chairman of committees in the present year, carried the power of the chair to a still more advanced point. He suspended, it will be remembered, a number of the Irish members together, although some of them were absent and in bed at the time of the suspension, and although the greater number of them had distinguished themselves rather by their reticence than by their activity in opposing the coercion bill. The grounds of this extraordinary decision were, that the different members were acting together, and therefore responsible for each other's conduct; and the chairman further held that, though members might not be guilty of any one act that could be called obstructive, yet it might become obstructive by a series of acts extending over a number of nights. There may have been serious misgivings with regard to these acts of high-handed authority by the speaker and the chairman of committees, and the action of the latter was freely criticised in private at the time, and since has been openly condemned; but when the opinion of Parliament came to be taken, immediately after both, the one *coup d'état* and the other, the chair was supported by the House of Commons. These two judgments thus confirmed became, therefore, the law of

Parliament; and what did the law of Parliament then come to, so far as the Irish members were concerned? First, that the speaker could, in case of emergency, establish a *clôture* on the Irish members at such moment as he thought fit; and secondly, that the speaker or chairman of committees could suspend the Irish members *en masse* whenever their hostility to any particular measure extended over a longer number of nights than seemed convenient to the ministerial mind. Whether the members were present or absent, silent or garrulous, did not matter; if there was evidence of combination—and as the members form a party and act together as a party, there is always “evidence of combination”—if there was evidence of combination, they could all be held accountable for the actions of the others. The new rules, it will be known, surround the exercise of authority with limitations from which these authoritative decisions had left the chair free. The speaker can now call for the *clôture*, but his demand must be supported by a majority of the House; and while the power of suspension is left to the chair, it must be done individually, unless when a number of men in a body join in some act of disregard to the authority of the chair, such, for instance, as refusing in a body to enter the division lobbies, as was done on the night of the arrest of Mr. Davitt. In other words, constructive obstruction—the new offence created by Dr. Lyon Playfair—is entirely done away with.

These considerations are sufficient to show that obstruction had been met, and to a large extent beaten, before the introduction of the new rules; and in connection with this feature of the situation there is one other fact which deserves to be taken into serious account. Obstruction, as a protest against a particular measure, has been made unnecessary by the government for a considerable period to come. The last coercion act was passed for the space of three years. For three years to come the Irish members have no call upon them to offer fierce and prolonged opposition to any measure of the existing administration, and, therefore, for that space of time obstruction ceases to have one of its main uses. There are two other points which can be counted on in drawing up the favorable side in the estimate of the effect which the new rules will produce on the fortunes of the Irish party. The adoption of the *clôture* introduces a novel and in many respects by no means a pleasant feature into the parliamentary struggles of English parties. Up to the present hour, fierce as these struggles have been, they have been distinguished from those of some other lands by their general freedom from personal rancor or partisan fury. The fiercest of opponents in public were often the best of friends in private; toleration for differences of opinion was an axiom not merely of Parliament, but of the political life of all

England; and there was altogether that geniality of temper in politics which is, in their better moods, one of the best characteristics of Englishmen in most of their relations in life. But the forcible suppression of speech by one party of another is a measure that must produce bitterness of feeling, and its force will be increased by the fact that this novel rule in Parliament comes at the same time as the introduction of the caucus, the "machine," and other strange implements of party warfare. It is safe, I think, to make the inference from these facts that the virus of rigid and relentless partisanship has for the first time entered into the blood of the English parties, and their loss is our gain; when they are divided, we have some chance; when they are united, we are undone. This may put one of the many excellent reasons for that vote against the two-thirds *clôture* proposed by the Tories, which has exposed Mr. Parnell and his followers to so much senseless or dishonest attacks. The second point by which the position of the Irish party is rather improved by the change of the rules is in the matter of adjournment. Every session of the house, as the majority of the readers of this REVIEW well know, is opened with a series of questions to ministers; and if any member was dissatisfied with the answer which he received, he had the right to at once move the adjournment of the House, and to force a discussion on any subject which, in his opinion, demanded immediate attention. This was a potent weapon; but its employment caused so much dissatisfaction and disapproval in the House that the good expected by raising a question in such a form was often very questionable. This power is now taken away from the individual member, but it is given to forty members to force a debate on any point which they declare to be a matter of "urgent public importance." The effect of such a rule is to make legal and regular a practice which was formerly irregular and inconvenient. Mr. Parnell has already made good use of the new privilege by forcing a discussion on the working of the Arrears Act; and it is probable that in future sessions he will be able, under this rule, to have an Irish debate on any night he may deem advisable. This is a very important gain.

When all these things, however, have been said, the fact still remains that the Irish party has not the same control as formerly over the business arrangements of the House of Commons, and cannot bring the potent pressure which the knowledge of the existence of such a power enables it to exercise over the action of the ministers. There are means in the new rules for meeting any and every form of obstruction which a weak party could adopt. The individual member can be silenced under the rule which permits the speaker to put an end to "tedious and irrelevant" speak-

ing, while members obstructing in a body can have their mouths closed by the *clôture*. Motions for adjournment used formerly to supply food for a dilatory debate of hours; for under a motion for adjournment there was practically no topic the introduction of which could be prevented as being disorderly. Under the new rules speeches on a motion for adjournment must be confined strictly to that point. The call for a division, if declared by the speaker to be obstructive, can be prevented, and finally there remains untouched, except in the matter of "constructive obstruction," the old power of the chair to suspend any member who is guilty of "wilful and persistent obstruction." It is hard to discover any form of obstruction which a small body like the Irish party could resort to with impunity under rules so stringent and so wide-embracing. This, then, brings us to our conclusion on the second point of our inquiry. We have found, under the first head, that we had to deal with a strong government; and now, under the second head of our inquiry, we are driven to the conclusion that the strong government has, under the new rules, a vastly increased control over the business of the House of Commons; not only is the arm of the enemy more potent, but he has guns of longer range, and swords of sharper blade.

And now, advancing to the third branch of our inquiry, we must ask ourselves, what is the position of the government in Ireland? Everybody in America knows that a coercion act of great stringency was passed in the present year, but probably few Americans realize—from the circumstances of their own country it would be impossible they could realize—how complete, how scrutinizing, how—so to speak—ubiquitous is the operation of this last message of peace to Ireland. There is scarcely an act of individual or of social, and there is no act of political, life, with which some provision of this measure does not interfere; it is, in fact, not a coercion act, but a full, complete, and exhaustive code of coercion. Under its provisions the Lord Lieutenant can (1) suppress any organization, (2) prohibit any public meeting, and (3) suppress any newspaper. The clause dealing with journals has certain limitations, but these amount to little, and the statement that a journal can be suppressed is practically true. The inhabitants of any city—even of the capital—can be made liable to imprisonment if found outside their own homes at any time in the interval between an hour after sunset and sunrise. It is hard to know what words can be used on a platform which will not make the speaker liable to six months' imprisonment with hard labor. For under the intimidation clause of the act any words are illegal which are calculated to prevent the performance of a legal, or induce the performance of an illegal act, or which are calculated to injure any person in his business or calling.

This clause is framed with such intentional vagueness that no proof is required of any individual having been intimidated or in any way interfered with ; it is sufficient that the words so employed should be calculated to intimidate some person or persons unknown and undiscoverable, and the sole judges of the probable consequence of the words employed are two stipendiary magistrates, servants and protégés of the Lord Lieutenant. The Lord Lieutenant can pour any number of police into any district, and can impose on any locality—large and small—it may be a townland, or a parish, or a portion of a townland or a parish, down to a few houses, or a certain number of farms—a ruinous police or blood tax. Finally, trial by jury for any offence, whether political or criminal, has been, either entirely abolished or been maintained in a form that is but a mockery of the name. As was seen in the trials of Francis Hynes and the two Walshes, a prisoner may be brought before an Orange judge and an exclusively Orange jury—prepared to convict, guilty or not guilty ; the court of justice may be degraded to a level lower than that of a Ribbon Lodge ; and a journalist who protests, no matter how true his charges, or high his position, is liable to a length of imprisonment, and an amount of fining, limited only by the caprice of a ferociously partisan judge. Such a mode of legal procedure would be infamous if employed against even a murderer—for the murderer is, under the laws of every civilized land, presumed to be innocent until he is proved guilty, and, under the word and spirit of the British constitution, is entitled to be tried by his peers ; but it must be remembered that exactly the same kind of justice could be meted out to the man charged with a political offence. The imagination will not easily conceive of a political act of an Irish Nationalist which cannot be caught in the wide net of the law of treason, or treason felony, or sedition, or some other of the many phrases by which is designated hostility to English domination in Ireland. And one need not pause to think what would be the character of the trial of Mr. Parnell or any other Irishman of strong opinions, with Mr. Lawson as judge, a parcel of Dublin Orange shopkeepers for jurors, and the ready evidence of that political brood of informers whose perjured oaths are one of the bulwarks of British civilization in Ireland.

Such, then, is the position, and such are the powers of the government ; and now, what of the Irish people themselves ? Everybody is agreed that there has been something like a lull in Ireland for some months past, and assuredly nobody can wonder that a period of exhaustion should follow the fierce and terrible struggle of the last three years. It argues absolute ignorance, or absolute blindness, to hold that a whole people can always be kept in the same state of high terror and frenzied excitement. Ireland is—so far as I can judge

—suffering to some extent from natural and inevitable reaction. Neither cause at work is the operation of the law and the Arrears Act. There is reason for the gravest dissatisfaction with the decisions of the majority of the land courts, and the average reduction is far below the standard which is demanded to enable the farmer really to live and to thrive. Of course, too, some of the Land League leaders are willing that the fixing of even a reduced rent should divert the attention of the tenantry from the original and permanent purpose of the League,—the establishment of the tenantry as permanent proprietors of their fields, and even conservatives like Mr. Gibson are willing to admit that the purchase clauses of the Land Act have entirely broken down. Then the lease-holders find themselves absolutely excluded from the benefit of the act, and the lease clause, according to the verdict of the tenants of the North as well as of the South, has been reduced to a nullity. All these abatements are necessary to be made to guard against that irrational spirit of undue exultation which is the chronic condition of the Whiggish section of Irish politicians, when any Irish measure of relief has been passed by a Liberal administration. On the other hand, a spirit of undue depreciation is quite as fatal to a just and accurate appreciation of the present situation, and it would be foolish to deny that the farmers who, after much trouble and expense, have succeeded in getting a substantial reduction of their rents, are anxious to immediately enter upon a new and vehement land campaign. The Arrears Act, according to the information available up to the time I am writing, is working fairly well, and will result in the discharge of a very large burden of debt from the shoulders of the tenantry. Putting all these facts together, one is justified, I think, in drawing the conclusion that the temper of a very large number, and probably of the majority, of the tenant farmers at the present moment is much more favorable to a policy of tranquillity than to one of fierce excitement.

I have gone through the various factors which make up the situation of the hour, and it will be well to here recapitulate the results:

- (1.) The government is strong in England.
- (2.) Its head is supreme in the House of Commons.
- (3.) The new Rules have increased the control of the government, and diminished that of the Irish members, over the action of Parliament.
- (4.) In Ireland, the government is armed with an absolutely complete system of coercion. And,
- (5.) The majority of the tenants are not in a mood for the revival of vehement agitation.

We have reached these five conclusions by a process of reason-

ing which I think unassailable ; but it is impossible not to sympathize with the fierce and instinctive resistance which such conclusions must excite in many minds, for, indeed, the condition of Ireland at the present moment is such as to excite in any Irishman of even ordinary sensibility some of that *sæva indignatio*, that fierce and burning wrath, which made welcome to one of the greatest of Irishmen the peace and silence of the tomb. It is but three years since the imminence of a famine in Ireland drew to that country the sympathy and the charity of nearly every land, and in an especial degree of that great nation in which these words will appear. In the interval, Ireland has passed through one of the fiercest and most powerful agitations that ever unsettled a country ; she has been the target of the world's observation, and almost the sole topic of the English legislature ; two measures have been passed that were declared by the authors to be the final settlement of the land question, and the pitiful result of it all is that, just as if nothing had occurred in the interval, the same cry is heard as in 1879, and the shadow of starvation once more stalks over several parts of the country. The situation is darker, too, than in 1879, in this : that the world has grown weary of the monotonous, doleful tale of Irish woes ; that there are no longer the same ready sympathies to call upon, and that, besides, even if there were the same open purse-strings, there are no longer the men to make the same appeal ; the pledge will remain unbroken that no appeal would ever again be made to the world on behalf of a starving Ireland. The consideration of this miserable state of things is aggravated by the reflection that none of this poverty need exist ; that it is all an artificial malady, which evil legislation created and good legislation could cure. The districts in which this chronic poverty exists are overcrowded, but close beside are thousands of acres run waste, to which the tenants could be easily removed, and away in the midlands one can travel miles over grazing lands from which evil laws permitted the face of man to be swept away. Will any one contend that if such a problem as that which now faces the English Parliament at Westminster, and the English officials in Dublin Castle, were to confront a ministry of Irishmen, and a parliament in College Green, no solution would be found ? The Irish cabinet which could find no better response to the exigencies of the hour than the lame and halting apologies of Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Trevelyan, would not hold office for twenty-four hours, and would not deserve to hold it.

The startling statistics which are given in the Irish census just published prove, too, that the process of material decay is going on all over the country, and steadily, from decade to decade. In the ten years between 1871 and 1881 the inhabited houses have

fallen from 961,380 to 914,108. If we turn to the changes in the agricultural condition of the country, we find exactly the same story. "Between 1871 and 1881," says the *Freeman's Journal*, "the following gloomy decreases are tabulated, viz.: in tillage, 598,047 acres; in cereals, 90,675 acres; in potatoes and green crops, 203,141 acres; in flax, 9525 acres." And a more remarkable fact than the diminution in the number of houses, or of the land under cultivation, is the change that has come over the people in the matter of marriage. On this subject I again quote an article in the *Freeman's Journal*: "Of the more than a million and a half of marriageable men amongst us, on the census returns, 900,000, or much more than half, were single, bachelors, or widowers, the blissful husbands numbering only about 43 per cent. Of the more than a million and three-quarters of marriageable women and girls, only about 44 per cent. were wives, while over a million were either spinsters or widows."

It ought to be no matter of wonder, in the face of facts like these, that men of ardent, sensitive, and sanguine natures should demand that something should be done; but the practical statesman is obliged to ask what that something is. A moment's consideration of some of the plans proposed will show to any rational mind their utter impracticableness. It is said the farmers ought to be advised to pay no rent, or, as some persons put it, that the "No Rent" flag should again be unfurled. One would think that the Irish people had had an experience of a "No Rent" manifesto that would have induced any person, who desired to pass for a responsible or practical counsellor in Irish movements, to abstain from uttering the words for a considerable time to come. If any fact in history has been proved beyond dispute, it is the complete and disastrous breakdown of the "No Rent" manifesto of last year. Everybody who knows anything of the Land League movement knows that rent was paid almost universally after December of last year; that in the few districts where the manifesto was obeyed after that period, the poverty, and not the will of the tenant, produced the obedience the secret being either that the landlord would make no reduction, or that the tenant had no money, and that for a couple of months before the release of Mr. Parnell there were at one and the same time these three results of the "No Rent" manifesto: (1) The payment of more rent than at any period since the opening of the agitation; (2) An appalling increase in the number and the barbarity of agrarian crimes; and (3) An equally appalling and a geometrically progressive increase in the number of evictions. In other words, the "No Rent" manifesto had produced, as its triple offspring, increased crime, increased eviction, increased payment of rent. This is not the place to describe the masterly strategy by



which a situation of defeat so desperate was transformed into a victory, complete along the whole line; how Mr. Forster, from being the master of the position, was, in the twinkling of an eye, changed into a beaten and discredited minister; how the tenants were guaranteed relief from the overwhelming burden of old debts, which stood in the way of all hope for the future; how every point in the whole programme of the Land League was practically assured in the near future, and how—but for that fatal tragedy in Phoenix Park—the *prestige* of a triumph so complete in the battle for the land brought within visible proximity as complete a triumph in the battle for self-government. These things, which I have to set forth thus hurriedly in this place, I may be able to dwell upon at length on some future occasion, and to prove in every item by admitted facts and official figures. Suffice it for the present to say that the attacks which have been made upon the man by whose genius the great results, of which I have spoken, were achieved, open up hitherto undreamt-of and unrevealed depths of senselessness or malignity in Irish political controversy.

Returning to the proposal to remedy the present situation in Ireland by calling upon the farmers to pay no rent, I would ask this question: What farmers are to pay no rent? Is it the farmers in the distressed districts? Or, is it the general body of farmers? In either case, the advice is impracticable. Assuming that the farmers in the distressed districts would obey the advice—a large assumption—it may be doubted whether the withholding of the £2, £3, or £4 a year which they pay for their rent would of itself save them; for the root of their distress is not the largeness of their rent, but the smallness and barrenness of their holdings. If the intention is that the general body of farmers should pay no rent in order that those in the distressed districts may be saved, the assumption is necessary that the men who—I am not saying it in blame or by way of sarcasm—refused to face eviction for their own sake, will do so for the sake of somebody else.

But some one will say that arguments of a similar kind might have been employed against Mr. Parnell himself and Mr. Parnell's own action when, in 1879, Ireland stood in pretty much the same position as that in which she stands to-day. Are the men, it will be asked, who were extreme men in 1879 to pose to-day as moderate men? Objections like these bring into relief one of the difficulties of Irish politics, as perhaps of the politics of nearly every other country. This difficulty is the tyranny which is exercised over so many minds by mere phrases; and the confusion between terms that are absolute and terms that are relative. It ought not to be hard to prove that counsels which are wise at one period and under one set of circumstances may be foolish and even insane at

another time and under changed conditions. Mr. Parnell did, in 1879, tell the Irish farmers to withhold their rents, and did tell the Irish farmers to "keep a firm grip of their homesteads;" and events have proved the soundness of the advice. But the circumstances of 1879 and the circumstances of 1883 are in most respects entirely dissimilar. In 1879, there was no Coercion Act in any degree like the Coercion Act of 1882; above all things, the jury system then was representative of all classes of the people; and no impartial jury of his countrymen would convict Mr. Parnell of crime because he tried to save his countrymen from starvation. There was in 1879 a Conservative administration, and a Conservative administration is always kept in check in the work of coercion by a Liberal opposition. In 1879 there was no Land Act; and farmers who refused to pay their rent had not got their rack-rents considerably reduced; and above all, had not as they have now a valuable property in the shape of the tenant right of their farms, which the refusal to pay rent would forfeit. These are a few of the considerations which ought to convince any rational mind that there is no inconsistency in abstaining from giving in 1882 the same counsels which proved so successful in 1879.

All I have written up to the present is in the shape either of exposition or of criticism; and I acknowledge the duty in a writer of suggesting a policy in opposition to that which he cannot approve. Well, then, the first consideration which I would submit is that there are other questions as well as the land question; and that even the land question itself could be advanced indirectly by legislation, unconnected with the land, as well as by measures directly dealing with the tenure of the soil. Everybody knows, for instance, that if we succeeded in establishing self-government in Ireland, we would see, within a week after the meeting of the native Parliament, the introduction of a bill which would settle the land struggle for once and forever. Take the question of the franchise: if the franchise were reduced, scarcely a constituency would be left to the anti-popular party, and seventy or eighty national members might be trusted to compel even an English Parliament to meet every just demand of the Irish tenant. Or, take the question of county government: who can doubt that if the government of the counties were removed from the landlords to the representatives of the tenantry there would be in the hands of the people one more most powerful means for "elbowing" landlordism out of the country? Having mentioned these three questions, let me point out very briefly and rapidly how we stand in Ireland upon them.

Nothing shows more completely the utter hollowness of the pretence that England and Ireland are governed by equal laws than a comparison of the state of the franchise in the two countries.

On this point I cannot do better than quote from a fly-leaf published by Mr. Edmund Harvey, of the Grange, Waterford, which puts the matter very tersely and very clearly :

"In English boroughs, *all* rated householders (whose rates have been paid) are entitled to votes ; also, by a late decision of English judges, nearly all lodgers will for the future be so entitled.

"In Irish boroughs, only rated householders whose houses are *valued by government* at *over* £4 per annum (equal to a yearly rental of £8 in Ireland, or £10 or £12 in England), and occupiers of lodgings worth 4s. per week (unfurnished), or over, are entitled to votes.

"As a consequence, Irish boroughs have less than half as many parliamentary voters, in proportion to population, as English boroughs.

"In English and Irish counties the occupiers' franchise is nominally the same (£12 government valuation), but from a difference in the methods of valuing, and other causes, English counties have more than one and a half times as many voters, in proportion to population, as Irish counties.

"Taking boroughs and counties together, *two* men out of *five* have hitherto had votes in England, whilst only *one* man in *five* has at present a vote in Ireland, for parliamentary purposes, so that, whilst English artisans can now practically rule the empire, Irish artisans are still, by law, almost entirely denied political influence."

If we turn to the municipal franchise in the two countries, we find the same glaring contrast. I again quote from Mr. Harvey :

"In England every person, *male or female*, who has occupied for twelve months any house rated to the poor, is entitled to the municipal franchise.

"In Ireland, every *man* only, who has occupied a house rated at *the government value* of £10 (equal to a rental of £17 in Ireland, or, say, £22 in England), is entitled to the municipal franchise.

"As a consequence, English towns have from *four to nine times* as many voters, for municipal purposes, as Irish towns."

Finally, with regard to the government of the counties, this is for all practical purposes entirely in the hands of the grand jury. They can order the construction of roads, appoint most of the county officials, assess the greater part of the taxation ; and the grand jury consists exclusively of the landlords of the county.

There was a time—it is but a few years ago—when it was almost impossible to get any considerable body of Irishmen to take a strong interest in the reform of such scandalous abuses as these. It might tend to revive a controversy between honest and earnest men, who have since learned wise lessons by mutual respect

and toleration, if I were to furnish some of the causes which produced this apathy. Suffice it to say that, to the satisfaction, I think, of all sections of national Irishmen, this apathy is passing away, and in a year or two more will have completely disappeared. The example of Dublin will be enough to bring home to the minds of readers of this REVIEW the change that has come, in this respect, over all Ireland. It is but ten—nay, it is scarcely more than a year—since the corporation of Dublin was the embodiment of everything that is objectionable in the political and social life of Ireland to the Irishmen of spirit. Its members—with a rare exception—were either conservative Orangemen, or, as the popular term is in Ireland, “Cawtholic Whigs,” and nowhere did strong national principles meet with a much chillier reception. It was but last year that this body, which had cheerfully conferred the freedom of the city on Mr. Gladstone, refused to grant the same favor to Mr. Parnell and Mr. Dillon, at the very moment when the ardor of their sympathy for the country had sent these gentlemen to jail, and in the very agony of an almost supreme struggle between all the resources of English brutality and of Irish patriotism. A few months after such a change had already been made in the composition of the corporation that the vote in favor of Mr. Parnell and Mr. Davitt was carried, and, at the last election, still further victories were gained. In wards where, but a few years ago, the most desperate efforts failed to oust pronounced Whigs, men have been returned of strong national opinions, and the state of parties in the corporation has been so transformed that at the present moment there are thirty-six Nationalists out of a total of, I believe, sixty members.

Let me pause, at this point, for a moment, to say that I regard the seizure, after the manner of the citizens of Dublin, of the local boards by a faction, of enormous importance in the immediate future of Ireland. It is important as regards the enemies, it is still more important as regards the people of Ireland themselves. First, as to the enemies of Ireland. Every Irishman knows that the truth, with regard to the real feelings of the Irish people, will be denied as long as it can decently or indecently be done; that English journals and English politicians will lie, or, at least, prevaricate and explain away to the last possible moment. And the worst part of the business is that it is English lies, and not Irish truth, that passes current among the peoples of the earth. As John Mitchell used to say, England has not only robbed Ireland, but has gained the ear of the world. The most palpable and potent remedy for this is, that the national conviction, which beats steady and unchangeable in the breasts of four out of every five Irishmen, should be expressed, symbolized, embodied in all the representative bodies of the country. National conviction should find itself

represented by a majority of national representatives in the Board of Guardians, in the Town Council, in the Harbor Board,—in any and every body or corporation over which the people have any control. Consider what an influence the success of such a policy would have, say, on the National question. Suppose the demand for the restoration of our national rights were backed up by a simultaneous vote in its favor from three out of four of all the Poor Law Boards, Town Boards, Harbor Boards, and all the other Boards throughout the country, not even the *London Times* or Mr. Herbert Gladstone could deny that behind the advocates of Irish self-government the Irish nation stood solid and united, and not all the mighty mountains of misrepresentation, which have been raised between the world and the real Ireland by English statesmen, and English literature, and English journalism, could any longer hide the truth from the eyes of all mankind; and when the world once really knows and understands our position, a great step is made towards the solution of our difficulties.

The capture of the local boards is most important for the sake of its influence on the Irish people themselves. There is a vulgar word, borrowed from the vocabulary of the betting ring, which I once heard so aptly applied to the Irish people, that I must repeat it. "The Irish people," I heard a gentleman once say, "require a good deal of 'backing.'" What he meant to convey was, that they were lacking, to some degree, in self-confidence, and that, until they reached to the self-confident temper, they did not make the full use of all the resources at their command. Most intelligent observers of the struggle of the last three years are agreed, I believe, in thinking that one of its permanent results is to do much towards the cultivation of the spirit of self-reliance among the Irish people. The lessons they have learned of the might that dwells in unity, combination, and determined action, will never probably pass away, and will, by-and-by, be one of the most effective allies of the champions of self-government. That spirit cannot but be largely increased when the people see their power, palpable and visible to their own eyes, in the shape of boards manned by representatives whom the people have elevated to their position. The fable of the horse and the man applies to the case of an enslaved and an enslaving nation. The great bulwark of slavery, more potent than battalions, or ironclads, or parliamentary majorities, is the slave's unconsciousness of his own strength.

It will be gathered from what I have written that in my opinion the reduction of the municipal and of the parliamentary franchise, county government, and one or two other measures of reform, would transform the whole face of Ireland, would enormously strengthen the popular forces, and would greatly accelerate the settlement of

the land and national questions. I am in favor, then, of these questions being pushed to the front, of their being earnestly and frequently discussed, and of their being forced on the attention of Parliament; and this brings me to the consideration—it must now be very rapid and brief—of our position with regard to these questions in the House of Commons. The present ministry is pledged breast-high to grant Ireland every one of the reforms I have mentioned, and it has actually introduced measures dealing with two of them; a bill for the reduction of the parliamentary franchise was introduced in the session of 1880, and a measure dealing with county government was mentioned in the Queen's speech—I think it was of 1881. I am not so simple as to suppose that promise of reform by a Liberal government and performance are one and the same thing, and I have not the most sanguine hopes as to our getting all or any of these measures from the present Parliament. The House of Commons is sick of the Irish question; English public opinion shares this feeling; and even if the popular chamber did pass a poor Irish measure, Lord Salisbury and his creatures in the House of Peers could reject it in the confident feeling that there was no strong popular feeling in its support among the English constituencies. Our chances are best on the franchise question. The present ministry is determined not to leave office until it has brought in a measure for the reduction of the franchise in the English counties, and it is not easy to see how it could have the face to propose such a change in the franchise of England without at the same time proposing a similar change in the franchise of Ireland.

The sentences which I have just written will show that I do not take a too roseate view of our parliamentary prospects for the next couple of years. I would desire to suggest a moral to the Irish people from the state of their fortunes in this regard, and the moral is that they should turn their eyes away from the present hour and direct them to the future. The next couple of years ought to be a period of preparation, of energetic work, of regular organization. It is a trite complaint that it is not easy to get the Irish people to politically labor when times are tranquil, and persistency or drudgery is the chief requirement. The complaint is not altogether just; for though there may be many difficulties peculiar to Irish political struggles, there are others which pursue the representatives of the people, from which the Irish cause is almost entirely free. Our people, whatever may be their faults, have earnestness of soul and persistence of purpose; one never sees among them an abandonment of popular leaders and of the popular side, such as I have adverted to in the case of Mr. Gladstone and the English constituencies; and the Irish constituencies, as a body, are prepared to vote for the right man whenever they

get a fair chance. I have already sketched out a plan of campaign for local struggles, and I am strongly of opinion that the sooner the campaign for the parliamentary seats is entered upon the better. Before the end of the next six months there ought to be no popular constituencies which ought not to have selected the candidate for whom it intends to stand when the period of election comes.

I should not conclude without saying a few words as to the position and prospects of the present Parliamentary party. Any words I may devote to this part of my subject lay me, I am afraid from past experience, open to grave misapprehension. A journal, for instance, of great ability, good sense, and honesty, recently interpreted a comparison which I ventured to make in an address to my constituents between the different sections of constitutional agitators, as a contrast between parliamentary and extra-parliamentary parties. Members of the Irish party, too, have been accused of an attempt to set up a contest between the work which they do on the floor of the House of Commons, and that which can be done by extra-parliamentary speakers and by the people themselves on the soil of Ireland itself. It is quite probable that members of Parliament do not wholly escape the tendency of every man to make the most of his own work; but he must be a fool who does not recognize that the real strength of the Irish party in the House of Commons is not their own personal qualities, but the position they hold in the confidence of their countrymen. The reason why the followers of Mr. Shaw have ceased to be considered, while those of Mr. Parnell are counted with our political forces, is that the one section has to be representative of Irish opinion, while the Irish people are known to stand behind the other. I will not venture to predict that the Irish party will continue to retain the same strong hold upon the minds of the people which they have at present. I do not want—especially at the close of an already lengthy article—to enter upon a new subject of controversy; and I must content myself with the assertion that the destruction of the influence of that party ought, in my humble judgment, be deemed a national misfortune, alike by those who believe in the all-sufficiency of constitutional agitation, and by those who, caring little for us constitutionalists, believe that honest Irish representatives are doing good work in the present stage of national development.

It would be vain to blink the fact that serious perils face the Irish party at the present hour. They have in the past represented a powerful, wealthy, and widespread organization, and every victory that was gained by the Land League brought its share of prestige to them. Now they are just bringing into existence a

new organization, which cannot make appeals to passions so strong, or interests so large and direct as those that were appealed to by the old league. In Ireland they are face to face with a coercion code that renders fierce agitation impossible, and there cannot, therefore, be a repetition of those dramatic episodes, fierce conflicts, imprisonment, and all those other exciting events which do so much to sustain a popular agitation. They have strong and dangerous enemies, within and without. On the one side, appeals will be made to a consistency and monotony of moderation that would be just as fatal, and in many circumstances, just as irrational, as a monotony of violence; on the other side, vague demands will be made by restless, or self-seeking, or thoughtless counsellors, for the adoption of wild and impracticable courses. To steer between these two extremes will not be easy; it will not be easy to avoid, at the same time, the dry-rot of inaction, and the mortal fever of irrational action; to escape at the same time from the Scylla of Whiggery, and the Charybdis of uncalculating violence. But the Irish party should look with confidence to three great weapons of defence. First, they should ask the honest and sympathetic appreciation of the Irish race at home and abroad; second, they should never dread being rational; and, third, they should stand loyally and immovably by the leadership of Mr. Parnell. Up to the present, we have every reason to believe that our countrymen will be at least just to us, and that secures to us the first bulwark of our position. Secondly, the bitter warnings we have received against pliancy to noise and unreason ought to secure every Irish representative in the future against the dread of speaking out sense to the people. And, finally, the leadership of Mr. Parnell still stands on foundations as firm as the position of any leader of men at the present hour. On this last point let the last words of this article be spoken. The importance of Mr. Parnell to the Irish cause can be fully appreciated, perhaps, by those only who are a little behind the scenes. I have no hesitation, nor has any one of my colleagues in whose judgment the Irish people have confidence any hesitation, in saying that he is the only man whose personal qualities are a secure guarantee for the continued union of the Irish members. Able as are many of the men around him, he is the only one whose superiority is acknowledged without question and without grudge. To the people outside he gives the rallying-cry, by a trusted, a single, and a comprehensive name; and history has been studied in vain by every one who does not know that in political struggles political forces are enormously strengthened by the embodiment of principles in an individual leader. The suggestion that Mr. Parnell's position can be assailed



and weakened without injury to the Irish cause is as rational as the supposition that French soldiers fought as well under Bazaine as under the first Napoleon, or that an arch can stand when the keystone is removed.

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## CHURCH ARCHITECTURE IN THE UNITED STATES.

### ITS DIFFICULTIES, ITS FAULTS, ITS NEEDS, AND THE REMEDY.

IN its accomplishments and in its possibilities architecture partakes of the nobility of its main source of inspiration. Had it been limited to the needs of mere utility, it would not have attained a high position among the arts. Had its aim been to meet only the common wants of man, it would never have become a noble art. Neither imperial palaces nor other civic buildings of great cities could have supplied the motive needed for sublime effort. In all ages, if not among all nations, religion has been the fitting and only true incentive; and, because of religion architecture has reared its grandest and most successful works. Religion caused uncivilized races, despite the rudeness of their arts, to form for the worship of their gods something worthy of admiration; it incited the early Egyptians to build temples which awaken our awe; it made the earliest Hindoos carve out of the natural rock, with slow, painful labor, elaborately ornamented buildings; it induced the Greeks to rear beautiful structures and the Romans to raise stately edifices; and it constructed for Christian Europe the lofty, decorative cathedrals, which are the noblest material works of impassioned genius. The highest aspiration of man is the worship of a Supreme Being; and, in obedience to that aspiration, man has created architectural works stupendous and sublime. Temples, synagogues, churches, and cathedrals are the tributes of finite beings to an Infinite Being; and, in their nature such tributes ought to have honest work and to avoid baleful sham.

Architecture has been defined "the art of ornamental and ornamented construction." The definition is logical, and not merely convenient; for a building may have an ornamental construction without being ornamented, or it may be ornamented without having an ornamental construction. In a Greek temple, the proportions

of length to breadth and of height to length and breadth, the arrangement of the porticoes, and the disposition of the peristyle belong to ornamental construction. In a Gothic cathedral, the ornamental construction is the proportion of length to breadth, the projection of the transepts, the different heights of the nave and of the aisles, and the disposition and the proportion of the towers. Even without ornament, an ornamental construction is beautiful. A building may be as devoid of ornament as a granary ; but if the disposition of parts be good, as in the case of the older English abbeys, it is always pleasing, and, when large, it is imposing as an architectural work. When elegant ornament that is appropriate is added to an ornamental construction, the building takes rank with the great works of architecture. In a house for worship ornament without ornamental construction is a degrading deceit. The art which produces it is bad and has a bad effect upon the worshippers. When discovered, hypocrisy excites our disgust and causes a revulsion of feeling. Deceit in construction or in ornament is a lie in stone, in metal, in wood, in putty, or in plaster ; but it is a hurtful lie, which is sure to be discovered and sure to excite contempt.

The principles of good architecture are not arbitrary ; but they are the outgrowth of the study of means to an end. If they demand exact proportions, special materials for special purposes, and suitable treatment for the materials, these demands cannot be neglected without insecurity, without risk, and without deceit. At first sight, non-professional Americans may not know the difference between good and bad proportions, between stone and plaster which is made to look like stone, between marble and wood which is painted to look like marble ; but after a while they will feel the difference, and in the end will suffer from the sham, if not from the peril of weak, fire-inviting roof or walls and the flame-food of putty ornament. The effect of bad, unworthy work is quicker and greater upon foreigners, even of the emigrant classes, who, being accustomed to the honest work of older countries, know the difference in stability and are hurt by the gairish deceptions of construction and of material. If sham be justifiable in churches erected to a God, why may not shams in our houses, in our furniture, and in our dress be defended ? The preacher may decry sham and its vanity ; but it must be with little effect if his pulpit, his altar, and his building be dishonest work and made to seem better than they are.

The quick increase of population in our large cities has necessarily multiplied churches of all creeds. Cathedrals are happily of slow growth, and consequently are likely to be relatively well constructed ; but smaller churches spring up like fungi, though, unfor-

tunately, not as well suited for their ends. Pretentious plans make bad work. A church ought not to try to rival a cathedral; yet rivalry, vain imitation, and lack of both means and purpose make many of the churches glittering, insecure, unholy shams. The money that is wasted in spoiling European Gothic models would be sufficient to erect substantial symmetrical buildings worthy of their purpose; and yet the pointed style, the noblest order of architecture and the best outcome of Catholic influence, is improperly blamed for these bad, dishonoring counterfeits. The Gothic style has been sadly influenced by the modern Renaissance, which is a debased ornate style. True art never inclines to over-decoration. The hankering fondness for the ornate, or over-decorated, modern Gothic, which is by no means the best Gothic, has been the cause of much useless extravagance and of much dishonest work. In a new country new churches are needed; but it is not wise that every congregation should attempt a vast and lofty building. The propriety of ecclesiastical architecture requires that the churches should be as great as the means of those erecting them will permit; but the spirit of Christian architecture is imperious in its proper demand that there shall be no deception, no trickery. A building that is a trick and a lie might be used for a shop, for a theatre, or for a music hall; but it ought not to be used for the worship of a truth-loving God. Architectural lies in wood, in plaster, or in putty are not in the end cheap anywhere; but in churches they are as expensive as they are opposed to the spirit of religion.

Hurry is an evil of the country; and the hurry of church building makes dishonoring and expensive work. Before the cost is known, even to the architect, some churches are finished. If the plans and the designs be properly selected, the cost can be determined before the work is begun; and the style of building which honesty ought to choose need not exceed the means of the congregation. It is as wrong for a congregation to attempt too much in a church as it is for a man to build a dwelling-house beyond his means. Unless for a stated case, it is impossible to tell what is "too much." A church's future, it is thought, is longer and better than that of a private building, and thus justifies a proportionately greater risk; but in the common practice of "discounting the future," the prospective income of a new church in the United States seems likely to be rather extravagantly than properly computed. For any congregation that undoubtedly is too much which would entail an oppressive debt; but how difficult it is to determine correctly the prospective income, the corroding, hopeless debts of some expensive churches proclaim. A church ought to be better, more beautiful, and grander than a dwelling-house;

and it may be such, and the cost need not exceed the means, if the style be appropriate, and the construction and ornamentation be honestly simple. So great is the hurry to build, however, that churches are undertaken when the money is not sure; and long delays, deaths or removals of principals, and a dangerous system of obtaining money by mortgages make bad work and increase the cost beyond wisdom, propriety, or usefulness. Obtaining money by mortgage is often a method opposed to true economy. The borrower soon learns that the greater the cost of the proposed building the greater the amount which may be borrowed thereon; and this fact commonly becomes a strong temptation to incur greater expense. Before the church is begun the cost might be known and limited, with the results of honest appropriate construction and a building free from trick, free from sham, and, perhaps, free from debt.

The architect is not by profession a capitalist, and he cannot furnish both plans and means. He plans and builds as required and when required; but he never is a principal. Misplaced economy often reduces his pay to a gross amount which is insufficient to secure his proper supervision of the work. If a percentage be allowed, it is often so unwisely small that it is only natural that he should not be pained by an increase in the cost of the church. The parsimony which denies proper pay to the architect is fatal. If poverty prick him he has to consent, though he may respect his art, to many a change and many a deceit which he knows to be unworthy and in the end costly. In order to satisfy the principal's or the building committee's demand to make the greatest show for the money to be expended, he is often compelled to do what he knows is not good or right. The counterfeits and the tricks which he is thus forced to adopt may sorrowfully disgust him; and, in some cases, do drive him from the profession, when happily he has other means of a livelihood.

The so-called economy which does not seek to know or to limit the cost of the proposed church, yet which pinches the architect, grows bolder and more reckless as the walls become higher; and tricky, dangerous, but always showy, subterfuges are adopted in the vain hope of saving money. The imitation which "looks just as well" as the real is not truly cheap, even if it were not unworthy in a church; but, in the pseudo-classical styles, we find plaster columns and pilasters, plaster architraves, plaster friezes, plaster cornices, plaster balusters, and plaster sills; and in the Gothic, plaster columns, plaster arches, wooden columns with plaster capitals supporting plaster arches, plaster vaults, plaster ribs, plaster cusps, and plaster crockets are everywhere used. Inasmuch as they need the same designing by the architect as though they were

of stone, they are expensive; and they are as fragile as they are dishonest. To make even such unarchitectural counterfeits much labor is needed and at a cost of money which ought to be applied otherwise for safety. All such deceptive things are in opposition to the first principles of construction and of decoration, as well understood by Pagans as by Christians. The underlying rules of good taste in art are that a thing ought to be what it seems, and that a material ought not to be used for a purpose for which it is unfitted. These are rules of polite life; and they are rigorously applied by polite society to the matter of dress, as well as to houses and to furniture. If deceptions in our houses may not be defended, are deceptions in the churches of the living God defensible? Plaster forms made to look like stone are intended to deceive. It is the use of an unfit material; for, unless as a coating for walls, plaster in a church is a mean deception and an architectural absurdity. •

Probably every large city in the United States and in Canada has churches which are not only architectural absurdities but expensive shams. It is difficult to find a church wholly free from unworthy deception in construction or in decoration. The cost of these buildings, which are as unstable as they are dishonest, is enormous and often out of proportion to the revenue. The extravagance in expenditure is not for convenience, for security, for stability, for ventilation, or for good lighting; but it is for pretentious façades, for inartistic wall decoration, for badly-colored glass, for ornaments of deceptive plaster, and for tricks of paint. The money goes for some kind of gaudy ornament, which, even if well made, is not necessary and may not be advisable. A church should not have parts which are not necessary for convenience, for construction, or for propriety; and yet architectural features are loosely added to our churches with which the added features can have no connection. All ornament ought to be an enrichment of the essential construction of the building; and yet ornaments are often built up in an isolated way, instead of forming the decoration of construction. In modern churches, from floor to nave-roof and from façade to apse-wall, there is not a part which may not be a violation of the laws already given; and all violations are shams, expensive, belittling, and unworthy. However simple, honest work in a church ought to be as much a matter of obligation as it is more worthy than any unrelated gilded deception. In churches, the violations of the rules of good taste are more absurd than would be the fastening of an imitation gold watch-chain to the Apollo of the Vatican, or of a paste-diamond garter to the Venus de Medici.

The façades of churches are often the best work, but are always very costly and sometimes deceptive. If there be any honesty

about the building, it is likely to be in the façade; and many façades are unquestionably good in design and in work. A proper front ought to express the character of the church and to define the building; but it ought not to be a deceptive screen, with unpractical doors and wider or higher than the building. A false façade is a false face. Even if such a front were not needlessly expensive, no depraved taste can ever make it excusable that a building erected to God should seem larger and better than it is. When the façade is not false, it may be pretentious and partly dishonest work. Even as to its tracery, the common wheel-window is of wood, sometimes painted, but usually sanded. In construction, curved forms of arch and of tracery are unsuitable for wood and adapted only to stone. Wood has to be bent and held by concealed means; but stone can be so shaped and jointed that its own weight is the fastening. If the wooden window and wooden tracery, with mouldings proper only to stone, be merely painted, it is the wrong use of material; but if they be sanded to look like stone, it is an intentionally dishonest treatment. The façade frequently has one or two towers. If the tower be of stone, the spire is commonly of wood sanded to look like stone; and thus the deception is carried up to the finial. If a spire straddle the roof, a few feet back of the pediment, as may be seen in small towns, it is an absurdity; for it is made to look like stone, which the roof could not support. When there is need of economy, the expense of towers for city churches might be saved; for the bells which they are constructionally intended to carry are now of no need in proclaiming the hour of service, and are little used for chiming, tolling, or warning. A tower not intended for bells must be architecturally and economically a foolish extravagance. False, dishonest, or with purposeless parts, the façade is always expensive, using money which might better be spent for strengthening the walls and the roof. A wall and a roof well-constructed are better than any ornamented front. If an honest façade cannot be afforded, it would be every way better to omit it. It is not necessary to have it; but in this country even the safety of the building is endangered and mean cheap deceptions stain all the interior in order to save money for an ostentatious façade. In Europe many a church of honest construction was built and used without a front; and subsequently, and only when the money needed for honest work was at command, was the omission supplied. The church of Sta. Maria dei Fiori, the cathedral of Florence, one of the largest and finest churches of the Middle Ages, was begun about 1298 and finished about 1444; but until 1876 no successful attempt was made to build the front. Without a façade and despite its extremely simple interior, the honest grandeur of its conception and execution made

it a wonder of architecture during nearly five hundred years. In the same city, the smaller church of Sta. Croce, called the Pantheon of modern Italy, was begun in 1294 and completed in 1442; but the façade was not attempted until 1857. Slow of growth is everything good. The churches free from deceit were built part by part; but they were used, and were honorably fit for use, long before they were completed. In the honestly constructed churches, which alone are suited for the worship of a God, the priests' voices alternated with the music of the masons' chisels; and the alternation, as long as it was necessary, was not inappropriate, irreverent, or accessory to sham.

The clerestory, through which the lighting of Gothic churches is effected, is commonly two tall, but dangerously thin, walls, with an interior coating of plaster, sometimes colored to imitate stone. These walls are frequently so thin and so weak as to need—what fortunately the fire-laws compel—an exterior covering of slate or of galvanized iron. Built in the flimsiest and cheapest manner, they are barely fitted to carry the roof; and, like the weak, tricky, plaster triforium beneath, are neither secure nor fire-proof. Indeed, they have to be flimsy, by reason of the cheap deceptive supports, consisting of wooden columns, sanded to look like stone, and plaster capitals, or of wooden posts made by wooden mouldings and sand to look like stone piers. The windows in such a clerestory are often as flashy and vulgar as elaborate and deceptive wooden mouldings and the poorest of colored glasses can make them. Bad, unworthy, unsuitable, and dangerous as is all this sham work, it is relatively high-priced. Unworthy work ought not to find a place in a church; and undoubtedly it ought to be avoided in favor of walls that are stable.

The nave-ceiling, in many of our churches, is groined, or divided into compartments by means of ribs springing from caps or corbels, and uniting in the centres of the compartments, or vaults. It is the glory of Christian architecture that, at great heights and across vast spaces, lofty vaults of stone may be thrown from the supports of slender shafts. It is an ornamental construction, admitting enrichment by ornament; but neither groining nor other vaulting is adapted to anything else than to stone or to brick construction. In any of our vaulted churches the observer looks up at vaults, not of stone, but of counterfeiting plaster or cement. A counterfeit vault would be an absurdity, even if, in a house of God, it were not an irreverent deception. The better the plaster be disguised, the more apparent the absurdity; for it is contrary to reason that thin weak walls could carry the great weight of stone vaults. If the carrying piers and the walls be of stone, then the plaster-vaulting is not only a cheap trick for a church, but is without the excuse of insuffi-

cient support. In a cathedral a stone ceiling is essential, both for durability and for security from fire; and it is advisable for conveyance of sound. Dishonest work increases the danger of conflagration. The roofs of some of the great cathedrals of France have been wholly burned, but the strength of the stone-vaulting saved the interiors. To the lack of a stone ceiling many great churches owe their destruction by fire. This explains why, in this country, so few churches take fire without being wholly destroyed. The effort to do something beyond our means makes many a church bad in construction, and causes the inexcusably dishonest use of plaster capitals on moulded marble piers and a cement ceiling on supports intended to carry stone groining. It would be honest work if the capitals were uncut blocks of stone, to be carved subsequently when the church could afford it. Such uncut capitals, awaiting sufficient money for completion, are to be seen in some good churches of Europe; and the rough stone is thought to be reverently honest work and far better than the unworthy trick of plaster lies.

The altar ought to be of the same style, period, and nationality as the church. The showiest Gothic altars frequently are erected at great expense in churches of the Romanesque or of the Renaissance style. In a Gothic church the altar, when Gothic, is often of a style belonging to an earlier or to a later period than the style of the church; or the altar and the building differ as to their nationality, as when a German Gothic altar is erected in a French Gothic church. This impropriety comes from carelessness, as often as from ignorance, but never from economy. The use of naked lights, artificial flowers, and hangings makes it necessary for security that the altar, and even the platform, be of stone. This fact and the wish to make a show give rise to another deception, and unworthy work unintentionally desecrates the altar. A wooden altar, trickily painted to look like marble, rests upon a wooden platform, which is concealed by a carpet. If the lower part of the altar be of marble, carved and panelled, the upper part, designed for marble, is often a sham of wood; and the lack of harmony is ignorantly, but absurdly, emphasized by paint and by gilding. Designs, too, intended only for metal, are partly or wholly carried out in gilded wood. Far more honest and far less costly would be some simple altar of stone, designed for stone, than such a panelled, carved, turreted, and crocketed altar, half truth, half lie, and wholly displeasing. If freestone be found to be too costly, there can be no objection, on the side of art or of honesty, to an altar of wood, however simple; provided it be treated as wood, and honestly proclaim itself to be wood. The dishonesty lies not in the use of wood, which may be merely the necessity of a pres-



ent poverty, but in making the wood look to be what it is not. When in good taste and honestly made, a new altar of marble may be an unwise expenditure, if it is to be placed in an insecure building; and the not uncommon contradiction is a misuse of money that ought to have been applied to making the church secure, if not fireproof. A large church usually has more than one altar; and then the deceptions, the tricks, the extravagance, and the waste are multiplied. Being afterthoughts, these side-altars are often placed like furniture in a show-room, and not in recesses, which should have been marked in the plan of the building. If the railed space in front of the high altar and forming the sanctuary be sufficiently large to permit of the beautiful ceremonies which have to be attempted, the furniture of the sanctuary is commonly out of harmony with the style of the church, or even of the altar. In Gothic churches, in which the furniture is more likely to correspond, ornaments, like cusps and crockets, are sometimes of plaster or of putty, painted to look like carved wood. All these make-believe marbles or metals and all the other deceptions, are as expensive as they are frail; and, even if they were economical, they are harshly inappropriate for an altar and for a sanctuary.

The wall decorations, demanding the most careful expenditure of money, are a source of painfully unwise outlay and, nearly always, of æsthetically dishonest and deceptive work. Elaborate or simple, interior decoration is not necessary; but, if the revenue permit it to be done, the decoration ought to be according to an artistic scheme and to be limited to the means. In the United States and in Canada the interior decoration of churches is everywhere attempted; and yet it is generally a matter of debt, of chance, of patchwork, of incongruous designs, and very rarely is according to a scheme. A scheme requires that all the interior parts that ought to have a color decoration be treated as to line and color after the design of a competent artist; and that his design be conceived with relation to the architecture and the lighting of the building.<sup>1</sup> The use of line and of color is to please the eye; but that it can never do by counterfeiting stone or wooden mouldings. If a wall, which every one knows to be a flat surface, be painted to represent colonnades, arcades, or porticoes, with attempted light and shade effects, it is an absurdity, because contrary to reason. Perspective in wall-painting is of questionable propriety. As to the use of human figures in relief, the examples of the great masters leave the question of propriety still debatable; but it is not debatable,

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<sup>1</sup> The apse of St. Thomas's Church, of New York city, and the whole of Trinity Church, of Boston, are good instances. The artist is a Catholic; the churches, Protestant. The decoration of St. Thomas's had to be treated for gaslight effect, as the construction of the building and the arrangement of the windows are such that sunlight sufficient for day-effect is impossible.

that poor imitations of the old masters' designs are in bad taste and expensive. Wall decoration, if it be honest, must be in grounds of harmonious—not stone-counterfeiting—tints, to be relieved by geometric patterns, or by other flat forms that cannot lie. Much of the present decoration is intended to deceive; as, when the only sill-moulding of a practical window is a painted one, or when a counterfeit window is painted where a window could not be placed, or when the plaster walls are painted to imitate ashlar. Such tricks may be permissible upon the theatrical stage; but in a church, even if they were not costly, they are contrary to sincere religion as well as to art. If the walls must be decorated, such expensive deceptions are not necessary; for the use of colored bricks forms a simple and honest means of interior decoration, and marble slabs or enamelled tiles, if dear, would at least be durable and not require renewal, like any decoration upon plaster. In point of injudicious use of money, the paintings are generally worse than the frescoes. Church paintings ought to be the work of undoubted artists, or they ought not to be attempted; but, usually, they are done by some cheap workman, more ambitious than able, and the result is disfigurement, dissatisfaction, and useless expense. Such paintings cannot excite devotion; but they cause distraction by teaching artistic, historical, and theological absurdities. The few American Catholic artists are not encouraged to picture devotional subjects, or to study Christian art. The foreign stencillers and the copiers of affected designs have surely spoiled sufficient wall surface; and it is full time to make a change. It would be far better, and true economy, to let the interior remain undecorated, as in many a European church, until sufficient money be obtained and the proper artist be found to make the interior harmoniously beautiful. A church without interior decoration or painting may be coldly severe; but still it may be grand in its proportions, imposing by its size and strength, and honest and honorable in its construction. The amount of money hastily, inartistically, and foolishly spent for frescoes and paintings is not in keeping with the parsimony that builds weak walls and dishonest ceilings, and endangers life and property. This so-called economy makes an observer believe that, were it not for our building laws, our churches would be built more insecurely, though decorated more gaudily, than other buildings.

The pews, the candelabra, the gas fixtures, the statues, and the organ offer chances—rarely avoided—for extravagance, deception, and inharmonious designs. As to material, the pews of to-day generally are what they seem to be; but the many needless, inartistic mouldings and carvings make them very costly without making them suitable, comfortable, or ornamental. Imi-

tations of bronze or of brass, and in styles different from that of the church, often make the candelabra and the gas-fixtures as painful as they are tawdry and expensive. Bad as may be the statues, they are never cheap; but the cheaper they are, the poorer and the less desirable they are. It often happens that their use is a violation of propriety; for, like the side altars, they are not provided for in the plans of most churches, so that they have to stand upon brackets fastened anywhere, and to look like trade objects in a neglected shop. Plaster statues are sculptural absurdities; but, like other absurdities and deceptions, they are to be found in every city. Imported from bad foreign workshops, they are often expensively and inartistically colored and gilded, without any knowledge of the style of the church or of the surroundings. When in place, sometimes better judgment goes to still further expense—which ought not to have been necessary—to paint them all white; and the poor plaster forms are made to counterfeit marble and to look like uneasy ghosts, fearless of dust, but fearful of some new desecration of color. The statues upon altars in honor of saints are usually as inartistic as the commonest trade figures; yet their gilding and colors make them costly without making them devotional. Statues are not necessary; but, if they be used, they ought to be good and honest. When art and economy are aided by the absence of statues, both may be injured by the organ. In city churches there seems to be a rivalry to have a showy, big-sounding organ, with as many stops as that at Freiburg has; but there is little concern that it should be within the means, in accordance with the worth of the building, or its face in harmony with the style of the church. A great organ is no more necessary for every church than is a spire three hundred feet high; and it may happen that the organ is relatively worth more than the building, and, like a grand piano in a faulty barn, sure of destruction by fire, or of injury by rain through the cheaply-constructed roof.

A lack of unity and a poverty of design in churches are to be seen everywhere. The lack of unity of design must be referred either to carelessness or to ignorance. It is not unusual to find the exterior and interior elevations of one style, the glass decoration of another style, the high altar of a third, the side altars of a fourth, and the pulpit and pews of a fifth. Instead of being made to agree with the design of the architect, the designs of the marble-worker, of the metal-worker, of the wood-carver, and of the carpenter, are spiritless copies of book drawings and differ as much as the workmen. The poverty of design, shown by the tiresome repetitions of exterior and of interior elevations, may come from insufficient study on the part of the architects, who, limiting their work to

their narrow pay, may find it easier and quicker to adapt the same form and design to varying dimensions than to create new designs.

Tricky, dishonest, insecure work disgraces and weakens almost all our churches, Jewish, Catholic, or Protestant; and the preceding statements are based upon an impartial examination. In some the tricks are few; but in many deceptive and bad, still always expensive, work creeps from foundation to spire finial. If the money expended be considered, the Protestant churches in the large cities make a good display; but some of the most costly are as bad as unwise expenditure of money could make them. Economically, the Catholic churches are, in general, failures; and, architecturally, a few are good, and the many are very bad, but not more so than are the many churches of other creeds. In point of honest construction and, occasionally, even of decoration, the Jewish temples and synagogues are commendable work; but some are offensive and not ~~one~~ is wholly free from the evils of the day and of the country. All these churches teach one great lesson worth the learning: that extravagant outlay is almost always for so-called ornament, and not for construction. The construction, not the ornament, is essential; but the practice of the day would seem to be that the ornament, not the construction, is important. The tricks, the shams, and the dishonest work have become so common that few clergymen question the propriety or doubt the worthiness; and yet, if clergymen or building committees undertake the construction of a church, are they not morally obliged to bring to their work the necessary fitness or knowledge? The laws of honest work, alone worthy of their God's church, and the laws of taste proper to a house of God, ought to be known to them; otherwise they are unfitted for the trust, and the consequent dishonest work is sure to make foolish the expenditure. A knowledge of the elementary laws of architecture and of taste is not intuitive; but it must be acquired by those needing to use it, if worthy work and prudent outlay be important. The common law does not compel an ignorant fisherman, for example, to build a steamship; but, if he assume the supervision of the work, the law will hold him responsible, even though he plead ignorance of construction. The negotiator between the congregation that furnishes the money and the architect that plans and builds is morally responsible for the bad work and useless expense following the meddlesome, culpable ignorance of primary laws. If an honest architect be chosen—and it is to be supposed no other will be employed—his judgment ought to command the respect of the non-professional agent. When the agent is the pastor there is no reason to suspect his intention to do right; but it is to be remembered that his executive

position demands knowledge as well as good will. When he calls beautiful a church that constructionally, is a sham and æsthetically is a deceit, the people may reverently assent; but his costly ignorance is not therefore excusable, or the building either secure or honorable. Whoever he be, the agent ought to have the needed knowledge; for then, and only then, can he fittingly and safely and thriftily advise, interfere, or order.

Churches here are built under circumstances different from those in Europe. There they have been built by cities' orders, or by gifts of princes, prelates, and private purses, as well as by willing contributions of the people: in the United States they are built mainly by a severe tax upon the poor. Here government or city aid is improbable; we have no princes, the prelates are not wealthy, and the rich men are not disposed to build monuments in the form of churches. The few Protestant churches that have been erected by large gifts from private purses are only exceptions to the common custom. Pastor, building-committee, and architect ought to reflect whence is to come the needed money. The architect alone can do nothing, on account of the wish of pastor and of congregation to surpass their neighbors and to equal foreign churches; yet pastors and people ought to learn that which, under the present circumstances, is not only morally necessary, but which forms the basis of mere "mercantile" honesty. In the condition of thought in the United States there is, too, a difference and a change which demand earnest consideration by clergymen. Freedom of speech, permitting every cobbler to be a public lecturer upon theology; the freedom of the press, which treats of every subject, even the holiest; and the free-school education, giving even polite knowledge to the poorest, make it necessary that the churches, also, should become schools of instruction, gratuitously imparting fuller knowledge and wiser guidance than are to be had elsewhere. If church-goers hear two sermons each Sunday, they do not hear as much religion as they every day may read of science, of art, of literature, of history, of scandal, in the pages of the newspaper, of the magazine, of the review, and of cheap books. With the present method, which is the old one, sufficient for the needs of a people three hundred years ago, the amount of given religious instruction, relatively to other kinds of instruction, is absurdly small. In numbers and in ability the secular press is far ahead of the religious; and in quantity, in quality, and in cheapness, the religious publications are far behind the profane. The "conflict" is unequally waged; and every day makes it more important that the inequality be not mistaken for inability.

The remedy for the present faults and needs of American churches

is that the buildings should be of some simple plan, so that they may be all that they seem to be ; and that they be made to contain the multitude, to whom religion may be taught as fully as are other matters elsewhere. In growing cities very expensive and not proportionately commodious churches are built for districts which the subsequent increase of population requires to be divided ; and the division makes necessary new churches. It is important that this division be foreseen ; and that simpler, more commodious churches be erected, the multiplication of which may not be an offence against economy or architecture. The preaching order churches of the Middle Ages—simple in plan and simple in construction—ought to furnish the needed suggestion ; for they have been religiously successful, and are architecturally honest.<sup>1</sup> For the ordinary churches the best plan, then, would be to go back to a simple building of a great nave, not divided into aisles to be shown in the façade, and without shafts or clerestory ; but with solid walls carrying a timber roof honestly showing its construction and treated after the tasteful manner of the Romanesque or the Gothic decoration. A timber roof is not fireproof, but it is good and relatively inexpensive ; and, when it is not concealed by a plaster ceiling, it may be moulded, carved, or simply decorated so as to be a thing of constructional beauty. With timber great height may be attained, and great distance spanned by means of a single spar reared on its base or supported at the ends, strength being obtained by bracing the pieces together according to geometric principles. Of such wooden roofs, there are many beautiful and astonishing examples in the churches of England of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries. The proposed plan of building would reject the unsightly, deceptive, or dangerous galleries, from which no view of the altar can be had ; and it would give abundant wall space for suitable frescoes and devotional paintings, when sufficient means and good artists could be secured. For the exterior brick might be used. In Italy and in the Low Countries, brick has been employed with results satisfactory to art as well as to economy. With terra cotta, properly applied, or with stone, it is relatively inexpensive, very pleasing, full of character, and more lasting than many of the costly freestones used here ; but it ought to be tried only by those who understand its limitations. Some of the new buildings of New York city are examples of what may be

<sup>1</sup> Ruskin, speaking of the Franciscans and the Dominicans, says, in "Mornings in Florence :—" "Their churches were meant for use ; not show, nor self-glorification, nor town-glorification. They wanted places for preaching, prayer, sacrifice, burial ; and had no intention of showing how high they could build towers, or how widely they could arch vaults. Strong walls and the roof of a barn,—these your Franciscan asks of his Arnolfo. These Arnolfo gives,—thoroughly and wisely built."—*J. Santa Croce*, p. 14.

done with brick and terra cotta, though not equal to the admirable use of the same materials in the churches of Italy. For economy the façade ought to be plain; but it need not, therefore, be unattractive. How beautiful may be a very simple façade is shown in some of the older English and French churches. Be the exterior what it may, the interior is more important. The suggested plan would give an unbroken space which would accommodate more persons than many of our most costly churches, obstructed as they are by large columns or by larger piers, and darkened by galleries and aisle vaults. Such a building would be economical and could be well ventilated and well lighted. It would be simple; and all good art must be simple. It would be architecturally honorable, and could be imposing by reason of its proportions and of its simplicity; but it would not be an object of undue expense, of unsuitableness, of trickery, of distraction, or of fear. The fifth century Basilica church, too, with nave and aisles, but built throughout of brick or of stone, with simple mouldings and simple decoration, could be effectively used, if a different plan were desired; and it would be cheaper, better, roomier, and more honest than the expensive pseudo-classical and Gothic churches, which, as used by us, are little more than monumental deceptions. In these or some such churches severely plain in plan and in decoration, yet beautiful in their just proportions, the multitude may be adequately instructed; but in the most costly churches of the day the preacher's voice is lost amid the intricacies of plaster, and reaches but few of the small number that ever have the needed inducement of seats.

One need not be a pessimist to believe that religious art, like other arts, is in decay. The plaster mould and the iron mould multiply forms that are bad, and make easy many kinds of deception. German gold and paint make things seem better than they are; and all the world approves the lie. Churches seem to be called beautiful in proportion as their ornamentation is glaring and inartistic, and the weakness of their construction is concealed by painted plaster. In the large cities the theatres, the hotels, the coffee-rooms, and the shops have caught the disease; and nearly everything is plaster painted and gilded, or wood stained to look like anything but itself. The ornament and the decoration of the day are glittering cheats. In other countries the Church is yet the mother of architecture; but in this country the churches are costly and offensive deceptions. For every trick or deceit there is the ready answer, "It looks just as well;" but the argument applies as logically to character and to dress as it does to churches. A new style of simple, honest church, designed for the change in circumstances and in thought, is needed; and the sooner it is adopted,

the better for art, for people, for clergymen, and for religion. Places of worship are not built for speculative purposes, and they ought not, by reason of the sacredness of their character, to imitate the commercial tricks of buildings made to be sold ; but, if they be worse than the trade structures, they cannot be honorable to God or serviceable to man, and must become, though not called, temples for the glorification of sham.

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## RELIGION AND LIFE.

*The Orthodox Theology of To-day.* By Rev. Dr. Newman Smyth.

*Old Faiths in a New Light.* By Rev. Dr. Newman Smyth.

*Philosophy in the Church of Rome.* By Thomas Davidson.

THE decline of religion as a dogmatic belief forms a topic upon which much has been said and written in the last few years. It is a phenomenon which naturally attracts the attention of all observant minds, since in the question of belief are bound up the most important issues of life. Morality, so the avowed atheist does not hesitate to admit, must fade away when the basis on which the code of ethics is built is once withdrawn. Society, as such, therefore, is as much interested in the issue as are the advocates of religion on the one side and their opponents on the other. This general interest accounts to a great extent for the endless number of opinions expressed on the subject. Yet while there is an immense discrepancy between the views advanced on each side, there are, nevertheless, some points on which there appears to be very general agreement ; and these points are, therefore, well worth investigating.

First of all, it is apparent to any one who follows the religious movement in its surging to and fro as it is expressed in contemporary literature that a much more correct and much more definite understanding of the true meaning of the term " religion " has obtained. Not a few argue and seemingly not without good reasons that doctrinal belief as such is falling into discredit simply because a more correct conception of the office and mission of religion gains from day to day greater currency. This, it is maintained, explains why rationalism has succeeded in making such frightful



inroads into the rank and file of Christian society ; and it explains, furthermore, why the charge is preferred against all religious systems of our day of being powerless either to direct or to hold their respective followers. Nor is it possible to entirely contradict this bold assertion. For it is indeed remarkable with what wonderful perspicuity and clearness some modern writers, though unbelievers themselves, point out the inadequacy of Theism, of Protestantism, and not less so of Positivism, to serve as a religion of mankind. In a series of papers published in preceding numbers of this REVIEW some of the more striking instances have been discussed. It has been shown in them that the charges just referred to are by no means idle accusations ; but are well founded, and that they apply with much force and precision to most Christian denominations. For this reason it seems to be a very natural conclusion that the religious systems of the past, together with those of the present day, will pass away and make room for one which, it is true, still remains an unsolved problem of the future, but of which the hope is entertained that some master-mind will construct it before long. This belief is spread far and wide, and is entertained seriously by large numbers. Nor is it just to blame society for holding such views. In many respects this view of the situation is quite correct. It contains an admission which of itself is full of promise, whether expressly made or only implied. The creed of the future, it is acknowledged, must be more than a mere cold abstract truth like the laws of numbers, the basis of mathematics. It is conceded, and this is the first point of agreement, that whatever the unborn religion of the unborn to-morrow will or may be, it must not only be able to take hold of reason, and through the intellectual faculties exercise a wholesome influence upon will and action, but it must do more. It must be able also to fill the human heart and to raise a certain enthusiasm. In short, it must be able to appeal effectively to all the nobler and finer springs of action in life, that is, it must be able to *fill life's full measure*. Most Christian denominations fail to do this. They do not, as has been shown very conclusively by some of the ablest pens of our times, come up to those practical tests which our pre-eminently practical age has applied to them. They are failures ; they have shown their inadequacy to grapple with life's entirety. Hence, the prediction made respecting religion in general, that is, of all existing religions, certainly holds good with regard to most of them.

A marked increase in the correct knowledge of the meaning of religion has apparently produced a proportionate decrease in the extent of religious belief. Knowledge and religion appear to stand, indeed, in inverse proportion, and it is hardly a matter of surprise

that this perplexing relationship should have shaken the convictions of many honest-minded people.

Again,—and this forms the second point of agreement amidst universal disagreement,—while it is believed that the world at this day has no religion worth having, it is also believed, and probably with greater firmness and greater certainty, that no matter what the future of mankind will be, some sort of belief, some religious system, will not be wanting in it. On this point there exists in fact no divergence of opinion at all. And for very obvious reasons. The world is no longer in its infancy. It has reached the ripe age of manhood. More prosperous times may be in store for it than it has enjoyed in the past, but the world will have no other body, no other soul, no other earth, no other heaven than it has had. In other words, the elements of life, and its conditions in the future, cannot essentially differ from those of the past. To assume, therefore, that mankind will ever relinquish its hold upon that which has ever been its inseparable companion in the past, is irrational. Besides, it is only necessary to witness how hard the human race struggles at this very time to retain that companion, and to observe also how hopeless that struggle is in the majority of cases, in order to discard any such assumption as altogether improbable. People, when brought face to face with the necessity of parting with their religion, are seen to cling to it with the force of despair, however unsatisfying and plainly false that religion may be. What the attitude of individuals may be as to this does not, however, concern us here. They must be left to decide for themselves whether to reject the claims of so-called science, or to accept them and lend a willing ear to the tempting insinuations of the spirit of the age. In days when everything appears to be upset and without firm foundations, the general drift of thought acquires more importance than that of social fractions. •

Now the two points to which we have called attention as the two points of agreement which are clearly observable at present, result from the preponderating tendency of our age to take practical views of all things, religion included. Practical tests are asked for in all things. These must be given or else society remains cold and unmoved. The question of religion is, therefore, no longer what religious system displays the most scientific, the most philosophical system and arrangement of dogmas; nor what religion contains the fullest promise of coming up to the requirements of the creed of the future. The question in its naked reality is this: *Has* religion ever solved the problem of life, has religion mastered life in all its complex ramifications, has it dealt successfully with it, has it ever solved the enigma of life in a practical way?

This, we take it, is the key-note which has been struck in our days,

and which is re-echoed more or less distinctly from all that has been written on the subject. Religion is tested and measured by life. Society, not entering thoroughly into the subject, and reasoning superficially, has declared that no such thing as genuine religion exists at the present day in this world. It is self-evident, however, that if there be a genuine religion, no practical test to which it can be subjected can possibly have any fatal effect upon it. A failure to stand the most crucial test, namely, the test of life, would plainly demonstrate that it was not, in point of fact, genuine. On the other hand, if it stands the test, then the sooner this becomes plainly manifest the better for society.

It seems almost superfluous to remark that in what follows the words *religion* and *Christianity* are used as interchangeable terms.

The discussion of the category of creeds to which the old Pagan beliefs, and the Asiatic and African forms of worship, belong, is virtually closed in this nineteenth century. For it is not contested that Christianity shows an immense advance over all religious systems which preceded it. The modern civilized world may learn, no doubt, a great deal from studying the forms under which the human race, under varying conditions, gave expression to its irrepressible want of some religious belief. But while this is true, it would be an insult to the standard of enlightenment which happily prevails now in civilized society, to presume for a moment that the worship of any Pagan deity could be seriously revived. Religion stands or falls with Christianity. This much is admitted. Hence it follows that if Christianity is not an idle phantom, if it is aught but a mere delusion, too long held by a superstitious crowd, then it should be able, in at least *one* of its forms, to show itself equivalent to and co-extensive with life. No answer to that query can, of course, be made before the meaning of life is ascertained; and here we refer not to the meaning of life in the general sense of the term, but of life as applied to man, who is the highest form and embodiment of natural life.

Life, when applied to man, comprises a great deal more than that which he has in common with creatures on a lower plane to which this word is also applied. Life, being no fiction, but a stern reality with which each human being has to deal, whether it chooses or not, includes, it is true, the cycle of animal life. But, as even the most advanced scientists concede that man is not all muscle, but has also non-physical or intellectual life, duplex elements present themselves at the outset. In his reason and intellect man possesses faculties whereby he may cut loose from the material world and soar above it. Experience confirms this fact in a way which excludes every possible contradiction on this point. Animal life and intellectual life do not, however, exhaust life in its entirety. Life,

in regard to man, embraces more even than the sum of his physical and intellectual activity. It comprises the whole complex array of relations springing from the action and reaction and interdependence of physical and intellectual functions and activities issuing forth and culminating in what is called the "moral" life. Cultured thought and science, and hence enlightened society, are honest enough to admit this.

From this brief and condensed analysis of life, it is plainly to be seen that religion, in dealing with life, must perform a threefold office, and fill a mission as regards physical, intellectual, and moral life. This triplex relationship encountered in the social unit recurs, as a matter of necessity, in society and in mankind at large. For the human race is formed of nations, these of families, and these in turn of individuals. Hence it is utterly impossible that the human race should not possess what every member thereof possesses. Moreover, it stands to reason, that the triplex nature in the race should manifest itself in the same order in which it appears in individual beings. To presume that the order clearly established in the life of man is not reversed in the life of mankind, is not in accordance with common sense. Nor is the order reversed as a matter of fact. But this fulness of life, that is of animal, intellectual, and moral life, is not put at once into the possession of any human being, except in a potential sense. In infancy, which is the first stage of life, the animal portion preponderates almost to the exclusion of the other elements. But, as life runs on, the intellect gradually awakens from its dormant state, and that awakening signalizes the second stage, which is, as it were, added on to the first. And when intellectual activity has once fairly set in, a moment arrives when something within begins to whisper about duty, about obligation, about responsibility, and the like; and *then*, and not until then, does a human being enter upon the social field where the law of morality regulates with stern hand the intercourse between man and man. The transition from one stage of life to the other does not appear as a sudden and abrupt change, but is a continuous as well as a progressive process. The length of the period within which that change is accomplished may, and does vary, in almost every individual. The popular expressions of the three stages of life, namely, animal, intellectual, and moral life, recur in almost every language, under the terms, "infancy," "childhood," for the one, "youth," "manhood," "ripe age," for the others.

In the life of mankind, periods corresponding to the gradual development which is observed in man, should not be wanting. Nor are they wanting. And hence, in order to test religion by life, it is not enough to establish simply that in individuals the three successive phases are successfully passed through, but it is neces-

sary to prove that the fulness of life in the human race has been successfully dealt with by religion. If this has been done, it must be a matter of historic record. It must be shown that religion has directed its main energies, with discerning eye, always to the conquest of that stage which characterizes in a prominent degree the period at which mankind and religion came into direct contact. The verdict does not depend so much upon the success or the failure which may have attended the effects of true Christianity upon some, or even upon many individuals, but rather upon the success or failure of its effects upon that vast aggregation of human individuals which constitutes the race. This is a practical test, and one fraught with fewer difficulties than any other, to settle the great question, whether the world at this day has or has not a religion worth having. A very brief summary of the historic facts bearing upon this subject is, of course, all that can be given within the limited compass of this paper. But, what is alluded to in few words can be verified or amplified from the shelves of any well-assorted library. It is not our purpose to give more than a few bold tracings as an impetus to private study and reflection. The digestion of ready-made mental dishes seldom if ever bears good fruits, and never in any abundance, whereas independent work along a distinctly marked line hardly ever fails to lead to the destined goal.

At the beginning of our era a true and perfect religion was revealed for the first time by the Founder of Christianity. Consequently true religion and humanity were then for the first time confronted by each other. The question now arises, What was the state of human society at that period? Upon what stage of life had the race as such entered? What was it that religion first attacked? Fortunately, there is no lack of authentic records as to the aspect society then presented. Competent historians have drawn pictures of it in clear-cut and well-defined lines, and in colors still fresh and unmistakable. The task of consulting history on this point is therefore very easy. History tells us that it was a period during which everything was literally engulfed in the reign of the passions. The Pagan creeds had run out their course. They had proven themselves powerless to restrain any longer the animal instincts from acquiring supreme control over the ruling nation, the Romans. An unbridled indulgence in all that catered to sensual appetites had reached a height which it is difficult for us in the far-off distance to conceive. Licentiousness, avarice, luxury, selfishness, a total ignoring of the rights of fellow-men, a willingness to sacrifice these remorselessly for the gratification of some passion; these were the traits which characterize the rulers of the period, and the period itself. Life was wastefully poured on every carnal thing. Materialism's foul blight darkened the in-

tellect, chilled all the nobler emotions, paralyzed the heart, and tainted the times so much that the equilibrium of the moral law seemed to exist no longer. Corruption and depravity hurled the mightiest of all nations towards the bottomless pit of perdition which the unchecked reign of the passions had prepared for it as an ignominious grave. The animal life threatened to extinguish the intellectual and moral life. Yet, rotten to the core as the Roman Empire was then internally, it still stood externally before the world as a colossus. North of the Alps and beyond the Rhine the Gallic and Teutonic tribes had succumbed to the superior soldier-ship of Rome. In Spain, and across the Straits of Gibraltar, all along the north coast of Africa, Roman eagles were planted, and in loud tones proclaimed that the nations which lived there were subservient to that great power which had known how to vanquish them on the battlefield, and thereby to turn the freeholders into slaves, so that their labor increased the wealth of their rulers and enabled them to satiate their every whim as long as time would permit. In Egypt, the land of the pyramids, Rome also reigned supreme; and the measured tread of Roman legions was re-echoed alike from the shores of the Pontus Euxinus and the placid waters of the Persian Gulf. Even in the extreme northwest, as then known, namely, in Britannia, and again in the extreme east, on the borders of the Indus, Rome was acknowledged as the mighty mistress of the world. Rome had absorbed realm after realm. The philosophy of Greece and the mysticism of the East had been brought into the Eternal City. All creeds were sought to be amalgamated, and strength expected from the forced consolidation. But Rome no longer reigned by virtue or justice. The secret of power and expansion lay only in the intelligent use of that very element of physical strength,—that is to say, brute force, whose preponderance in individuals undermined already the existence of the race and poisoned the life-blood circulating through its veins. The domination of Rome, from the time Christianity was preached in the East down to the collapse of the Empire, rested only and solely upon the skilful and intelligent use with which physical superiority was guided, controlled, directed, and marshalled for the subjugation of whatsoever offered resistance. The structure of the Empire in all its greatness could no longer prevent the masses from uttering that cry of "*Panem et circenses*," which tells its own sad tale. The masses of the people ask not for right or for justice or for equity. No, they ask simply for what will sustain animal life, and for what can delight only the degraded tastes of a degraded populace. Therefore, if there ever was a time when the supremacy of animal life was clearly depicted in the state of society, it was *then*. The first and

the lowest stage of life in mankind had reached the utmost development of which that element is capable. It was consequently a time when the mission of religion as regards the human race was most clearly mapped out. The conquest of the life of the passions in man is, as is well known, the first task of religion; the same conquest in the race proved to be the first task of religion in its relationship to mankind. Whether this strange identity deserves to be regarded as a providential arrangement we shall not discuss here. It suffices for us to know that the first stage of life in the race was conquered by religion. And this is not a question open for discussion. It is a historic fact that it *was* done, and also *how* it was done.

After the lapse of three short centuries, the great Roman Empire lay at the feet of the Church of Rome in precisely the same manner in which the animal man finds himself before man when converted into a religious being,—that is, a Christian. Evidences of the victory of religion in the social unit abound. The long catalogue of martyrs, confessors, and saints proclaims that victory with a never-dying eloquence. If, on the other hand, evidence is demanded of the subjugation, at the feet of Christianity, of the first stage of life in the human race, the Roman Empire, the apotheosis of power, and as such, the superlative expression of the aggregation of animal life in the race, history speaks in accents not less eloquent of the victory of religion over human society. The examination of the past in the comprehensive way in which the philosophy of history bids us to examine it, establishes, therefore, that historic Christianity,—*i. e.*, the Catholic Church,—has recorded in indelible ink a victory which offers internal as well as external evidence that the world has not in vain agreed to count afresh its age from the date of the birth of Christ. Mindful of the condition of society and of the powers which were allied to uphold that condition, the fulfilment by Christianity of the first stage of its mission offers in itself a testimony to the heaven-born origin of true religion.

Intellectual activity and vigor follows, as has been stated before, the manifestation of physical life in the individual, and mark, as it were, the second stage. It does so likewise in the race. As soon as nations strip off the garments of infancy, the second evidence of the possession of life in its entirety appears on the scene. It is the intellect, then, which asks for untrammelled empire. As the revolt of the passions forms the first act, so does the revolt of the intellect form the second act of the great drama,—“life.”

Rome's fall swept away the old nations, and with them most of their culture and civilization and vices. What was left behind was

buried out of sight. Barbarians grew up in the place of the extinct nations; crude masters of art and science, full of vital energy, but unskilled as yet in the full and free use of all intellectual faculties. Religion stood before them like a mother who had undertaken to train them in virtue and chastity, but yet like a mother who had not as yet told them the *why* and the *wherefore* of what she had taught. That silence was now to be broken. As the waves of time rolled on, fragments of the philosophies of Greece and Rome were washed ashore. What had been saved from under the ruins of the Roman Empire gradually spread among the new nations and imparted a powerful impetus to the growth of their intellectual life. Drinking knowledge from those perennial masterpieces of human thought (unaided by a light from above), which the great minds of Greece and Rome had fashioned, philosophy; logic, metaphysics became known as taught by these, and became better known and better understood than they are in our own days. Religious faith alone no longer sufficed for mankind. The expansion of the reasoning faculties imperatively demanded that Christianity should be cast into a complete and perfect system of philosophy and theology. Thus stood religion before its second mission. Its energies had to be addressed now to the reconquest of man in his collective capacity, by showing that the intellectual life no less than the physical falls within its province. This time it was not the force of the passionate instincts and propensities of man's frame, but that greater and subtler force, the force of his reason, which had to be mastered by religion. The universal demand of human society had to be met for a rational system of belief which possesses not only faith, but places a well-ordered system of dogmas and doctrines, based upon sound philosophy, before mankind.

To do this, it was necessary that Christianity should build up a system of theology and philosophy which, by its greatness alone, would put into the shade the works of those intellectual giants who continue to be honored as the master minds of antiquity, and whose greatness has never been called in question by any Christian philosopher. And here, again, it is a matter of record that the only religious organization which, as a historic organization, reaches back to the very dawn of true religion, signalizes its second triumphant victory. What is known as the scholastic philosophy was called into life; and, under such lights as St. Thomas Aquinas, it reached a perfection which made the rebellious intellect of human society bow in reverential assent. The monuments which have been left standing as landmarks of that period well deserve our attention. For, whoever studies scholastic philosophy, and particularly the works of the Christian Aristotle, will gladly testify that



they stand unrivalled as severe, continuous, logical processes of thought. They superseded the world's thought before Christianity was born, and nothing written since then equals that which preceded Christian philosophy. As Mr. Thomas Davidson so well remarks in his *Philosophy of the Church of Rome*, "Few, indeed, are the scientific or philosophical works of modern times which the application of St. Thomas's commentary on the *Organon* would not prove to be illogical or self-contradictory. Logic especially has been little more than an ignominious testimony to the absence of metaphysical ability."

The second stage of the mission of Religion, like the first, is thus seen to have been successfully achieved by the Catholic Church in the individual as well as in the race. Two stages of life have thus been grappled with and brought under dominion by true Religion, yet life, in its entirety, still remains unconquered, for the third and last stage is not yet included in the conquest. The adequacy of true Religion to cope with life's fullness remains now to be established.

The complex nature of life in its entirety, which has been mentioned before, makes it necessary to clear up somewhat this mystery before proceeding further. Life, it was said, when applied to man, means the expression as well as the measure of all the faculties of man and their relationship. Life, in its entirety, embraces all animal appetites, all intellectual pleasures, and is, in point of fact, the combination of the two natures, resulting in the constant struggle between liberty and the passions, which forms the battlefield of the moral order. The inferior being in the scale of those whose patrimony constitutes life, namely, the brute creation, is led by instinct. In the animal, instinct and passion are the same thing. But man, though endowed with instinct and passion, inasmuch as he is endowed with a body, and thereby subjected to the yoke of sensible things, rises by the light of reason towards the intelligible orb, where omnipotence itself is ruled by the law of justice. Man alone possesses the prerogative of knowing the true, of willing the good, of loving the beautiful: three things not included in the narrow limit of human life, and yet within its reach. In man there is, as the ancestor of liberty, a luminous principle, which the world knows as "conscience," and which forms the fulcrum of moral life. Man, moreover, is not born alone with his body and his intellect. He is the necessary fellow-citizen of the world, and carried along by it in a whirlwind, which governs him. No man can trace a line of circumvallation around himself, no more than he can escape from the ideas of his times, the customs of his country, and the traditions and friends of his youth. It is only by raising himself above and beyond his place here below that he can behold

a horizon free from bondage, because free from limit. Human nature, in the fulness of life, shows, therefore, a susceptibility of enlargement and transformation, which forcibly indicates that other elements are added on to the physical and intellectual part of his nature. These do not cease to play their respective parts, but the moral element also enters upon the arena and resolves itself into two, namely, a social and a supernatural element. Moral life, therefore, is the result of the action of several forces, and the mainsprings of action are three, namely: reason, liberty, and conscience. Reason may be said to stand at the summit, and serves as a light; liberty, the free choice between good and evil, right and wrong, appears as the great force in the web of activity; conscience, lastly, stands between the two as a sentiment, urging ever on to make the proper choice. These forces move between two points. At the one end stands the innate and invincible desire for happiness; at the other, the extent of our understanding. The distance between these two points varies. For only the indwelling desire for happiness is a constant quantity, while the reach of the intellectual faculties is a variable quantity. Still, no matter how limited the latter may be, this much is certain, that truth is always the object which is desired, because through it alone happiness is attainable. Truth has this, in common with happiness, that it flies ever before us into the illimitable regions which intelligence opens up. By an invincible energy man is borne on beyond time and space towards the infinite. For no limited object ever satisfies our faculties. It is a fallacious delusion to think it can; for the moment we possess what we were longing for, our thoughts and desires, after a short moment's lingering, raise themselves at once to other objects beyond our grasp, until at last we reach out into the infinite. For this reason man cannot find in himself either the principle, or the object, or the term of his existence. He drifts by necessity always into the infinite, which, it is true, he fails, and always will fail, to comprehend, but which he may, and does, apprehend, and of which he is furthermore bound to assert that it is no abstraction without reality, since he himself seeks in it the highest truth, the greatest happiness, that is to say, the fulness of life. Nor is this all. Truth forms, indeed, as life teaches us, the legitimate object after which our intellect craves in order to attain to happiness. But truth alone would leave us cold, unless it is surrounded by a halo, by a something which is capable of touching our innermost feelings. In order to raise a certain enthusiasm, truth needs to be equipped with an attractive force, and this latter is beauty. The union of truth and beauty furnishes alone an object which can be seized by human nature with all the intensity of which it is capable, and the expression of this highest and greatest and noblest

energy of life is called "love." In love life presents to us its greatest friend, that is to say, the most potent cause of virtue and happiness, and at the same time its greatest enemy, that is to say, the most potent cause of vice. A passion at its root, love, in its crystallized form, is the masterpiece of life, its summit and at the same time its essence. Yet, as is well known, even the most liberal cultivation of thought by science and letters affords no guarantee, no shelter, from falling a prey to that passion in its lowest form. No less an authority than Herbert Spencer admits this freely.

Having arrived at this point, it is evident that the main office of Religion, as regards the moral life, consists necessarily in converting the greatest enemy into man's strongest ally. The belief in God, which is the first and foremost truth of Religion, is one without which life itself becomes unthinkable. Nor is this belief an artificial creation of Christianity. It is, on the contrary, a native and universal belief, emerging spontaneously in connection with the feeling of dependence and moral obligation, which appears as soon as our intellectual faculties arrive at maturity. The physical order already furnishes mankind with a negative intuition of God. The intellectual faculties, through the ideas of truth and justice, serve as a direct intuition, while life, that is, human society, gives us a practical intuition of His existence. Life itself confirms what Religion affirms. Life itself shows the necessity of religious teachings of such character as true Christianity proclaims. If we trace effects back to their causes, we show these to be effects themselves until we arrive at the dilemma either that cause itself is a phantom and no reality, or else that there is one self-existing intelligent supreme cause. Or, if we consider the human body in its relation to mind, namely, the very striking and obvious adaptation of the bodily organs to the service of our intelligence, every one who is conscious of being able to begin action cannot help experiencing a most vivid perception of design. And this consciousness of design makes the theory of chance, as the alternative of design, fall to the ground. Chance or fatality as such has no existence. Every human being forms his own destiny, since what is called destiny is simply the consequence of our own decisions. There is as little incoherence of actions, and inconsequence of results in the moral order, as there is in the physical. Even liberty has its law, and produces a regular web. A causal nexus pervades the whole universe, and consequently life. The wondrous order and harmony and perfect arrangement between part and part, visible everywhere in nature, speak to human intelligence, and human intelligence responds to nature. Both meet in conscience, and life places the seal of experience upon the revelation of the three. Whoever tries to escape from this revelation, which the study of life forces

upon our recognition, must silence a voice whose sound reverberates from age to age. Unbelief is, therefore, never a sequence of the study of life, but simply a form of indifference, and exists only as such. For the more knowledge expands the more clearly and fully is the supreme wisdom of the Creator attested; so that it is perfectly absurd to suppose that life tells of no God, rather than of God. It is only because we are so much entangled in material surroundings that we go on in a kind of reckless dream, and forget that we are captives of sense and slaves of time.

The office of religion in reference to life's entirety, as is apparent from the preceding analysis, is one which implies not only a dealing with man as a union of body and intellect, but implies a dealing with man as a being whose highest aspirations rest in the infinite; claiming God as Life-giver and possessing in conscience a force which might perhaps be defined as "reason inspired by divine love." Religion must illumine our reason, expand its horizon, call into play all our faculties, establish harmony. It must influence liberty so that due preference shall be given to the counsel whispered by the voice of conscience. In order to make reason, liberty, and conscience a triune and harmonious force, truth must be placed by religion before our understanding in such way that its beauty may engender within us a love to possess it in full. In other words, the consciousness that we cannot, as long as we are prisoners of time and space, comprehend the infinite, must not be allowed to cast us down and render us faint-hearted and despondent, but must be joined to the consciousness that the fountain-head of truth alone possesses the beauty, in the love of which man finds not only the object of his desire for happiness, but real undefiled happiness itself. In fine, religion, by using passion to destroy passion, must elevate the most fatal force from its lowest plane, and place it upon a summit where divinity and humanity meet in a true embrace.

This is the plain mission of religion, and, from its consideration, it is at once patent that all those Christian denominations which do not acknowledge a supernatural element are *ipso facto* excluded from putting forward any claim to being "the true religion." There is in reality but one Church, the Catholic Church, which can even pretend to be, and which in fact is the repository of true religion. Some Protestant denominations declare, it is true, that the supernatural element enters as a potent factor into life. But while acknowledging this much, they display a profound ignorance of the frailty of human nature. Protestantism stands, beyond contradiction, as the religion of respectability before the world. Its churches, as a rule, are well carpeted, provided with comfortable pews, good chairs, and are filled at the services with congregations who, in point of wealth, dress, outward appearance, etc., are in advance

of Catholic average congregations. But a monotonous discourse on some topic of the day, or a free interpretation of some Bible-text joined to some hymn-chanting and organ playing, forms pretty nearly all that is given as religion to living beings. And that this is not capable of combating with life's energy requires but slight insight into human nature to perceive. No religion can possibly be efficacious without a series of channels by means of which life may be guided whenever its current threatens to drift away from the straight course. A memory which is only too willing to forget whatever imposes restraints, must needs be constantly reminded of the existence of safety-valves, so to speak, and of the necessity of using these unhesitatingly. All this can be accomplished only by raising an enthusiasm of fervor and affection, and by maintaining the same. Else no such effect can be produced, nor can it be expected to be produced, as religion must produce it in order to fulfil its real functions. The Catholic religion, as is now pretty generally admitted by all except prejudiced Protestants, shows daily how thoroughly able it is to subjugate life's vicissitudes; to engender patience, and submission, and virtue; to console and strengthen the weak and despondent; to curb the pride of conceit and to engraft the lesson of true charity practically upon her adherents. So far as the individual is concerned, Catholicity beyond dispute comes up to the requirements made by life upon true religion.

Outside of the pale of that Church religion has gradually become a matter of culture, of fashion, tinged only here and there with religious sentimentality. And modern culture, as will presently be seen, is incompetent to solve the momentous enigma of life. Modern culture does not neglect physical culture. That portion of human nature receives careful and considerate treatment. Walking, running, rowing, riding, in short gymnastics in general, are encouraged if not enjoined by it. And we are far from finding fault with these bodily exercises, which are perfectly legitimate and even praiseworthy. But our age has no mental gymnastics. The intellectual training shows a deplorable one-sidedness. The non-physical part of human nature, whether it be called mind, intellect, reason, or what not, consists, always and at all times, of will, memory, and understanding, as its three component parts. To cultivate one and neglect two, or to cultivate two and neglect one, means, we take it, onesided culture. And this is precisely the fault of the culture of our age. Modern thought is made up almost exclusively of facts and fancy. Science furnishes kindly the facts, literature cooks these facts, and puts them in fancy dress. The scientist searches heaven and earth with a diligence, and perseverance, and boldness sometimes truly appalling. He brings down the stars with the telescope, breaks them to pieces with the spectroscope, takes these pieces up

and examines them with the microscope, and then all is handed over to the man of fancy, who makes a sort of celestial dish out of the promiscuous material. It reminds one forcibly of Shakespeare's lines,

The searcher's eye in a fine frenzy rolling  
Doth glance from heaven to earth, from earth to heaven,  
And as imagination bodies forth  
The form of things unknown, the poet's pen  
Turns them to shapes and gives to airy nothing  
A local habitation and a name !

Now facts and fancy engage at best our memory and imagination ; the heart is starved from want of that which can be gotten at only through the will. The most important element of mental training, without which society never can rise from the desire of enjoyment through indulgence to the idea of happiness through self-restraint, is, therefore, left out altogether. The only effective agency which the study of life unfolds as available for that purpose, that is to say, love, has no place therein. Yet love—not love of the earth, however, and all its sordid objects, but love of that Life which is ever Lord of Death—has the power to guide man towards his destiny. Culture, therefore, can never hope to take the place of religion. For no religion can hope to survive which holds not the secret of Divine love and through it the key of real life.

From the variety of the elements of life, and from their characteristic nature, it follows that religion, likewise, has variable as well as constant elements. The groundwork remains the same as long as life remains what it is. The superstructure is, of necessity, subjected to the same changes to which life itself is subject. New times bring about new phases of life, and every phase of life, whether old or new, forms a province of religion. Hence it is, that the progress of thought, the progress of civilization, the progress of life, calls constantly for new applications of the constant to the variable elements of religion. The battle-ground of Christian apologetics will ever be shifting its place with the accumulation of experience, the progress of science, and of human thought in general. Religion has always to deal with living issues, and consequently must take the world as it is, not as it was a hundred years ago. And for this reason a continuous progress in the comprehension, and in the methods of presenting the truths of religion, will ever form a concomitant of the unchangeable doctrines of Christianity. The history of Christianity is, in reality, only the history of progress, and it seems strange, therefore, that there should be persons who feel alarmed on hearing that Christianity is being recast in our days. Yet what else is it that Pope Leo XIII. urges with such earnestness, and wisdom, and eloquence upon the

expounders of Christianity? He bids them simply prepare for the conquest of life in the human race, the third and last mission of religion, and the one which, as yet, is but partially carried out. He does so, not, however, as if he held that Christianity and life were out of joint. The supreme Pontiff who stands at the head of the Catholic Church is one who, to use the words of Mr. Thomas Davidson, is not only a man of great energy and administrative ability, but who combines to a wonderful degree the qualities necessary for the guidance of the Church in the present times. Pope Leo XIII. is said to be "enthusiastic, without being blind; scholarly, without being clogged with learning; devoted to the Church and her hereditary rights, without desiring that they should supersede all those of the state; a sincere admirer of the scientific, moral, and political progress of modern times, without admitting that it can ever enable us to dispense with revelation and religion; an enlightened believer in the powers of reason, without enthroning philosophy as the arbiter of truth; and, above all, a sincere Christian, without being a fanatic, an ascetic, or a saint." This well-paid tribute, coming from one who does not identify Catholicity with religion, contains the avowal that no one sees clearer the situation than the head of the Church of Rome. It is unquestionable that to life should be imparted again that fragrance and flavor which modern culture has taken away from it, and which genuine religion alone is able to restore to it. But Mr. Davidson, in the essay referred to before, commenting upon the revival of Thomism, imagines that its purpose and object is to restore that condition of thought which made the Church of the thirteenth century a possibility, in order to restore thereby the Church to the position of authority which she enjoyed at that period. He is, accordingly, unable to see that Thomism ever will accomplish what he surmises Thomism is expected to accomplish, and he predicts, therefore, that the whole movement will prove a failure. Here Mr. Davidson is right. Were the object of the Encyclical "*Æterni Patris*" to bring back through the study of Thomism the condition of thoughts and things which existed in the thirteenth century, it would necessarily fail of its object. For the world has no intention to retrace its steps. It is neither desirable that this should be done, nor can it be done. Mr. Davidson is, therefore, quite right in asserting that such a hope of the Church of Rome will never be realized. But he is quite wrong in assuming that the Church entertains such a hope. He looks upon the revival of Thomism as destined to do what no Catholic, and least of all Pope Leo XIII., expects from it.

Careful philosophical training is an indispensable requisite for practically applying the changeless doctrines of religion to the ever-changing constellations of life, for determining their multitudinous

bearings, for proving cogently the errors of science, for elevating science by demonstrating that scientific progress does not endanger religion, but on the contrary helps to advance the true objects of life, and its entire dependence upon the Master of all life. In the two great struggles of the past between religion and life, the road to the objective point was comparatively a straight and level road. In the present struggle, it leads over hill and dale, through mountain passes, and over precipices, now running alongside of the bank of a murmuring brook, among romantic scenery, and again in tortuous windings creeping up a steep glacier. At present, art, letters, science, history, ethics, music, painting, sociology, in short every branch of knowledge, and every department thereof, have to be made subservient to the great end. For all lead to the goal, because all, from one point or another, touch life, form life, are life. Those who enter the arena should, therefore, be properly equipped. Unless a very solid mental training furnishes a firm, solid foundation, even the heaviest mental calibre will be compelled to retire, for a time at least, from the stage of activity. Not even the great Napoleon could lead an army equipped with flint-lock muskets of the time of Gustav Adolf to victory against one fitted out with the most improved repeating rifle. The same holds good in intellectual warfare. The Church, therefore, appropriates the large mass of light thrown upon life through the progress of civilization, in order to be able to show that the light *she* offers has a power of incandescence which the light of mundane knowledge can never hope to equal. Thomism, after all, is the A B C of true philosophy, without which no problem of philosophical nature can be understood in all its bearings, and much less can be dealt with. It is, therefore, the means of reducing the existing intellectual chaos to order, and the first step which augurs the victory of the Church in carrying out the third and last stage of its mission to mankind. The reorganization of society, the welfare and prosperity of all nations, the security of our culture and civilization, nay, the very continuance of the secular order, depends upon this last victory of true religion over life, this last expression of human greatness and human nothingness. The characteristic mark of the Catholic Church, of true Christianity, of true religion, is life. She has outlived the past, she will outlive the present struggle also. This struggle appears to our generation so great and significant, simply because we reckon with time on the niggardly basis of human life, forgetful that "time" applied to Christianity means, always and forever, more strength, more vitality, more vigor, in fine, more life, since what we call "life" is but existence with beginning and end, whereas religion gives life without end.



## THE PUBLIC PRESS AND PUBLIC MORALS.

THE men of this world who modestly assume to themselves the title and character of children of light, are forever telling us that the Catholic Church is the mother of ignorance. She is slow, heavy, mediæval. It is even one of her own proverbs, that "Rome moves with leaden feet." She is hopelessly behind the age, and strives to keep her people back with her. She steadfastly refuses to advance and march hand in hand with the times. She will persist in clinging to the skirts of Thomas Aquinas, instead of falling at the feet of Herbert Spencer, and worshipping with him at the altar of the unknowable. She still regards St. Augustine as a greater theologian and teacher than Mr. Beecher or Mr. Talmage, or any of the pet preachers of the day. Everything that the children of this world bless we are assured she curses. She curses freedom of thought, as the liberty to believe or disbelieve at pleasure, and regardless of light and evidence, is called. She curses divorce, that most beautiful of modern institutions. She curses heresy. She curses science, that modern science that strives to reduce all that is to matter. She curses free governments, like that of France to day. She curses free education. She would set her *Index* upon every public library; for, above all things, she curses and hates, and would, if she could, abolish the free press that spends so much time, and thought, and money in exposing her machinations, bringing her dark deeds to light, and showing to the people of the world her true character and stamp. This, as seen at a glance, is a heavy indictment against the Catholic Church. Yet it is held as a dogma by every nine out of ten non-Catholics, who brush by us in the streets, or hold converse or business relations with us every day. It is, secretly or openly, the average opinion entertained of the Church by the great mass of people without her pale, by the lettered as by the unlettered, by the foolish as by the wise. Nothing, save the grace of God, can shake this belief, which, through three centuries of malice, persecution, and false teaching, has become an inheritance, and, as such, is accepted without question or hesitation. As towards the Roman Catholic Church, non-Catholics are absolutely color-blind. Everything in it flares with the lurid colors of the Scarlet Woman. Thus, whatever position Catholic opinion may take in law, in politics, in government, in religion, in social and public affairs, all other opinion instinctively ranges, or is inclined to range, itself on the opposite side. Voltaire's maxim was older than Voltaire. "Lie," said that great master of the art to his disciples, "lie boldly; lie

always." That has been the policy of all heretics, schismatics, and opponents of the Christian unity from Luther down to the first Christian century. Nay, it goes back a step farther, to him who, Christ has told us, was a liar from the beginning. So, to-day, we Catholics must be content to bear the burden, and face the consequences of three centuries of inherited calumny and falsehood regarding ourselves, our faith, and our Church.

This being, and no one will deny that it is, the attitude of non-Catholics towards us and our cherished and honest beliefs, suppose, for a moment, that the last of the load of charges brought against the Catholic Church were true, would there be anything so very extraordinary or unreasonable in it? Suppose the Catholic Church did actually and formally condemn the non-Catholic and anti-Catholic press, which, in its turn, constantly condemns and everlastingly anathematizes the Catholic Church, what, after all, would this be but a conflict of rival jurisdictions? Must our avowed enemies expect us to bless them when they curse us, and allow to them the monopoly of light, and reason, and truth? They anathematize to their hearts' content, but as soon as the Church raises her voice in solemn expostulation and warning, a howl of hate and execration fills the world.

Thus it was when the Syllabus was promulgated; thus it was when the scheme of the Vatican Council was propounded. The world resounded with the rage and clamor of those who hastened to place themselves in the ranks of the condemned, and then blamed the Church for condemning them. Thus it was, again, when the Prussian persecution of Catholics broke out. Where did Prince Bismarck find so powerful and universal an agent to applaud his policy and approve his course as in the free secular press of all lands? In Germany he was compelled to create out of the millions that he wrung from France a "reptile press" to propagate a gospel of lies against the Catholic Church, its head, and the Catholics of the German Empire, and, at the same time, to approve of every new act of the Chancellor and his satellites in the policy of persecution. In other lands the secular press and religious Protestant press, with their characteristic love of freedom and fair-play, of their own accord acted the part of reptile press for Prince Bismarck. All through the persecution the London *Times* had, and still has, as its chief Berlin correspondent, a prominent employé of the Prussian Foreign Office, whose letters Englishmen accepted as the free and unbiassed opinions of an Englishman. Some of those letters, with very slight variations, appeared in certain American journals as the unprejudiced opinions of "our Berlin correspondent." But, with or without such conspiracies as this, the public press, as a whole (with an honored

exception here and there), ranged itself freely and ardently on the side of the persecuting government.

It may plead now, with sorrow and shame at the havoc it has seen wrought by the material success of the Prussian policy of persecution, that it has changed in this regard; that it no longer upholds so wicked and unprovoked an attack on the German Catholics and the Catholic Church; that it has since condemned, and will continue to condemn, Prince Bismarck for having ever entered on so mistaken and suicidal a policy, which it always predicted would turn out a mistake, and so forth. It is safe to be a prophet after the event. Prince Bismarck has since found reason to condemn himself for his course of action towards the Catholic Church and the German Catholics, not so much because he feels any great compunction of conscience for what he has done, as because he found the Catholics too strong for him. His failure probably explains the cause of the free foreign reptile press having dropped from him; though, if the truth were known, their secret sympathies are with him still. The Catholics have not budged an inch from their position, and, if they were worthy of the condemnation and obloquy heaped on them from every quarter of the globe, they are more worthy of it to-day than ever.

Or, take the instance of the recent doings in France, since first Gambetta inaugurated his anti-Catholic, which he called anti-clerical, policy, which is simply an imitation, in a possibly more vicious and diabolical form, since it occurs in a land that, at least, calls itself Catholic. What stand has the public press taken on this matter? One would have thought it might have learned a lesson from the course of the Prussian persecution, and its failure; a lesson of charity, and humanity, and wisdom; some sense, at least, of the direction in which right and freedom really lay. In some instances, and not a few important ones, this was so. Some of the powerful secular press took the lesson to heart, and have steadily set their faces against the new anti-Catholic persecution in France. But it is beyond question that the great mass of feeling in the public press is in the other direction, on the side of sympathy with Gambetta, and in approval of the expulsion of the Jesuits, of the friars and nuns, and Christian Brothers; of the withdrawal of the schools from Catholic influence; of the tearing down of the crucifixes from the walls of the public schools. The movement is anti-Catholic; being anti-Catholic, it is in the direction of light and right, and the emancipation of human reason; therefore it is to be supported, seems to be the argument which these gentlemen use. Gambetta and his henchmen, Paul Bert, Ferry, Clemenceau, etc., all apostles of the new *culte*, are right, Monsignor Freppel and his comrades are wrong. So, up with the Communists, down and out with the

Jesuits and the rest of the "black band," is the popular cry in America as in France, in the air of a free republic as in the air impregnated with the poison of Rousseau and Voltaire, touched with the brimstone of revolution.

From instances like these—they might be multiplied indefinitely—it may be stated, beyond fear of contradiction, that the public press all the world over is, by its very constitution and nature, opposed to the Catholic Church, and that its columns are always open to attacks on the Catholic Church. Nor need one go outside our own free soil to prove this. There is ample evidence of it almost every day; every day, in fact, in some shape or form. And that is one of the points insisted on here. The public press is anti-Catholic, and, it is to be feared, we must count on its continuing to be so.

Let us not be misunderstood. We do not mean in saying this that the gentlemen who write on the public press would consciously state a falsehood concerning even the Catholic Church, however much they might be personally opposed to her and her teachings. As a rule, these leaders of modern thought who preach a gospel daily to the world through the columns of the morning and evening journals follow the growing fashion of the day, and are indifferentists in matters of religion. But indifferentists though they may have become in their mature years, they cannot wholly shake off the influence of their early training and surroundings. They were brought up and educated in a distinctly anti-Catholic atmosphere. Whenever they came across the name Catholic it was as coming across the name of an enemy,—a foe of the Republic,—a would-be overthrower of our institutions. In the books that they read the name Catholic was always identified with darkness, bigotry, ignorance, servility, and persecution. This is what we mean by the Protestants having inherited a legacy of calumny and hate against Catholics that is three centuries old. English literature, from the version of the Bible known as that of King James to the Book of Common Prayer, and all the way down the whole range to the school history or reading-book published yesterday, is steeped in anti-Catholicity,—is part and parcel of the gospel of conspiracy against Catholic truth and Catholic history. Generation has followed generation feeding on this poisoned food, until at length the poison seems to have inoculated the whole mass. The infant receives it from his mother; the father teaches it to his son. There is no escape from it; and when, in the relations of life, Protestants come in contact with Catholics, they come with this secret and invisible yet most powerful of barriers between them, bidding those stand off whom they would otherwise receive with open arms. And to think that non-Catholic editors any more than non-

Catholic ministers can escape this influence is to expect too much of poor humanity. They may have succeeded, as they generally do, in throwing off the shackles of such early teachings as they themselves received in the way of Christianity. They may look out with a smile of quiet scorn from their self-erected watch-tower of intellectual and philosophic calm over the wrangling and the jangling of "the sects," as they call them. But on that solid steadfast body, one in faith and in worship, one in the acceptance of the Pope as the supreme head of the Church on earth, as the duly appointed Vicar of Christ, and as the infallible guide of all men in matters relating to Christian doctrine and morals, the secular writer always looks with suspicious if not with hostile eye. He dreads that power that he was taught to dread and to hate from the beginning. He is always prepared to believe ill of the Catholic Church, and so to lend his influence to any plausible appeal against her.

This is seen in the sudden anti-Catholic eruptions that take place from time to time in the public mind. It is the easiest thing in the world to raise an anti-Catholic cry, especially at election times. The "Jew-baiting" of which we have heard so much of late in Germany and Russia, and at which a shocked world holds up its hands in holy horror, wondering how such things can be, bad as it is, is as nothing compared to the Catholic-baiting which any one who has lived through a generation must, within his own experience, have encountered in some shape or form.

Mr. Gladstone stands in the eyes of a very large portion of the world as one of the most liberal and enlightened of statesmen, and a devout Protestant Christian. For half a century he has been dealing more or less authoritatively and intimately with the affairs of millions of Roman Catholics. He must count many Catholics among his personal friends. One of his dearest friends was Cardinal Manning. Catholics have been his colleagues in Parliament, have served in his government, have borne great public trusts with dignity and honor, have helped materially to win England's battles by land and sea. Yet it is not so long since this experienced liberal statesman strove with all the vehemence of his nature to set the world aflame on the Catholic question; to address elaborate insults to the holy and venerable Pius the Ninth; and to impress upon his countrymen what he alleged to be a fatal fact,—that it was impossible for a man to be at once a sincere Catholic and a loyal subject of the British state, as though England had itself never been Catholic. Everyone remembers how the battle raged at the time and the rain of pamphlets that set in. But it will be remembered also how strong a following Mr. Gladstone found in the United States, as in England, to accept as gospel every word

he uttered. The same thing would occur to-morrow were there any plausible excuse for it. Witness how all England went wild, because the late Dr. Wiseman assumed and was confirmed by the Pope in the title of Archbishop of Westminster, since he could not take his true title, which had been stolen from the Church, of Archbishop of Canterbury.

On this, then, Catholics must always reckon, a latent universal hostility to the Catholic Church such as exists not against any other body, not even against the dark sects that menace all society, and whose agents are so active in their secret propaganda. This latent hostility naturally finds a happy home in the public press, which is, after all, but the expression of public opinion in its various moods. It is sometimes, often for long intervals, quiescent, but a very little friction will kindle it into heat. At all events the material is always there to convert into sins of malice what might often pass as sins of ignorance against us; and this for the reason already given, that Protestants have been carefully instructed either not to know us at all or to know us wrongly.

So much for the purely anti-Catholic side of the public press, which necessarily renders it not only obnoxious, but dangerous to Catholic readers. Let us now look at the public press in itself, apart from any immediate question of creed. To begin with, it has no creed. Let us put aside at the same time all questions of "organs," of newspapers pledged to support this or that policy, this or that party, this or that man. Let us look at them in bulk, as purveyors of news, as critics of public events, as guides and leaders of public opinion, for they are all this; and the guides and leaders of public opinion must *ex officio* take the grave matter of public morals into their hands. They must say daily, this is right, that is wrong; this is false, that is true; this should, that should not, be; it is right to suppress this, and to publish that.

Here we are at once in the midst of a very wide subject, a subject wide as the world and the universal family of man. Are newspapers, is the public press to be judged in its action and conduct by that highest code of human morals which is found in the laws and the precepts of Christ? Is the editor of what is called a great daily newspaper bound in conscience by the Ten Commandments, and by the commandments of the Church to which he belongs or professes to belong? Is he bound to conduct his paper on those principles? Those commandments bid him obey the Lord his God, keep holy the Sabbath, to swear not, to do no wrong to his neighbor or his neighbor's wife, to speak the truth, to love his neighbor as himself, to give no scandal, to steal not, to touch no ill-gotten goods, to slay not, either in person or in character, to bear no false witness, etc. Judged by these everlasting canons of

Christian morals, how does the public press stand in this and all lands?

It is manifestly idle to put the test, for not even the most moderate and well-behaved of public journals, leaving out of count the journals of infamy, could stand it. How the editors and managers of public journals can reconcile this deficiency with their professed following of and obedience to Christian dictates, must be left to their own conscience. They strive to evade the straight and severe test, and argue this wise:

A newspaper is not an exponent of the ten commandments, or the precepts of the Church. That is the office of the priests and of the Church itself, an office that we do not presume to usurp. We act simply as a sort of chorus to the great drama of human life and action. We chant the record of events from day to day. We are the letter-books of the public, the daily journal of human deeds and events. We are neither the keepers nor the guardians of the public conscience. We are simply blotters, wherein the hurried events of the day are hurriedly set down, sometimes with note and comment as a warning, a guide, or an encouragement to the public. We tell of evil as well as of good; of things known to all or that should be known to all. Our chief office is to gather and assort the news of the world and set it daily before our readers. They are not compelled to read us; they do it of their own will; if they find ill in us it is of their own seeking. We, in common with them, denounce the ill and maintain the good. On the whole we "make for righteousness," and the evil that we set forth in our columns is placed there as a lesson and a warning.

That is probably the manner in which a conscientious editor or manager of a newspaper would defend the office, functions, and conduct of what would be called the average public journal, and it is a very plausible reasoning, though it stands outside of the straight test of Christian morals. But, judged even by this standard, which is not at all a safe or a high one, how will the so-called respectable press come out? Leaving out the question of news, the chronicling of actual events, is there any daily secular newspaper in the land, one might ask, in the whole world, that is wholly and strictly respectable? The advertisements alone of any one successful secular daily newspaper would of themselves condemn it; and the more successful the paper the more numerous the obnoxious and immoral advertisements, which too often extend to professedly religious journals that go into the world with the pretence of preaching the gospel and the religion of Christ. For obvious reasons it is unadvisable here to cite evidence of the truth of this general charge; but it is a fact known of all men. In many

a journal that will give a page or more of the Sunday's sermons by ministers of all creeds, will be found columns set apart for professional infamy, on the proceeds of which the respectable paper counts for a large portion of its revenue. Would the *Index* of the Catholic Church be too severe a restraint on human liberty in instances such as these of daily and abundant occurrence?

That is one detestable and abominable feature, common, more or less, to all of the great public journals, and in this sense alone they are encouragers and propagators of vice. Some papers, it is true, try to prune their advertising columns to some degree, but none are wholly free from this taint. Then comes the great matter of news. What kind of news is most acceptable to a daily journal? Naturally, and as a matter of course, that which is conceived to be most interesting to the readers of the paper, that will create a sensation, and make the paper sell. Bishop Berkeley regretted that the devil should have all the good tunes. In a much wider and deeper sense is it to be regretted that the devil or his agents should furnish all the news considered good by the editors of newspapers. A great scandal in private or public life is always sure game, and most welcome. A great divorce case, for instance, will be detailed in all its minutiae, and flashed over the country, over the ocean even, from day to day; for the time being, all other news must yield space to that; not even the loathsomeness of detail is spared, and the viler the evidence introduced, the more carefully is it set forth. Nor is this all. People who read the matter in the newspapers crowd to hear the evidence, and fight for places; those supposed to represent "the best" in society, take their lunches along to sustain them during the ordeal, and opera-glass in hand to catch every phase of expression on the countenances of the parties to the suit, sit with more devotion and patience through the *cause célèbre* than they generally display in church. The case of a prominent public man in Brooklyn, some years ago, inundated the whole country with a flood of filth, and the flood ran at high tide for months. Had that no ill effects on public morals? One leading newspaper, after having given much of the case, at last declared, in disgust and shame, that it would print no more of it, but a day or so after it recalled its resolution, and went on publishing as vigorously as its respectable brethren. And this is only an instance of instances that are constantly occurring. So that it is safe to say that, the more notoriously bad the case may be, and the more notorious or prominent the persons connected with it, the greater prominence is it given in the public press, the more scrupulously are all its details hunted up and set forth, each newspaper fearful lest its neighbor should get a "beat" on so important a public matter. The argument in such a case is this: well, this thing has



occurred, and the public have heard of it; it is a pity, of course, that such things should be, but there they are; public curiosity is excited; the facts must come forth in the court; is it not better to furnish them in full, as a lesson and a warning to the public? As well ask, is it not better, by way of giving a diagnosis of a loathsome and foul disease, to call the people together, and in their presence subject sound persons to the disease as an *experimentum in corpore vili*, or show forth the nature of a mortal sin by making an innocent soul commit it. It is worse than the old Spartan lesson. To give their youths a horror of the vice of drunkenness, they would assemble them and bring in the miserable helots before them, stupefy them with liquor until they lost reason and control over themselves, and sank to a condition lower than that of the brute.

Take, again, the case, of which instances occur so often, of a notorious murderer, who is at last brought within the meshes of the law. The press is immediately at his service, and his sayings and doings, his habits, his early life and history, his appearance, his very diet and prison "drawing-rooms" are set forth with painfully accurate detail. His dying speech from the scaffold is given, the names of the "distinguished" persons present or who visited him in his cell, and even the wretch's last struggles as he dangles from the rope, are not forgotten. The respectable public press converts him into a hero, and gives more space to him than it would to many a noble person, the story of whose life would be a lesson of interest and of good to the people.

It would be waste of time to run through the list of general charges that might be fairly made and sustained against even that large and powerful public press that claims the name of respectable, and whose profession is to serve the public for its highest good. The fact stands patent to all eyes that, as a rule, what is evil and tends to evil finds a larger share of attention in the press than what is good or tends to good. Not that the latter is neglected, by any means; but it is allotted a second or third place. It is like a sprinkling of holy water over a very mixed congregation. The editors and managers may be very estimable and worthy gentlemen in private life; but when sufficient motives urge them, there is positively no law that, in the conduct of their newspapers, they feel bound to respect, save the written law against absolute obscenity and actual libel. Private character, the sacredness of a man's home, the recognized feelings of human respect, weigh not a feather in the scale when balanced against the interests of a newspaper. The newspaper motto seems to be, "all is fair in war and politics." If the editor has the Ten Commandments hanging in his sanctum,

he, if he is a conscientious man, carefully turns their face to the wall.

All this, be it remembered, is said of newspapers claiming to be respectable and worthy servants of the public. Let any decent man ask his own conscience if, in the average daily newspaper, no matter where edited, he does not find something or other, often a vast amount of matter, that he would, if he could, expunge, and that he shrinks from admitting into his family. There can only be one answer to such a question. Yet these people profess to write for the public, and give the public just what the public demand.

Doubtless, they are right, much as indecent showmen are right, but, if right, what a depraved state of public morals does their claim denote! For there is another class of public journals that appeals to a wider constituency still, that is wholly vicious and immoral, and that, by going beyond the journals that strive to cover indecency with some remnant of respectability, reap a golden harvest by feeding the multitude on the husks of swine. If the public prints that are issued in this country alone, daily, weekly, semi-weekly, monthly, the class of publications most widely circulated and generally read, were collected in one place, and tabulated according to their moral grade, the exhibition would shock and grieve all who are not wholly depraved. It would be found that the favorite reading of our public-school instructed masses is the wholly bad and immoral, and that the gradation is from the vile depths upwards to the few who rejoice in the light of heaven, in goodness, and in purity. And this is true of every kind and class of literature to-day. The records of the public libraries attest that the favorite reading consists of the trashiest novels, and that the vilest of vile novels carry off the palm in point of numbers. The very children, who go to Sunday-school once a week to learn religion and morals (save the mark!), may be found going to day-school, with their dime novels or blood and thunder weeklies packed in their pockets or their satchels. And yet we are a moral people, and rejoice in a respectable press!

An exhibition of our popular literature would, we say, shock and sadden the heart of any decent person, and, in our own case, of any well-wisher of the republic. Paganism, gross Paganism, might be written at the head, the foot, and at each side of it; not the Paganism of the great writers, poets, historians, and philosophers of Greece and Rome, but the sensual slough of the masses when the Greek states and the Roman republic and empire declined; when vice was erected into a worship, and temples were built, and priests and priestesses consecrated to its horrible rites; when the masses roared for their *panem et circenses*, and when emperors,

like Nero, buffooned and played the beast over and before them. There is not a large city in the world to-day that has not its paper or papers absolutely devoted to vice. Here, in our own moral and public and Sunday-school country, with its fifty or sixty millions of people, let any one pause a moment at any public news stand, and notice the people who surround it—people of all classes. On what do their eyes gloat? On the obscene and the vile; on prints whose very publication ought, in a well-guarded commonwealth, to be an indictable offence against public decency and public morals. We grow virtuous over the immorality of the French, and our enterprising publishers are ever eager to catch up the latest and vilest of their novels, translate it, and shed it broadcast over the land. Well, it pays. Vice always seems to pay—for a time.

Look at it as we may, it is impossible to regard the public press, the press that most circulates, as a whole in a sense favorable to public morals, and this quite apart from any special profession of faith. Much public good is undoubtedly wrought by the independent press, as against corruption or tyranny in government, gross malfasance in public office, gross and well-preserved shams, and dangers that might threaten the public liberties. Yet, on the other hand, how much that is corrupt in government, in officials, in public institutions, in public persons, is and has been for a long time sustained and supported even by the press calling itself independent, until the corruption finally falls to pieces of its own rottenness. The plain truth is that the press is published to pay at any price; honestly, if it can, dishonestly, if it must; and, as dishonesty generally gives quicker returns and larger profits, especially in a wealthy country, like our own, which offers innumerable opportunities to adventurers in every class of life, honesty must be content to go by the wall. The newspapers profess to be mainly "the abstract and brief chronicle of the time," to "hold the mirror up to nature." If that be so, all that can be said is, our nature wears a villainously vile visage. If this be the free press that the Catholic Church is accused of condemning, it may conscientiously plead guilty to the accusation.

Well, what would you have? will be the natural question. According to your judgment, the public press is either wholly, or three-quarters, or half demoralizing. At the very best it is by no means what it should be, or at least what you would expect of respectable journalism, no matter whether or not it professed to be regulated by the Ten Commandments and the true Christian code. You admit it is possible of good, and, in fact, effects some good. But the evil in it predominates. In a case of this kind two courses lie open: one, to reform the press, by creating a better public tone and purer public taste; the other, by gagging the press, setting a

ensorship over it, and prosecuting it for whatever the censorship judges to be damaging to faith or morals; setting up an *Index*, in fact, to which the press, like all other publications, should be subjected. This, in the moral sense, would be equivalent to reducing the press to the condition, in a political sense, that obtains in Russia or Prussia at the present day, or that obtained in France, under the First and Third Napoleons. In a word, it is to destroy the freedom of the press, as the word freedom is understood to-day. That word covers the largest license, short, as already indicated, of the statutes against absolute obscenity and libel. Short of these absolute lines, any newspaper or publication may sail as close to the wind as it pleases, and still lie within the harbor and protection of the law.

In countries professing freedom the idea of press censorship may as well be abandoned. Nor, on the whole, in the strangely mixed condition of public affairs, is it desirable that such censorship should exist. Were all men of one way of feeling and of faith, there would then exist a recognized common moral code, to which all would subscribe, and any grave violation of which would be immediately felt and resented by the public body. This public moral sense would, of itself, constitute a censorship more effective than any written law. But, unfortunately, we are not so constituted in the world to day, and we must take the world as we find it. The unity of the Christian faith, that alone could preserve a consensus of public moral opinion, has been broken to multitudes and nations, and a spirit of bitter antagonism has sprung up among millions of professing Christians. Multitudes of those who broke away from the unity of faith have drifted into the atheistic camp, whose motto is, *Ecrasez l'Infame*: crush out the infamy, called Christ, and rebel everywhere and always against this Christian Code that presumes to dictate to freemen the conduct of their every thought, word, and deed. Among non-Catholics it is unhappily true that the latter drift of thought is prevailing. All who are not Catholics are against the Rock, the centre of Christian unity, and the head of the Christian Church on earth. But a large section of Protestants still cling to many of the Christian teachings and principles that those who led the first Protestant revolt took out of the Church with them. These, however, have become more and more scattered and obscured and wasted, as generation followed generation, wandering farther away from the truth, until at last, Rome being practically out of sight, they found themselves in a doctrinal morass, with snares and pitfalls on every side of them, and only the dry cold light of what called itself pure reason shining ahead on barren ground and an endless waste of desert. That reason set itself over against Christianity, saying, "Your Christ is

an impostor. He was no God as He claimed to be. He was simply a man like Confucius, Mohammed, Brahma, Moses. Revelation is an invention. There is no God but man; no truth save what he discovers by his own reason; no code given to him to follow; no revelation from a heaven invented by priests." Protestantism staggers under and towards this reasoning to-day; and it is to be found, if not openly, at least between the lines of every secular newspaper and in not a few of those professedly religious.

Censorship of the press, then, in countries professing freedom, must be abandoned as hopeless, and for the reason that men's minds differ so diametrically about many things. But there is freedom and freedom. In France to day, for instance, the press is free to write all sorts of abominations against Christian morals and the Christian religion, but if a Catholic newspaper dare be emphatic and speak out its mind on the manner in which Catholics are treated by the government, it is immediately prosecuted, and the editor fined, sent to prison, or sent out of the country, as in the case of Baron Harden-Hickey, the editor of the sprightly *Triboulet*. So with the press in Germany, while the anti-Catholic persecution was raging. The Protestant, the Jewish, the Socialist press were all at liberty to heap every kind of insult on Catholics, to belie Catholic history, to defame the Church, to invent Papal Bulls even, as in the case of the *Cologne Gazette*; but, let a Catholic paper dare give vent to its honest opinion about Prince Bismarck and the proceedings of the government, it was straightway choked off for treason against the state. So we see from these examples how differently people of different ways of thinking interpret the phrase, "liberty of the press," and that *Indexes* are, by no means, restricted to the Catholic Church, where, when used, they are at least used only in defence of morals and Christian truth.

It may be taken as beyond question or argument that the public press will exist in this world, and will exist free. It has grown to be a public necessity. It has become the daily intellectual atmosphere that, whether we like it or not, we are all compelled in some way to breathe. Sometimes, in this changing atmosphere, "fair is foul, and foul is fair." A century ago, half a century ago one may say, the newspaper, in its present form and scope and universal comprehensiveness, neither existed nor was dreamed of. It was the bottle on the seashore that a careless fisherman found and uncorked to see what was in it. And a vapor came forth and mounted to the sky, and darkened the sun, and took shape, and strode the earth a giant, a geni, full of power for good or for evil, at once man's master and man's slave. Many a monarch, many a statesman, has since tried to force back the spirit into its bottle, but have succeeded only for a time. A leakage, sooner or later, was

sure to occur, and the geni came forth more powerful than ever, and only exasperated against those who would seal him up, and hinder his free movements.

"Let me only make the people's songs," was said of old, "and I will undertake to govern the people." "Few know," said Oxenstiern, "how easily men are governed." Doubtless, among a fairly intelligent and high-spirited people the less government, in the statutory sense of the word, exists, the more easily are they governed, inasmuch as they take themselves and their own affairs in hand, without having a policeman forever at their elbow. The songs that in old days were the expression of the popular voice have now yielded to the press. It is pre-eminently that : the echo, rather than the guide, of public opinion.

Being this, one would naturally expect it to be the truest representative of the commonwealth as it exists ; of public tastes, public thoughts, public wants, desires, tone, and tendency. And here comes in the great difficulty of dealing with a question so wide in its bearings as this. If the press be all this, if newspapers supply the people with just what the people demand, and if there can be no such thing as a press censorship, if the public press be really and actually the true expression of public opinion, what need to argue more ? The press is just what the people, and not what the editors and managers, make it. If they support this paper or that, it is because they like the politics, or the moral or immoral tone of this or that paper ; because, as a whole, it satisfies them.

Now here lies a fallacy. Few or no respectable men, so far as the experience of the writer goes, approve wholly of any daily newspaper that they purchase and read. And the list of these is by no means restricted to Catholic readers. Many buy two or more newspapers every day, their business requiring them to do so. One or two they throw aside after having found what they wanted in them ; the least objectionable they take home to their families, wishing, on the whole, that they could, by some happy chance, have a safe, sound, moral newspaper that would furnish the news of the day, comment on public events, occupy itself with the current matters of human interest, without giving prominence to moral filth, public scandal, and human viciousness. But it is just these objectionable points that make the newspapers "spicy." Without some columns of such matters daily, there is supposed to be "nothing in the papers." An editor will gleefully publish in his newspaper what he would be ashamed to read or hear read within his family circle. Consequently the newspapers appeal chiefly to the depraved tastes in man, and write down to the lowest level instead of writing up to purity and right. Let any man be at pains to count the columns of decency and indecency published in

the average daily newspaper within a year, and on which side will the balance lie?

It is impossible, in face of such facts and reflections, to believe that the public press, as a whole, or even greatly in part, is conducive to public morals. If we thought so for a moment, we should be inclined to think that public morals, save of the wrong kind, no longer existed. And as censorship in countries calling themselves free cannot be, the public must only look to themselves to right matters as far as possible, by selecting the least objectionable papers. But here, again, comes in to the great mass of people the demand of business, and the advertising question. The more objectionable papers usually have the largest circulation, and are consequently more desirable as advertising channels. The good papers go among good people, and the good are in a sad minority.

It will be found, also, that the newspapers which appeal more directly and constantly to the lower appetites of men, are those deeply impenetrated by the anti-Christian spirit. Not that they will profess openly disbelief in Christ; not that they will not devote columns of their space to the Sunday sermons, to charitable and worthy purposes, often to the consecration of a Methodist temple or a Catholic Church; not that they are unwilling to expose an anti-Catholic lie or calumny, when it is fairly brought before them. They will do all this and much of it, and do much of it year in and year out; but, on the other hand, the associations into which such matters are brought in the same newspaper, are of themselves often a public scandal, and perhaps it were better that they did not appear at all in such evil company. And then the manner in which things that ought to be sacred are too often handled; the jeer, the jibe, the scoff, the jocose, free and easy, police-court style in which they are treated. The very head-lines, meant to be sensational, are in themselves often lines of blasphemy that strike a Christian soul with horror and shame. Did a Christian, a strong public moral sense prevail among our people, such things could not be, for the very next day thousands of protests would reach the office advising the manager that the people would not endure such infamy, and refusing to purchase the paper any longer. If this were only done we should speedily see a wonderful reform in the moral tone of our public press.

Reverting, again, to the more strictly Catholic side of the question, there is not, to the writer's knowledge, a Catholic daily newspaper, certainly none of any note, published in the English language. And yet we claim upwards of six millions of Catholics in this country, three millions in England, five in Ireland, leaving out Australia, British India, and the English-speaking Catholics scattered

over the globe. France has several distinctly Catholic daily newspapers, the best known of which are the *Univers* and the *Monde*, but none of them have anything approaching a circulation corresponding, not with the Catholic population of France, but of any one of the great French cities. What is true of France is true of Italy, and of other European countries called Catholic. In all, the Catholics lag wofully in their support of a Catholic press. In Germany alone, where the Catholic associations are better organized, and where distinguished Catholic laymen take a leading part in politics and public affairs, have the Catholics, under the fierce fire of persecution, rallied to the requirements of the hour, and answered the reptile and the anti-Catholic press by a press of their own, strong, able, and magnificently supported. Nor here, in the United States, are the German Catholics behind their countrymen at home in this respect. In many places they have their daily, bi-weekly, and weekly newspapers, all flourishing and doing a good business. They put to shame us English-speaking Catholics, who complain often that we have neither money, time, nor patience to support a Catholic press, yet find money, time, and patience enough to purchase and read at least one daily newspaper, often more than one. There is not a Catholic periodical or journal in the country that costs half the subscription of a daily three-cent newspaper.

It is not the purpose here to enter into an argument to advocate the starting of a daily newspaper that should be Catholic in principle, pay special attention to Catholic interests, Catholic news, Catholic progress all over the world; that, without necessarily having the word Popery heading every column, should be edited by intelligent and competent Catholic journalists—their number is not so few as people imagine—whose work, founded on Catholic principles, should, in political, commercial, financial, and social affairs, equal the best work of the leading non-Catholic journalists. If Catholics only half knew how to utilize their forces; if they possessed only a little more Catholic and public spirit; if our wealthier Catholics only get together and agree to start such an enterprise, and if the less wealthy would only join in, a strong and able daily journal, with Catholic knowledge and Catholic principles as its guide, would not be a dream of the far future, or a scheme that one only turns away from with a sinking of the heart. As matters stand to-day, it is with the public press as with the public schools. Both one and the other absorb some of the best and most ardent of Catholic workers, men and women, competent in every sense, as teachers and guides, but who, for lack of profitable employment in Catholic interests, are compelled to devote their



energies to other purposes, in a certain sense to the service of the enemy.

Some years back there was a proposal to start a Catholic daily newspaper in England, and the idea was taken up with some enthusiasm. A very distinguished English prelate was questioned as to his views of the matter. He shook his head dubiously, and rather frowned the scheme down. His views express those of many on the same subject. He was afraid, first of all, that the calibre of Catholic journalists would hardly stand the weight of the conflict they would be called upon to sustain. In the hurry and flurry of publishing a daily newspaper he feared that mistakes on grave Catholic matters would constantly be made, and the Catholic paper be thus made the instrument of committing the Church to a false position, which her enemies would be quick to seize and take advantage of. He doubted, too, if Catholics would support the enterprise. And, finally, he saw no necessity for it, since the Protestant press had altered its tone, to some degree, of late. It was inclined to be fairer with regard to Catholic matters, and its columns were open to any intelligent person who chose to expose misrepresentation or misconception of Catholic matters.

This opinion is worthy of much weight, as coming from one of our leading prelates in England, a man of great piety, knowledge, zeal, ability, and experience in public affairs. As for the alteration of tone in the secular press regarding Catholic matters, a general improvement has been noticed, both here and in England, for many years past; yet no man was more vehement in his exposure of the falsehoods and misrepresentations that filled the English press at the time of the Vatican Council than the prelate we have quoted. On the other hand, a Catholic naturally resents going a-begging to a non-Catholic paper, whether for information concerning Catholic matters, or for refutation of calumnies against Catholics, while he has, or ought to have, the means at hand to give information to others. It is hardly fitting that we should call upon strangers or enemies to tell all about us and our affairs, and then complain if they tell lies, or make blunders. And this view of the matter would seem to be that of our Holy Father Leo XIII., when urging the prelates and Catholics of Italy to do all they could to support the Catholic press, to sustain the journals that were in existence, and to start others where they did not exist. He desired that they should be made the equals, in ability and interest, of the non-Catholic and anti-Catholic newspapers, which depended largely, as do those in this country, on Catholic subscribers for their success. He deplored the fact that the journals which were opposed to the Church, and dangerous to public morals, should everywhere succeed, while Catholic journals seemed correspondingly to fail, and was very

earnest in his recommendations to the Italian prelates and clergy to do all in their power to remedy this defect.

The same urgency presses on us in this country. In our support of the Catholic press, even as it exists among us to-day, and of Catholic publications, we are far behind, not the secularists alone, but large Protestant communities, like the Methodists, for instance. Though no single Protestant body in the country equals ours in point of numbers, several of them surpass us in the number and circulation of their magazines and newspapers. It is only within the present year that the Catholic publishers of the country have united in deploing the remarkable falling off in the Catholic book trade here. When was such a complaint heard from Protestant publishers? And this in face of the facts of greater numbers of Catholics, more wealth in the general body, and a better, more popular, and *cheaper* class of books. The inference is obvious: the Catholics who buy books at all, buy largely, if not chiefly, of Protestant houses, and thus take into their homes the very literature whose essentially anti-Catholic, if not distinctly immoral character, it has been the aim of the present article to expose. An experienced Catholic publisher has assured the writer, and given him instance upon instance, of the melancholy truth, that the rising Catholic generation is not like the generation passing away. It has neither the same Catholic spirit, nor the same Catholic heart, of the brave race of men and women who founded and planted the Church in this country, and watched with pious eyes over its wonderful growth and development. The new generation finding, as they imagine, the work accomplished, seem to think there is nothing left for them to do, except to go over to the enemy, and be like unto him. "As father (or mother) is dead, you will please stop the paper or magazine sent to him, as there is no further need of it," is a request that frequently comes to a Catholic publisher, and presumably from a graduate of one of our Catholic colleges, or convents. Something is wrong. Where is the evil, and where the remedy?

It is surely a sad sign to find our people so backward in supporting what is really one of the great adjuncts, as well as one of the great necessities of Catholic life—a Catholic press. Never was there more need of it than in this day, when all society seems upheaving, when all faith is challenged, when men everywhere ask of Christ, "Art thou the Son of God?" and who, when the Church answers for Him, proclaim that the Church blasphemes. It is a time of great doubt, and of great public danger. Even the very laws recognize and foster great public immoralities, such, for instance, as the almost indiscriminate practice of divorce, and that great incentive to divorce, civil marriage. The spirit of modern legislation in all lands is against the Christian faith and Christian

ethics. To this spirit we owe the purely secular public school, to which is traceable much of the indifferentism and atheism that we see growing up and grown up around us. All these features of our society, from which a tender Christian conscience instinctively shrinks, and which many statesmen and publicists of no special form of faith watch with dismay and dread, are accepted by the public at large as the glories of the new civilization, the advance and progress of the age, the flower and the fruit of the freedom which the Catholic Church is assailed for warning men against and condemning. The public press is full of it from day to day. It is the upholder and exponent of it. How is a better tone to be created among the people, while all that is generally accepted as pretty much all that ought to be? And Catholics, instead of standing out against it, lend their aid to the very literature from which so much of it springs. A Catholic daily newspaper! There are already about forty Catholic journals in the country, and not a dozen of these enjoy a circulation equal to any of the more popular Protestant papers. It is time for Catholics, one and all, to put this question to their conscience: Am I to go on always supporting a class of literature that, if not openly licentious, is essentially demoralizing, and in spirit and in character anti-Catholic and anti-Christian? For such to-day, and for the reasons given, is the public press of all lands.

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## THE OBSERVANCE OF SUNDAY AND CIVIL LAWS FOR ITS ENFORCEMENT.

**T**HE enactment of a new penal code in New York, which passed through the Legislature of that State almost unexamined, startled the community, when it came to be put in force, by the severity of its provisions in regard to work, trade, amusements, and travel on Sunday.

Instead of being a mere re-enactment of old statutes, it contained new and strict provisions, enhancing the guilt of the offence, and meting out penalties and punishments beyond precedent in the annals of New York legislation.

In the city of New York when the police at first attempted to enforce the law ragpickers and cigarvenders, expressmen and confectioners, men on a hundred different charges were arrested. The newspapers were filled with protests, judges were beset with applications for injunctions, and the whole system of Sunday legislation came under discussion in all circles. The members of the Legislature sought to escape the falling avalanche of unpopularity by pleading ignorance of the contents of the code which they had heedlessly passed,—passed without examination or discussion, although the lives and liberties of the citizens were directly the object of its provisions.

The whole subject of laws regulating Sunday, so far as civil government is concerned, will come up in the present legislature, and the subject will not only be much discussed in Albany, but in many other States, also, obsolete or obsolescent laws will be examined, and either revived in a modified form or abolished.

Strange as it may seem, the State, in passing laws for the due sanctification of Sunday, is unwittingly acknowledging the authority of the Catholic Church, and carrying out more or less faithfully its prescriptions.

The Sunday, as a day of the week set apart for the obligatory public worship of Almighty God, to be sanctified by a suspension of all servile labor, trade, and worldly avocations and by exercises of devotion, is purely a creation of the Catholic Church.

It is not the Jewish Sabbath; it is, in fact, entirely distinct from it, and not governed by the enactments of the Mosaic law. It is part and parcel of the system of the Catholic Church, as absolutely as Christian marriage is or any other of her sacraments, her festivals and fasts, her days of joy and mourning, her indulgences and her jubilees.

In the very earliest period of the Church, when Gentiles were

received into her bosom by baptism, some of the Jewish converts insisted "that they must be circumcised and be commanded to observe the law of Moses." Certainly no part of the law of Moses was more distinctive or more imperative than that relating to the Sabbath. From the days of Nehemias it had been strictly enforced; the Pharisees were so strict in its observance, so severe in their construction of its obligation that in their eyes our Lord Himself and his apostles were sabbath-breakers and open violators of the law. Yet the apostles in the Council of Jerusalem say expressly: "For it hath seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us to lay no further burden upon you than these necessary things, that you abstain from things sacrificed to idols, and from blood, and from things strangled, and from fornication, from which things keeping yourselves you shall do well." The question before the Council was expressly what precepts or observances of the Mosaic law were to be followed by the Christians of Gentile origin, the class to which the present Christians of Europe and America almost exclusively belong. The fact that the Council enumerates some things, and makes their well-being depend on obedience to these, evidently excludes all others. Circumcision, the sacrifices of the old law, and the Sabbath regulations all stand on the same ground. They were decided not to be obligatory on the Gentile Christians. Nor is there the slightest trace in the Acts of the Apostles or the Epistles that these Christians did observe the Jewish Sabbath, even as a work of supererogation.

A book of popular instruction of much repute in England, while England was still Catholic, De Burgo's *Pupilla Oculi* (Paris, 1510), fol. clxii., 2, puts it distinctly: "One thing is to be known, that the obligation of keeping the Sabbath of the law, according to the form of the Old Testament, expired with the other ceremonies, and thereto succeeded in the New Law the mode of celebrating the divine worship on Sundays and other festivals instituted by the authority of the Church."

The only day of the week which under the Apostles seems to have received special attention was not the last day of the week, the Saturday or Sabbath, but the first. St. Luke mentions a miracle wrought by St. Paul at Troas "on the first day of the week, when we were assembled to break bread" (Acts xx., 7); and St. Paul, addressing the Corinthians, directs collections to be made for the saints on the first day of the week (1 Cor. xvi., 2). But the celebration of the Eucharistic rite and collection of money for pious uses have not the slightest connection with the Jewish Sabbath. That St. John the Evangelist received the revelation at Patmos when he was in the spirit on the Lord's day, shows simply that the first day of the week had already received that name, not that any obligation of the Jewish Sabbath was attached to it. This is made

positively clear by an epistle of St. Ignatius addressed by that disciple of St. Peter to the Christians of Magnesia. Writing against the observance of the Mosaic law, he bids them be "not men observing the Sabbath, but men living according to the Lord's day." The epistle which is ascribed to St. Barnabas gives the reason for the selection of the day: "Therefore we spend the eighth day in joy, on which Jesus rose from the dead."

In the primitive days of fervor and piety all days were so consecrated by exercises of devotion that no special command for the sanctification of the first day is traced. It was not until the primitive earnestness of Christians began to relax that we find anything to distinguish the day. Thus, Tertullian, speaking of the attitude observed at prayer, remarks: "Only on the Lord's day of the resurrection we must not only refrain from kneeling, but from all habit of care and duties, even laying aside business, lest we give place to the devil."

This became gradually obligatory, although the command was not at first peremptory. The Council of Laodicea, in 364. defines: "That Christians must not Judaize and refrain from manual labor on Saturday, but work on that day; and that, preferring the Lord's day, they must then rest, if this can be done, as becomes Christians."

The Church thus began by calling her children to sanctify the first day of the week, that on which God the Son rose from the dead, that on which God the Father began the creation of the world, and God the Holy Ghost descended on the Apostles. She commanded a laying aside of business, a refraining from servile work, as a means to the end she had in view, the sanctification of the day. Her policy was settled and acknowledged when the days of her persecution passed and a disciple of Christ sat on the throne of the Cæsars.

Constantine lent the power of the state to enforce the regulations of the Church, and the civil law began to enforce the spiritual decrees. He commanded the Lord's day to be observed by all as a festival and day of rest. The law courts were then closed, and public business suspended, allowance being made for works of necessity and mercy. But the tilling of the soil was deemed necessary and was not forbidden until a later period.

As new states arose from the ruins of the Roman Empire, we find local councils, in time of relaxation, renewing, with greater or less strictness, as circumstances required, the prohibition of labor, and of all that interfered with the great object,—the sanctification of the day as one set apart especially for the great public act of divine worship. The ancient laws of all European states contain statutes enforcing these decrees of the Church.

As long as the Catholic Church was supreme in Europe, her de-

crees were certain, her authority recognized, and the civil power, acknowledging its obedience to the spiritual, held it a duty to enforce what she commanded for the sanctification of a day set apart for the fulfilment of the first commandment,—the solemn public worship of Almighty God.

To the Jew his Sabbath was merely a day of rest. It had no special sacrifice in the temple, no offering of incense beyond that of every other day. The sacrifices in the temple, general or individual, went on without any reference to the Sabbath, nor were the Israelites commanded especially to attend any service in the temple on that day. It was a day of rest, not a day of special worship of God.

The Christian Lord's day was pre-eminently a day of worship. The Eucharistic sacrifice was offered, indeed, daily, making a perpetual oblation, but it was offered with greater solemnity on the first day of the week, and all Christians who had attained the age of reason were commanded to join in the offering, in order to render to Almighty God the highest worship, that of his own divine Son. The prohibition of work, of trade, of noisy enjoyments, all had in view the sanctification of the day, in order to surround the great act of worship with the calm and dignity becoming to it.

The laws of Christian Europe, from Constantine to the sixteenth century, were in the same spirit. They aimed to invest the solemn sacrifice of the Mass with becoming peace, and quiet, and honor. They were enacted to enforce the law of the Church, they were enacted in homage to the Mass.

Neither civil nor religious legislation gave it any feature of moroseness and gloom. Nor was any such element characteristic of the Jewish Sabbath. On the contrary, it was and is to the children of Israel a day of cheerfulness and happiness. On its eve they wish one another a good Sabbath. They meet in their synagogues to read the law and pray, although there is in the law of Moses no direct command to that effect; but, though they adhere to the refraining from labor on that day, they are not forbidden to relax their minds by genial conversation and innocent enjoyments.

The Christian Sunday was a day of joy; it was to honor the great joy of the Resurrection. The very word, Eucharist, characteristic of the great sacrifice, implies joy; that service is, in itself, one in which the grief for sin, the cry for mercy, glides insensibly into a pæan of joy. If the Church forbade her children to labor, it was not to fill their hearts with gloom and bitterness, but to draw them away from the world and its cares, and its degrading influence, and to give them a foretaste of heaven by joy.

As the life of the Church has been one of struggle with worldly influences, the true spirit of the sanctification of the Lord's day would, from time to time, in one place or another, be lost; new regulations came, new laws were passed, as the state was called upon to remedy abuses and prevent profanations.

When Europe was swept by the great religious rebellion of the sixteenth century, the public worship of Almighty God was, in many countries, as completely abolished as it was in Jerusalem by the armies of Babylon, or, subsequently and completely, by those of the Romans under Titus. The Mass, to honor which the Catholic Church had especially set apart the first day of the week, and hedged it with her decrees, was abolished. There was no other essential act of divine worship to replace it, and there could be none. There could only be a synagogue service like that of the Jews, waiting for the restoration of the altar and the sacrifice. This required no special sanctification of the day; the Jewish sabbath-law had long been extinct, and with the Mass went really and logically in Protestant countries all motive or ground for the legislation which Christian states had enacted to maintain the decrees of the Church.

Only human motives, and purely human motives, could be adduced for maintaining the old system of honoring Sunday. As the framers of the new religious creeds appealed to the Scripture as the sole authority, they found their position indefensible. Nothing in the New Testament forbids work, travel, trade, amusement, on the first day of the week. There is nothing which implies such a prohibition. The day, as one specially set apart, had no authority but that of the Catholic Church; the laws requiring its observance were passed to enforce decrees of councils of the Catholic Church. But to have abolished Sunday utterly would have shocked all men, and, logically or not, it was maintained.

The difficulty of the position was soon apparent to many in the Reformed Churches. Attendance at the services of the new religions was enforced by fine, but as these services had in themselves nothing commanded by Holy Scripture, or binding under pain of sin, a gradual relaxation ensued, till James I., in 1618, specially allowed lawful recreations on the Lord's day, and bear-baiting and cudgel-fighting came to be deemed lawful.

It became necessary to find some authority for requiring men to observe the Sunday. Several writers endeavored to show by specious and adroit reasoning that the patriarchs observed the first day of the week as the Sabbath, and that with the abolition of the Jewish Saturday Sabbath, the former revived and was binding on Christians. The answer to which was that, if the Bible was the only rule of faith, so important a precept as the observance of



Sunday, if laid down at all, must be clearly and definitely expressed in the New Testament.

When the Puritan body arose in England they were eminently disciples of the Old Testament. Nothing in the Bible had any charm for them but the terrors and severity of the Old Law. It filled their whole life and thought. There they sought the names for themselves and their children. They were the modern Israel, the rest of the world the heathen to be exterminated. A fierce and gloomy spirit pervaded them. All joyousness was a sin. To them the Sunday was but the Sabbath of the Jews, to be kept with all the rigor of the law of Moses. The very term Sabbath was applied to Sunday.

As they gained power and influence in England the legislation changed. Charles I., in the very first year of his reign, passed a law to prevent noisy sports on Sunday, and an attempt to revive his father's ideas met with stern and violent denunciation. When, with psalm and anathema in scripture phrase, the Puritans overthrew the government and sent the king to the block, they made the Sunday a Sabbath of more than Jewish rigor; and even after the fall of the Commonwealth and the restoration of the monarchy, Charles II., to gratify them, consented, in 1678, to an act forfeiting all goods exposed to sale on Sunday; all travel by boat or barge; and all trading by butchers and higglers.

The Separatists and Puritans who founded the colonies in Massachusetts were of the strictest adherents of the Sabbath theory. Those who went to Holland grieved to see their fellow-Calvinists in the United Provinces regard the day so differently. In America they attempted to revive the theocracy of the Children of Israel. They deemed themselves the chosen people as firmly as though the Bible so laid it down. Englishmen, and still claiming to be British subjects, they ignored English law, abolished the Church established by law, and made its profession punishable. The festivals of the Christian year were abolished, and their observance, even in the way of social merriment, was prohibited. The Sunday was as purely an ecclesiastical creation as the feasts, but they retained it as the Sabbath. Setting at defiance alike the Parliament and Church of England, they had full scope to carry out their own peculiar ideas, and generations were moulded in the ideas they adopted. As the colonists spread over New England, this Puritan idea of the Sabbath took root from Maine to Connecticut. Its fanatical character has survived belief in the Trinity, the inspiration of Scripture, the fall of man, and the atonement of Christ; and the energy inherited from their ancestors impels the New England man of to-day to seek to force his views on his fellow-men now

with the same determined zeal that characterized his forefathers, much as he may differ from them on most points.

"In opposition to the judgment of Luther and Calvin, as much as to the rubrics of Rome and England," says Palfrey, the historian of New England, "Sunday was nearly identified with the Sabbath of the Law of Moses, and every kind of recreation on that day was forbidden, as well as every kind of labor." The day was required to be passed in the meeting-house, and in solitary devotion and reading at home.

In their whole course they were actuated by a blind hatred of Catholicity, not that they had personally suffered from it, but taking it as persistently misrepresented by that Church of England which they hated as deeply, and which, with greatly varied severity, laid its heavy hand alike on Puritan and on Catholic. But it seems a special design of Providence that men hating the Church should thus be made the instruments of doing the work of the Church in this country by carrying out so strenuously her early decrees for the sanctification of the Lord's day she had set apart for the great act of her worship, by enforcing the suspension of labor, trade, and noisy amusement on that day, although they refused to kneel at her altars, or, indeed, bow the knee at all to Almighty God.

Their spirit was one of wrath and severity. The lesson in the Old Testament given to the angry prophet was unheeded by them, and they never seem to have read far enough in the Bible to reach the spirit of Christ, or the sweet yoke of the Gospel.

"Go forth and stand upon the mount before the Lord; and behold the Lord passeth, and a great and strong wind before the Lord, overthrowing the mountains and breaking the rocks in pieces; but the Lord was not in the wind, and after the wind an earthquake; but the Lord was not in the earthquake. And after the earthquake a fire; but the Lord was not in the fire, and after the fire a whistling of a gentle air. And when Elias heard it, he covered his face with his mantle."

They were not, indeed, the first to enact a Sunday law on the shores of the Atlantic. In the *Articles, Laues and Orders, Divine, Politique, and Martiall, for the Colony of Virginea*, a draconic code, issued in 1610-1611, attendance at church service was made compulsory every day, as well as at sermon and catechism on Sabbath, under penalty of death for the third offence; but there was no prohibition of labor, the only clause being: "Likewise no man or woman shall dare to violate or break the Sabbath by any gaming, publique or private, abroad or at home, but duly sanctifie and observe the same, both himself and his familie, by preparing themselves at home with private prayer, that they may be the better fitted for the publique."

This law, like many others of the kind, soon became virtually a dead letter. But, in New England, the keeping of the so-called Sabbath was deemed too vital a point to be neglected. The laws there, if not as stringent as that of Virginia just cited, were enforced, public opinion sustaining the magistrates in the execution of enactments of which the following, from the Laws of New Haven Colony, may be taken as a type :

*"Prophanation of the Lord's Day.*

"Whosoever shall prophane the Lord's Day or any part of it, either by sinful servile work, or by unlawful sport, recreation, or otherwise, whether wilfully or in a careless neglect, shall be duly punished by fine, imprisonment or corporally, according to the nature and measure of the sinn and offence. But if the court, upon examination, by clear and satisfying evidence, find that the sinn was proudly, presumptuously, and with a high hand, committed against the known command and authority of the blessed God, such a person, therein despising and reproaching the Lord, shall be put to death, that all others may feare and shun such provoking rebellious courses : Numb. 15, from 30 to 36 verse."

These laws were gradually extended so as to forbid not only servile labor, but all work, traffic, and travel ; and to this day travelling, except to and from meeting, is an offence against the laws of Connecticut. Nor are all these statutes obsolete, for, only a few years ago a clergyman from New York, while driving from the steamboat on a Sunday, was arrested.

As New Englanders emigrated, they carried with them their Sabatarian ideas, and to them, in no slight degree, is due the passing of similar laws in other parts of the country, or their enforcement where they were already on the statute-book. The kindred denomination, the Presbyterians, took up the cause, and while a large class in Massachusetts, adopting Unitarianism, have become less rigid, the Presbyterians remain the sturdy and inflexible maintainers of the strictest prohibition of all labor, whether servile or not, of all traffic, and of everything in the form of public or private amusement.

The Methodist body, too, adheres strictly to it ; and in the sea-side towns which they have created, all riding, driving, bathing, and amusements on Sunday are prohibited, and boating is confined to the wherries which carry people to and from the religious meetings. The druggists are allowed to put up prescriptions signed by physicians, but not to sell even medicines otherwise.

Of late years, in this country, associations to carry out various theories, chiefly humanitarian, have not only been formed in many parts of the country, but, by their activity and persistence, have succeeded in obtaining special legislation, so that we are rapidly

drifting to a system of government by associations. The president of a Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals or Children can in person, and through his agents, exercise powers that never, in our past history, were committed to the chief magistrate of a state or the highest judicial functionary. The rights of personal liberty, rights of property, rights of parents to control their children, are virtually abolished, or placed at the mercy of a set of enthusiasts. The public schools are run by a set of similar hobbyists, and parents have not the slightest power, either individually or collectively, to obtain for their children the least modification in the most absurd system that may be adopted.

The influence of all these dangerous combinations is seen in a remarkable degree in a penal code recently adopted in New York. It was generally supposed to be simply a codification of existing statutes, not a collection of new provisions. It was examined when too late, when it had actually become the law of the State. Then the Bar Association of New York adopted a series of resolutions which declare "that, with hardly an exception, a change had been made, either in the definition or the penalty of every crime; that these changes have greatly and indefinitely extended the power of the criminal courts, whereby every man's liberty is jeopardized; that many new acts have been declared to be crimes; . . . that many antiquated and forgotten statutes have been revived with increased penalties, breach of the Sunday laws, for example, being punishable by heavier penalties than the revised statutes prescribe."

The overzealous associations, possessed each with one idea, had severally pressed their special points, and the result was that the people of a great state found themselves entrapped in a system of law passed in utter ignorance of its purport.

The Sunday laws are in their origin a part of the Catholic system enforced by the state when Europe was Catholic. The day and the regulations have no logical basis except the authority of the Catholic Church. The very language still shows this to be their origin. This new code provides:

"The first day of the week being by general consent set apart for rest and religious uses, the law prohibits the doing on that day of certain acts hereinafter specified, which are serious interruptions of the repose and religious liberty of the community.

"A violation of the foregoing prohibition is Sabbath-breaking.

"Under the term, 'day,' as employed in the phrase, 'first day of the week,' when used in this chapter, is included all the time from midnight to midnight.

"The following acts, as explained in the next six sections, are those forbidden to be done on the first day of the week, excepting

a work of necessity or charity: No. 1, servile labor; No. 2, public sports and shows; No. 3, trades, manufactures, or mechanical employments; No. 4, public traffic; No. 5, serving process."

The terms, "servile labor," "works of necessity or charity," are drawn from the Catholic prescriptions for the observance of the day, and can be fairly construed by the courts only by the study of the opinions of Catholic doctors of moral theology, who have fixed the meaning of the terms and the limits to be assigned to them. Certainly there is nothing actually known as "servile" labor in New York at the present day. Nor will it do to go back to classic times, for the teachers and tutors in ancient Rome were generally of the slave class, and a Protestant Sunday-school teacher might be held to be guilty of "servile" labor. But the Catholic Church, construing her own laws, distinguishes between "servile" and "liberal" works, and recognizes a large class of works as "common." While the Church forbids servile works, she has not extended that prohibition to liberal works, and permits many that are common. The New York Code, using the word "servile," a word foreign to the common law, must intend it to be construed according to canon law,—the law of the Catholic Church, from which it is derived.

Servile works, in the eyes of the Church, are those which are effected principally by the bodily powers, and which tend directly to the advantage of the body. Liberal works are those in which the mind takes more part than the body, and which tend directly to the advantage of the mind, the cultivation of the intelligence. Common or natural works are those which are accomplished by both mind and body in about the same degree, and which are performed by all kinds of persons, without regard to social rank or calling.

Now, the Code, adopting a recognized term in Catholic theology, must be held to have done so knowingly; and as penal laws, according to a recognized maxim of law, must be construed strictly, the provision cannot be extended to liberal and common works, unless they are definitely and distinctly forbidden; they cannot be held to pass under the term "servile."

The claim will be made that this is a Protestant country, and that the attempt to evade or alter our Sunday laws is made by a foreign element, that has come of late years into the country, to break down the established institutions of this and other states. By the miserable subterfuge and falsification often resorted to, the Catholic body will be represented as made up entirely of foreigners, and as one of the opponents of the due observance of the Sunday. In this there is a fallacy at every step. The Catholics of the United States are not, as a body, foreign born; in fact, the majority of Catholics

here are native born ; the American Catholics of New England origin alone number thousands, and those descended from settlers in other provinces in colonial days would swell the number beyond the range of mere thousands.

The Catholic Church created the Sunday and made the very regulations which have come down on the statute-books, and she still constantly, from her pulpits, her catechists' chairs, and the confessional, calls on her faithful to obey them, to sanctify the day, and refrain from all that desecrates it. If the Church has not all the moral influence over some of her children in this country that she desires, it is not her fault, but that of the very men who, hating her, seek to cripple her power for good, and tempt her children to disobey her regulations and flout her counsels.

But in her definition of her own law for the sanctification of the Lord's Day she must follow her own decisions of centuries ; she cannot adopt the wild and exaggerated theories of those who try to enforce her laws according to their own interpretation, while actually denying her authority. She cannot take her interpretation of her own law from the "New York Sunday Closing Association," or any similar body.

She not only forbids servile work on the Lord's Day, and the spending of it in mere amusement and diversion, but she requires every member of her flock to take part in the offering of the great sacrifice of the new law, the highest act of worship that can be offered to Almighty God. She counsels prayer, devotion, acts of mercy, on that day. She multiplies churches to enable her children to fulfil the obligation of divine worship ; by general and individual exhortation and rebuke she urges all to keep the day holy, and every Catholic knows that, by violating the command, he commits a mortal sin.

The Church and her children are not the habitual profaners of the Lord's Day. Not by her choice or her wish does the rail-car rattle noisily over surface-road or elevated rails past her temples at the moment when the worshipers within bow in awful silent adoration of the Son of God. No son of the Church, no Catholic does servile labor without necessity, or opens his place of business to sell his goods without knowing that he cuts himself off from the communion ; that he can be admitted only by sincere repentance.

In New York the law preventing travel on Sunday was formerly, in the memory of many, so enforced as to prevent disturbing church service. There were then no street-cars, and any church could, by stretching a chain across the street at the commencement of its services, prevent vehicles passing till the congregation was dismissed. This was in time abandoned ; but, solemn as the Catholic worship is in the eyes of her children, no

Catholic Church ever availed itself of this privilege, so far as we know, and, in point of fact, the attempt to exercise the right would have been resented, and led to trouble.

As the enforcement of the Sunday law relieved Jews who, by the provisions of the act, were exempt from penalty for working on Sunday if they kept the Saturday as their Sabbath, many of the children of Israel went a step further, and in quarters where they were numerous opened their stores and carried on traffic on Sunday. This has, of recent years, greatly changed the look of New York streets; the old Sunday, with its quiet, has disappeared, and men calling themselves still Christians were led to do what they saw their Hebrew neighbors do unchecked.

The right of a Jew to open his store on Sunday had been discussed in the case of *The City of Shreveport against Levy*. The court there determined "that before the constitution Jews and Gentiles are equal. By the law they must be treated alike, and the ordinance which gives to one sect a privilege which it denies to another, violates both the constitution and the law, and is therefore null and void." This doctrine has been generally accepted as sound, and was followed by the courts in New York, in recent decisions. Many Hebrew dealers have claimed the right to sell on that day, but their clergy do not advocate that view, and it is not probable that any legislation will enable them to do so, unless the Sunday is absolutely abolished.

For this, certainly, the American people are not prepared, and God forbid that we should live to see the time when it will be. But it is not easy to see on what ground the Sunday laws are to be maintained that will continue to commend itself to the growing secularism fostered by our public schools and state colleges.

One of our leading papers, discussing the question, says: "The assumption is, that by law we have here an established and characteristic Sabbath which everybody ought to be made to respect. But at the very foundation of this republic lies the separation of State and Church. Consequently, in the State of New York the first day of the week can only be regarded by the law as a day of rest, as a holiday. Legally it is that, and not a Sabbath which there is any religious obligation to keep. The State has nothing to do with its religious character, except so far as to protect citizens in their right to worship on Sunday without disturbance. Such other regulations as are justifiable are those only which are necessary because of its peculiar character as a weekly holiday."

This is very incorrect and fallacious. The separation of Church and State does not underlie the idea of our republic, either in theory or practice. The laws of the colonies bearing on Sunday were adopted by the States, and the United States government, in

the District of Columbia, adopted the laws of Virginia and Maryland. The early laws base their enactments distinctly and positively on religious grounds; they aimed to prevent the profanation of the Lord's day, not to regulate a state holiday. In Virginia, as in New England, attendance at Protestant service was commanded in the same law that forbade games and work; and the legislation that was directly intended to make men keep and fulfil a religious obligation, made regulations for its observance, and maintains them to this day, to the great good of all men, and more especially of the poorer classes, whose long life of labor would be cheerless indeed but for what the Church does to ameliorate their lot.

The Catholic churches are pre-eminently the churches of the poor; built up by their contributions, they are the noblest abiding-places that they have on earth. Within their walls the poor feel free; they speak of the churches, and point to them with pride as their own; within, all tends to cheer and elevate, to ennoble and to attract. It was the Church that in the Middle Ages gave the serf relief from grinding toil, gave him wherewith to cheer his dreary lot; her shrines were the spot where his mind received its sole elevating and ennobling influences. The Church did all for the poor, the state nothing.

But, in this matter of Sunday laws, how can the state act? The general government has no power over the subject at all throughout the country at large. It is one of the subjects over which each state retains complete control, and each state is free to unite Church and State, as most of them practically do. For years after the establishment of the United States government Massachusetts had her established church, and in other states the profession of the Protestant religion was necessary to the exercise of the elective franchise in its fullest extent. An eminent North Carolina lawyer, raised to the bench, found an act to prevent his taking the judicial position; a Catholic assemblyman, elected from New York City, could not take his seat in the state legislature; a Catholic cannot even now hold office in New Hampshire; in many states the Catholic inmates of penal and eleemosynary institutions are compelled to attend Protestant religious services, read Protestant bibles, sing Protestant hymns, and listen to instructions from Protestant ministers or turnkeys. Under the United States government Catholic soldiers and officers have been punished for refusing to attend Protestant worship, and Catholic soldiers are required by law to send their children to a Protestant chaplain for instruction.

The object of the earlier American law was not to secure to the piously-disposed quiet during the religious services that they attended, but to compel the indifferent, obstinate, and ill-disposed to



attend the service, whether Episcopal in Virginia or Congregational in New England, and to refrain from work, whether they wished it or not.

This legislation dates from a period when men believed that civil authority was instituted by God, and that civil rulers were responsible to God, and were bound to look after the spiritual welfare of their subjects. Under the Mosaic law the priests and the Sanhedrim, the oracle upon the ark, were the guide as to what was due to God's honor. For ages all Christian nations looked to the Catholic Church, and, as we have seen, the various states enforced by law her ordinances as to worship and cessation of labor on Sunday. Protestantism, in discarding the authority of the Church, has no good reason for its Sunday theory, and ought, logically, to keep Saturday as the Sabbath, with the Jews and Seventh-Day Baptists. For their present practice Protestants in general have no authority but that of a Church which they disown, and there cannot be a greater inconsistency than theirs in asking the state to enforce the Sunday laws.

If it be a mere state holiday, most of the legislative provisions are a mere tyrannical interference with the liberty of a citizen; and it is a strange holiday on which people are forbidden to enjoy themselves, under penalty of fine and imprisonment. If it were merely this, it would be more sensible to punish the man who wore a long face on a public holiday than the man who laughed.

It is not a mere legal holiday; it is the Lord's day, set apart by the Catholic Church. It is a religious holiday, and so long as it is maintained by law it is therefore only a sorry farce to tell us that in this country there is no union of Church and State.

The state, in referring to the Sunday laws, does it as a religious duty, acknowledging the Divine supremacy, and enforcing laws made known through the instrumentality of the Church. It was on this ground, and this ground alone, that the State of Connecticut, at the commencement of this century, arraigned the United States government as a Sabbath-breaker and profaner of the Lord's day. The carrying of mails through the State on Sunday had scandalized the good people of that commonwealth, and Connecticut attempted to prevent the general government from continuing its misconduct and to bring it to a sense of its sin. The local Sunday mails were stopped, and only those from distant points have since been carried.

## IS SPIRITISM A DEVELOPMENT OF CHRISTIANITY?

*Experimental Investigation of the Spirit Manifestations, etc.* By Robert Hare, M.D. New York. Partridge & Brittain, 342 Broadway.

*On Miracles and Modern Spiritualism.* Three Essays. By Alfred Russel Wallace. James Burns, 15 Southampton Row. London. 1875.

*Der Spiritismus und das Christenthum.* Dr. J. Wieser, S. J., in *Zeitschrift fuer Katholische Theologie*. Innsbruck, Felician Rauch, 1880 and 1881.

ALL the extraordinary claims and promises of Spiritism are based upon the assumption that it is the complement and perfection of the Christianity of the past, inasmuch as it furnishes an interpretation and explanation of Christianity which will perfectly satisfy all generations to come. This interpretation consists in explaining away whatsoever has heretofore been accounted divine in the economy of Christianity, by the simple process of reducing its miracles and prophecies to Spiritist marvels, thus with one bold stroke bringing Christ, his prophets, and his saints, within the pale of Spiritism. This feat once accomplished, the cause of Spiritism is won. If Christ and the saints were Spiritists, Christianity is nothing but Spiritism, and Spiritism is the only philosophical religion that can satisfy the heart and mind of man. "Spiritism," we have heard Mr. Wallace say, in his eloquent conclusion to the essays, "takes up and explains whatever is true in the superstitions and so-called miracles of all ages. It and it alone is able to harmonize conflicting creeds, and it must ultimately lead to concord among mankind in the matter of religion, . . . and it will be able to do this, because it appeals to evidence instead of faith, and substitutes facts for opinions, and is thus able to demonstrate the source of much of the teaching that men have so often held to be divine."

The argument of what is called the *Spiritist Analogy* is very simple, and may be briefly summarized as follows: The miracles and prophecies of Christ and of the saints are evidently marvels of Spiritism, if they are identical in nature with those marvels. Now this identity is self-evident, a mere comparison being sufficient to demonstrate a perfect parallelism.<sup>1</sup> For example: Christ healed the sick, so do our healing mediums; Christ walked upon the sea, our mediums hover in the air; Christ was transfigured on Thabor,

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<sup>1</sup> Zoellner says that only a superficial knowledge of Spiritist phenomena is required in order to recognize in them a characteristic agreement (*Uebereinstimmung*) with the miracles recorded of Christ. *Wissensch. Abh. B. III.*, p. 612.

our mediums are frequently transfigured in halos of "oddylic" light; Christ turned water into wine, so do our spirits; Christ read the hearts of men, so do our mediums; Christ prophesied, so do our mediums. Therefore, the miracles and prophecies of Christ, and, by parity, of the saints, are only Spiritist marvels, and Christianity is only an old form of Spiritism. Such is the gist of the argument which the defenders of the Spiritist Analogy develop now in one way, now in another, now by a suggestive insinuating style imperceptibly instilling a multitude of doubts into the minds of the unwary, now with a bold, eloquent, and learned tone, carrying away unsettled minds to belief.

In order to pass a just judgment upon the argument of Spiritists, it is necessary to go back to the fundamental truths which reason dictates concerning miracles and marvels, and review such of them as are indispensable for our present discussion.

A miracle, from *mirari*, in the broadest and loosest acceptance of the word, is anything that elicits great admiration, be it in the physical, intellectual, or moral order. Thus we speak of miracles of nature, of learning, or of virtue. In a more limited sense the word stands for a wonderful effect, that is contrary to what one would have expected, and is produced by a hidden cause.<sup>1</sup> Now, as the cause may be either God or a creature, we have two classes of wonderful effects, of which the divine alone are, according to universal custom, called *miracles*, while those of creatures are properly denominated *marvels*. Since, however, we do not call divine works miracles unless they transcend the order existing in nature, a miracle is further limited to the strictest signification of "*an effect that transcends the power and order of all created nature.*"<sup>2</sup> Hence, while a marvel is an effect that is produced by the limited strength of a creature, a miracle, on the contrary, can only be wrought by the omnipotence of God.

Reason teaches that God, because He is almighty, can work three kinds of miracles: He can produce, 1, miraculous effects which no created being could ever cause; 2, effects which might be produced by a creature, but are caused without it; 3, effects which He makes the creature produce, contrary to those it would naturally cause.<sup>3</sup> Thus, God alone can raise the dead to life, alone can heal diseases without medicine, alone can make boiling oil refresh and invigorate His beloved disciple. To say that God cannot work miracles of the first class, is to deny his boundless power; to object that the order of nature forbids any inter-

<sup>1</sup> V. D. Thom. Qq. disp. de miraculis, a. 2.

<sup>2</sup> V. S. Th. I. p. q. 105, a. 7. Contra Gent. I. 3, c. 101.

<sup>3</sup> V. Mazzella, De Religione. Disp. I., Art. IX. V. Liberatore, Cosmol., chap. iv.

ference on the part of God in miracles of the second and third classes, is to suppose that He is not its Creator and absolute Master; to maintain that His attributes are opposed to a miraculous suspension or setting aside of the laws of nature, is to dwarf those attributes, as if, forsooth, God neither knew by His omniscience, nor was generous enough in His goodness, nor had the power with His omnipotence, to make such changes in His work as He chose, and, above all, to create a world of supernatural miracles upon and above this universe of natural wonders. So far from seeing any difficulty in admitting the possibility of this higher creation, reason would rather expect its actual production from Him of whose wonders there can be no end. God certainly needed not to have created anything at all, being all-sufficient for Himself; but once He put forth His creative power in order to manifest His glory, there is no reason why that power should not work greater and still greater wonders, being, as it is, infinite in its might and beneficence. That supernatural economy which reason might have looked for the Christian knows to be an accomplished fact. It was not the reason of Hume, Renan, and Strauss that rejected the possibility of divine miracles; it was their will, that denied it against their reason, and against fact. They knew very well that scores of divine miracles had been verified upon the testimony of reliable witnesses, that they were undeniable historical facts, which, as they could not be overthrown by reason, had to be scouted as "*intractable* facts of history;" words which alone show the bad faith of that school of atheistic writers.

Given a number of wonderful effects, how can we discriminate which of them come from God and which do not? In the first place, if the prodigy be such that it could not possibly be the work of any creature, it is, beyond a doubt, a divine miracle of the first class. Thus, the miraculous restoration of lost limbs and organs, or their production where they never existed, the raising of the dead to life, and the changing of the hardened heart of a man, are indisputably miracles that can be wrought by God alone. In the second place, if the effects are such as could not possibly be caused by any creature in the *manner* in which they are caused, they cannot but be divine miracles of the second and third classes. Thus, if an effect is produced without pre-existing matter, or without the potencies of matter, or by means in themselves inadequate, it is plainly the work of Omnipotence alone. Thus, God alone can heal an incurable disease, without using any remedy; the creature cannot. God can make the white heat of the furnace, against its natural power, cool the body of a martyr; the creature cannot. God can cure diseases with a word, or give sight to a man born blind by putting mud on his eyeballs; a creature cannot. Where

such effects are at all possible to created power, they can only be caused with the assistance of matter and its potencies, and by means proportionate to the effect. Thus, a spirit might cure certain diseases, to all appearances, suddenly, but not without the assistance of some kind of matter, not at all if there is no potentiality for a cure, and never without proportionate means ; in these cases Omnipotent power alone can accomplish the work.

It is, therefore, raising a false supposition to object that, in order to ascertain that a certain prodigy could not have been the work of a creature, one ought to be acquainted with everything that creatures can accomplish ; for the point to be settled is, not what creatures can do, but what they *cannot do*, and that has been defined in the law laid down above. Even granting that there may be latent forces in nature, as yet unexplored by science, it always remains certain that they can never exceed the limits of created strength. Even the angels, confessedly the highest and most powerful creatures, cannot be exempted from that eternal law, "that a finite cause cannot produce an infinite effect;" or again, "that a finite cause cannot work an effect in an *infinite manner*." It is true that the wonderful knowledge and the extraordinary power over matter with which pure spirits are endowed, enable the angels, whether good or bad, to work, with God's permission, wonders so similar to the miracles of the second and third class, as to expose the incautious to deception. This fact, however, only points out the danger of unreasoning credulity and rash judgment to those whose education has not fitted them to cope with the difficulty ; but it cannot invalidate the principal criterion, "that a creature cannot work in an omnipotent manner," how difficult soever it makes its application in practice. The practical difficulties that are inseparable from the examination of such marvels, are acknowledged by divines, whose prudent hesitation to accept every wonder as genuine has often brought upon them the false accusation that they have little faith in miracles. Surely, the Church has the strongest faith in miracles, but not before they have stood those crucial tests of the Roman Rota whose severity has become proverbial.

It would be beside the purpose of our present consideration to inquire how far good and bad angels are allowed to interfere with the order of the universe. Reason assures us that they cannot create a disturbance in the existing harmony of nature without the permission of the Master of the universe. That they are allowed so to exert their activity, and how, and to what degree, was discussed in a previous article.<sup>1</sup> For the present it is enough to

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<sup>1</sup> Article on the Spirit-world, Quarterly for October, 1881.

bear in mind that they are actually at work, around and about us, and that their marvels must always be taken into account in the practical examination of miracles.

Another mark by which the marvel of a creature may, in many cases, be at once distinguished from divine miracles, is the *end or purpose for which it is wrought*. In working His miracles, God must always have a good and worthy purpose, whether it be to manifest His attributes, or to prove that it is He that speaks in revelation, or to corroborate that revelation over and over again, or to vindicate slandered virtue, or to set the seal of the divinity upon the sanctity of his saints. It is evident that the end or purpose, whatsoever it be, for which God works a miracle cannot but be good and worthy of Him.

On the other hand, the end for which a creature works a marvel may be evil and unworthy of God. It is not necessarily so, but it *may* be so; and, if it is so, the marvel cannot come from God, for He cannot give the power of working miracles to a creature for an evil and unworthy purpose. A prodigy, therefore, which is plainly caused for an evil purpose, or, for an end unworthy of God, cannot be a divine miracle.

From the principles thus far examined reason deduces the following *differences* between miracles and marvels:

1. The power that works miracles must be omnipotent; that which causes marvels is finite.
2. God alone can work miracles of the first class; no finite cause can produce such an infinite effect.
3. God alone can cause marvellous effects of the second and third class in an omnipotent manner; a creature may cause them only in a finite manner.
4. The *omnipotent manner* of working miracles knows no limits; the *finite manner* of working marvels is limited to pre-existing matter, *and* to its potencies, *and* to proportionate means.
5. The end or purpose of divine miracles cannot but be good, and worthy of God; the end or purpose of a creature's marvels may be the contrary.

It is by these canons of reason that the miracles of Christ and of the saints have been tested by the acutest minds of the Christian world for well-nigh two thousand years, and been proved to be divine; it is by the same canons that the marvels of evil spirits have been unmasked, their claims to identity with miracles overthrown, and their whole nature and tendency branded as execrable *magic*, so that the philosophy of miracles and marvels is not only written in abstract reason, but stands embodied in history.

Passing on to the polemical view of the subject, reason draws

from the philosophy and history of miracles and marvels the following pertinent conclusions :

1. That to exclude divine miracles from the definition and philosophy of miracles is to pervert and distort both, in violation of the canons of reason, of history, and of religion ; and that to do so in order to support a foregone conclusion proves the weakness and iniquity of the cause.

2. That to ignore, or conceal, or misrepresent, the essential *difference between the powers* that work miracles and marvels, in order to identify the latter with the former, is a violation of the same canons, either through culpable ignorance or from a wilful but concealed intention to deceive.

3. That to ignore, or conceal, or misrepresent the essential *difference in the manner of production* of miracles and marvels must be regarded as dishonest.

4. That to ignore, or conceal, or misrepresent whole classes of miracles because they baffle a certain purpose, is to hide the truth in order that falsehood may prevail.

5. That to ignore, or conceal, or misrepresent the historical miracles of the first class, because there are no marvels like them, is, moreover, a direct violation of the religious rights of God and of man.

6. That to ignore, conceal, or misrepresent the ends and purposes of miracles and marvels, is an impious attempt to make God no better than the creature.

These are the charges which we lay at the door of the defenders of the Spiritist Analogy.

In the first place, Spiritists pervert the definition and philosophy of miracles, by excluding the works of God from both. Following the definition given by Spinoza and Locke, that a miracle "is an event whose cause cannot be explained by the *natural laws known to us*, and which *seems* to be opposed to those laws," Spiritists assign as the only cause of those events the spirits of the séances. Thus, Mr. Wallace expressly defines miracles when he says "Every action and occurrence which involves the existence and activity of a superhuman intelligence we call a miracle," and by "superhuman intelligence" he means nothing but a spirit, for we have heard him say, in his conclusion to the *Essays*, that the marvels of spiritism "explain whatever is true in the superstitions and so-called miracles of all ages." Moreover, since, by a fundamental article of the Spiritist Revelation, God has nothing to do with His creatures, He and His works must be excluded from the consideration of miracles, if Spiritists would be at all consistent. This, however, cannot be done without breaking down the barriers of reason and historical facts. If Spiritists, notwithstanding, pervert the

definition and philosophy of miracles by excluding from both the works of God, they do so in order to sustain their foregone conclusion, that all historical miracles belong to Spiritism. A proceeding so unfair argues the weakness of their cause; a measure so unjust against man and God proves its iniquity.

In the second place, Spiritists ignore or conceal, or misrepresent the essential differences that actually exist between the wonder-working *power* of Christ, and that of the spirits of the séances.

The first difference is in the *genesis* of that power. In the power of Christ there is no trace of the genesis peculiar to the power of the spirits. In Him there was no mediumistic current induced by locked hands, no cataleptic state, no mediumistic dependence on a higher power, no development of mediumistic gifts, nothing of all that mediumistic genesis, but calm, conscious, ready, certain, personal, independent, absolute, universal, unlimited power; in one word, an almighty will.

The second difference is the *certainty* of Christ's power, as opposed to the capriciousness of mediumistic influence. His power never forsook Him, never failed Him: it was His own will.

These two differences are so striking that some Spiritists have endeavored to explain them, not by putting them fairly before the reader, but by covering them with the gratuitous *hypothesis*—for it is worth no more than that—that Christ was *spirit and medium in one*. Thus Perty, in trying to explain the resurrection, ascension, and sending of the Holy Ghost, says: "Christ is unique, inasmuch as He needs no Spiritist circle, no medium, to furnish the matter requisite for materialization; He took the matter out of the constituents of His own body, which afterwards dissolved itself without leaving a trace."—*Der Jetztige Spiritualismus und Verwandte Erfahrungen der Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, p. 218.

After quoting this explanation, Dr. Wieser sternly demands (l. c., p. 120), "Why, if Christ stood in no need of *Spiritist means*, why must one lay hold of such a stupid proposition, in order, notwithstanding, to make Him, by force, a Spiritist?"

The third difference is the unlimited range in the power of Christ, as opposed to what may be termed the *mediumistic specialities*. It is an established fact, that mediums are always limited to certain classes of phenomena, that they are always specialists, but, unlike the specialists of the professions, they are wholly unable to accomplish anything outside of their special sphere. Moreover, the spirits are bound down to these special powers of the mediums, so that Spiritism presents a curious collection of small powers, each circumscribed by impassable barriers. The power of Christ, on the contrary, knew no limits but those it set for itself. It was varied and universal, and, extending over all created nature, whether ani-



mate or inanimate, proclaimed Him to be its Master. What a spectacle that must have been to the Jews, when Christ came before them from His thirty years of hidden life, the obscure son of a carpenter, from despised Nazareth, a man who had not whereon to lay His head, but who proclaimed Himself and proved Himself to be God Incarnate! The son of the carpenter lifted up His hand, and proved His dominion over all creatures. Inanimate nature obeyed Him. He changed water into wine; at His voice the raging sea calmed itself about his bark; He walked on the sea, and made it firm as the shore; He made five loaves of bread feed five thousand men. Men were subject to His power, body and soul. He stretched forth His hand, or lifted up His voice, or merely said "I will," and cured every ill that flesh is heir to. He changed the soul of Matthew. He baffled the fury and craft of His enemies, and exposed their most secret thoughts. He made the departed soul return and reanimate the dead body. Spirits were subject to Him, for with a word He cast them out of the possessed, made them obey, nay, made them beg to be allowed to enter the bodies of swine. In one word, Christ proved His absolute dominion over all creatures by the exercise of omnipotent power. How the petty specialties of Spiritism sink away into insignificance beside this unlimited power! Yet Spiritists ignore this tremendous difference, or they conceal it; not because it has no significance, but because its weight in argument would crush them. If, therefore, they thus violate the canons of reason, of history, and of religion, it must be from a wilful, but concealed, intention to deceive. If they plead ignorance, it is an ignorance of the most guilty kind.

In the third place, Spiritists ignore, or conceal, or misrepresent, the essential difference in the *manner of production* of the miracles of Christ and of *their* (the Spiritists') marvels. Under this head we consider only those miracles of Christ which belong to the second and third class. Now, the manner of working these miracles is as different from that of the marvels as omnipotence is from the weakness of created strength. This would follow *a priori* from the essential difference between the respective powers, for essentially different causes must have essentially different ways of working; but there is not much need of reasoning on this point, since the difference of manner is a fact so well established that it needs only to be pointed out to be at once accepted by an unbiassed mind. The fact is recorded in the best-authenticated of all histories, the New Testament. The manner in which every miracle of Christ is wrought surpasses at the first glance all the possibilities of created power. Christ does not need matter to work with, much less its potencies, and least of all proportionate means: His power is so boundless that it sets these at naught. He has no spirits to assist

Him, much less to do the work for Him, though legions of angels stood ready at His beck. Empty handed He showers upon His people the gifts of God with the power of God. At the wedding feast of Cana He turns water into wine. It is claimed that the same marvel was wrought in a séance at Boston; but everybody conversant with the annals of Spiritism knows that the spirits themselves explain all such marvels by rapid transportation. They spirit away the water, and put wine in its place; but they do not pretend to, nay they cannot, *turn* water into wine by the mere power of their will, for that requires the power of the Author of nature. Again, Christ healed incurable diseases instantaneously, by means wholly inadequate, with a touch, or a word, very often without any means at all, but simply by His will. The wonderworkers of Spiritism are so pitifully limited in the healing art that they can only diagnose diseases, and point out or apply the proper remedies (which every physician of some experience can do), or at best work some very questionable cures by means of mesmeric passes. Hence, the healing marvels have not produced anything like a deep impression, even upon the minds of the most credulous. Spiritism cannot produce one healing marvel which can furnish a shadow of comparison with the manner in which Christ cured all kinds of diseases. Spiritists, like all professed sophists, studiously conceal and misrepresent these irreconcilable and damaging points of difference. To say that Christ did not walk on the sea, but hovered over it, and that, after the peculiar experience of St. Peter, is about as shameless a misrepresentation of an historic fact as could be devised by an unfair mind.<sup>1</sup> To say that Christ's transfiguration on Thabor was nothing but a halo of odyllic lights—those spectral flames of gloomy séances—is equally disgraceful.<sup>2</sup> Yet these were the strongest points Spiritists could make; what, then, would they do with the grander miracles of Christ? In explaining them they no longer argue, but merely affirm; and their affirmations are only stupid hypotheses. We have seen how Perty managed to surmount the difficulties of the resurrection and ascension of Christ, and of the sending of the Paraclete, with the bold assumption that Christ was spirit and medium in one. Zoellner does not need even that assumption; he explains the awe-inspiring miracles that attended the death of Christ by simply attributing them to the spirits, taking it for sound logic that *qui potest minus potest magis*, though he would not dare to say it in so many words. It is wrong, however, for the colleagues of

<sup>1</sup> Perty says (l. c.): "Christ's and Peter's walking upon the sea of Tiberias could have been *ecstatic hovering*. According to Matthew and Mark, Jesus, after dismissing the multitude, had previously prayed alone on the mountain, and that may have accelerated the development of that power which enabled him to hover."

<sup>2</sup> Zoellner explains the transfiguration of Thabor as a materialization séance.

Zoellner to blame him for letting his zeal run away with his discretion : they are all guilty of the same fault, only they know better how to conceal it than the headlong Zoellner.

It is worth remembering that, if the miracles of Christ are to be explained by mere *hypotheses*, there is no reason why the infidel should not fling this scoff in the teeth of Spiritists : " I explain those miracles with the hypothesis of mere trickery and deception ; and I explain your marvels by the same hypothesis ; if you merely *suppose*, I can do so with equal right." In fact, if an explanation is to be *imagined*, many others besides that of the Spiritists can be imagined just as well ; but imagining is not reasoning.

In the fourth place, Spiritists ignore, or conceal, or misrepresent, whole categories of miracles of the second and third classes, because they baffle their purpose. We saw under the last charge how Spiritists argue from the water and wine trick of the Boston séance, as also from the diagnoses and cures made by healing mediums, inferring from the first that the marvels explain the miracles of Christ wrought in inanimate nature, and from the second those performed in the bodies of men. These specious conclusions, however, could not stand if the comparison were carried a step further, for there are miracles like which there are no marvels in all Spiritism. Therefore Spiritists either ignore them, or positively misrepresent them. For instance, there is a studied silence as to those miraculous commands over inanimate nature in which the storm and the sea obeyed their Lord ; indeed, to mention them would be enough to break down the great analogy. Again, Spiritists carefully avoid letting their dupes know that perhaps the greater number of Christ's miraculous cures were of diseases that are incurable even by the marvels of Spiritism. Yet surely none of the miracles of Christ go home to man's heart so strongly and so tenderly as those which in the simple Gospel record are summed up in the few words of Christ, Matth. xi., " the blind see, the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, the deaf hear." In default of such marvels Spiritists resort to their usual unfair method of ignoring or misrepresenting the miracles of Christ that thwart their purposes, and that is nothing more or less than dishonestly to conceal or misrepresent the truth, in order that falsehood may be made to prevail.

In the fifth place, Spiritists ignore, conceal, or misrepresent the historical miracles of Christ that belong to the first class. Spiritists have no marvels to compare with these effects of Omnipotence. No creature has the power to change the heart of man at will ; yet Christ, with a little scourge, struck terror into the crowds of buyers and sellers, and drove them out of the temple ; He defied the infuriated multitude that had taken up stones to stone Him ; He created a new heart in Magdalen ; He passed the publican at his

money-table and merely said, "follow me," and Matthew instantly arose and followed Him. True, "He spoke as no man ever spoke," but it was not as an orator, who labors to win his cause, that He spoke; He spoke "as one having authority;" He spoke as no man ever spoke, or will speak, or can speak, for He spoke as God. Sole master of health, He alone could give it back where nature had already entirely lost it. Sole master of the body of man, He alone could restore its lost faculties. Sole master of man's soul, He alone could make it return and join the decayed body, and rise once more in its flesh to live. Sole Lord of spirits, He cast them out at will, and made them obey His word. Sole master of life and death, He alone could lay down His life, and take it up again. The omnipotent God alone can, of His own power, work such miracles.

What analogy can Spiritists find for these miracles? They have found none. Most of them ignore these miracles of the first class, while the few who, like Perty and Zoellner, attempt to explain them, grossly misrepresent them by their insipid hypotheses. For the intentional omission or misrepresentation of the miracles of Christ there can be no excuse. The miracles of Christ are all authenticated historical facts, and if Spiritists mean to appropriate them, they must prove their claims to all of them without exception, and if they would make good those claims, they may not omit, conceal, or misrepresent a single one. If, then, Spiritists violate these self-evident principles, in defiance of reason and of history, in a matter that involves the religious rights of God and of man, what must we think of their honesty and their good faith?

In the sixth place, Spiritists entirely ignore the essential difference between the ends and purposes of the miracles of Christ and those of the marvels of the spirits. Spiritists have no right to pass over this consideration. Intelligent beings, as such, always act with an intention, which specifies and distinguishes their actions from those of irrational beings, and in the moral order specifies and distinguishes them from one another. If the miracles of Christ are marvels of Spiritism, they must have been wrought for the same ends and purposes as are the marvels; if they were wrought for ends diametrically opposite, Christ worked with an intention opposite to that of the spirits, and there must be an irreconcilable antagonism between Him and the spirits, between His miracles and their marvels. Now, this antagonism exists in fact. The uses to which Spiritist marvels have been put are well known, and will be here specified only by contrast with the purposes of Christ. Christ never, even when it might have saved His life, wrought a miracle to *satisfy the curiosity* of the mob or of the

great. Rather than pander to the *sensationalism* of Herod Antipas and his profligate court, and so gain their protection, He preferred to be set at naught by them, and to be accounted a fool. He never made his miracles *minister to the earthly aggrandizement* of Himself or His own; rather He used them to pour out the gifts of nature with the bounty of God upon the unfortunate, and remaining poor Himself, He enriched men with the inestimable treasures of health, and life, and grace. He aimed not at *wealth*, or *fame*, or *pleasure*, or any of the *baser* ends of spiritist marvels, but directed all His miracles to the one great end of making men *believe in Him*, so that they might receive salvation through Him. This sublime purpose He embodied in that divinely designed plan in which doctrines and miracles were blended with infinite foresight and wisdom to achieve their proper success. His were no precarious tentative efforts. Place, time, and circumstances were chosen by Him beforehand for His miracles, their effects, and the doctrines for which they were to prepare minds; at times He chained miracles to miracles in preconceived and prearranged order of succession; now He chose to work them before a few, another time before multitudes; He often forbade the publication of miracles, but sometimes even made Himself known as their author; but He always and everywhere directed His miracles to the one great end of His mission as Saviour of the world. He made every miracle the prologue of omnipotence to His divine teachings, increasing the splendor and greatness of the miracles in proportion as the doctrines that were to follow demanded stronger faith. It was thus that after the many miracles by which He cured "the very great multitude who were come to hear Him and to be healed of their diseases" (Luke vi.), He lifted up his eyes on His disciples to pronounce the poor and unfortunate in this life blessed. It was after feeding five thousand men with five loaves that He demanded of them implicit faith, and made the solemn promise of giving His own body and blood for the food of eternal life in the Eucharist (John vi.). Faith in Him was not, as Spiritists assert, a *physical condition* for the exercise of His miraculous power, but the very effect and end intended by His miracles. He often showed that His miraculous power did not require faith in the subjects and recipients of His favors, as when He took pity on the man who "had been eight and thirty years under his infirmity" (John v.), or more touching still, on the widow of Naim, and again in the many instances when He rewarded the faith of others by working miracles for those who had no faith. He exacted faith in Him as his due, as the supreme homage that had to be given Him as God; but He did not need it as a *physical* condition for the actuation or exercise of His power, as is the case with magicians and Spiritists. How the

doctrines to which Christ directed all His miracles contradict those supported by the marvels of the spirits was plainly seen in the examination of the Spiritist Revelation. How the great end of all the miracles of Christ, which is nothing but the creation of the Christian world, is hostile to the purpose of all Spiritist marvels, which is to unchristianize the world, must be evident to every Christian, and indeed to every fair mind that knows the nature of Christianity and of Spiritism. Spiritists were fully cognizant of this invincible antagonism from the very beginning of their work; but the word had gone forth to them to ignore, to conceal, to deny it, and make it appear that Christ and Christianity are their friends in the common brotherhood of Spiritism. Knowingly and wilfully, then, they attempt to conceal the end and purpose of Christ's miracles, in order to pull Him down to the level of a medium-spirit, in order to make God no better than the creature, or rather to bring Him down to the spirits of hell.<sup>1</sup> After such impiety we need not be astonished to hear Spiritists advocate the blasphemous hypothesis that Christ labored under the hallucination, before and after death, that He was the Messiah.<sup>2</sup>

To sum up, the whole argument of Spiritists comes to this:

Christ worked the wonderful effects, *x*, *y*, *z* (and a thousand greater miracles, which need not be insisted upon).

But the spirits can do something like the *x*, *y*, *z*.

*Ergo*, the spirits can do all that Christ did.

*Ergo*, Christ and his miracles belong to Spiritism.

This is *Spiritist logic*.

*Ergo*, Spiritists conclude, by parity, the miracles of the saints of Christianity belong to Spiritism. However, there is no longer a *sequitur* to their false premises, and the simple answer is that, by parity, the miracles of the saints cannot belong to Spiritism; Christ lost, they have lost the saints. Since Spiritists have not taken the trouble to examine the miracles of the saints, we are relieved of the disagreeable duty of following their vagaries any further. However, as some of them single out the circumstance that the saints confessed that they worked miracles by a power

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<sup>1</sup> C. v. Rappard writes: "The Spiritist acknowledges the moral perfection of the missionary of Nazareth, . . . but at the same time also the vocation of all spirits to reach the same degree of perfection. Thus the divinity of Christ as well as our own is clearly defined." He adds that there is no difference of opinion on this point among the Spiritists of France, Belgium, Italy, Spain, and other countries.

<sup>2</sup> Perty not only says that Christ "shared the hopes of his people in the Messiah," and labored under the hallucination that He was the Messiah, but even carried that deception with Him into the other world. "Even after the resurrection, and therefore as a spirit, did he hold fast to the Messiah-conception that had originated in him, precisely as the spirits of other departed men cling to their notions and interests" (l. c., p. 218).

outside of them, and triumphantly point to it as a plain case of "medium and spirit," it is necessary to refute this insinuation. For this purpose nothing more is required than a glance at the great figures of the saints that stand out so prominently in history. What grand copies of Christ they are! In them, again, there is not a trace of the mediumistic conditions, no experimenting, no limitation to one set of phenomena, no ostentation and hankering after fame, no greed for money, no freeloading, no blasphemy nothing of all that corruption which "reeks of the rotten fens of hell;" but here are men and women, youths and maidens,<sup>1</sup> of heroic virtue, most of them voluntarily poor, almost all of them despised and persecuted by the wicked, yet all of them working the most astounding miracles, not in cataleptic contortions but in their normal state, even as Christ, healing all kinds of incurable diseases, forcing the elements to obey them, casting out evil spirits, and bidding the dead arise, in the power and the name, not of a spirit, but of Jesus Christ. History never once records that a saint worked a miracle with the assistance of the spirits of Spiritism; that slander comes from Spiritists, who learned it from those old pagans who attributed the miracles of the early Christians to magical arts, or from the Pharisees, who in impotent rage cried out that Christ worked His miracles in the power of Beelzebub. History repeats itself, and Spiritists only re-enact the darkest side of it; the only difference is that they call the devils spirits, and magic Spiritism.

Passing from miracles to prophecies, let us see what Spiritists claim to do. They cannot appeal to a single fact to show that a spirit or medium ever "foreknew and predicted with certainty a future event which could not be known from its natural causes," that is, ever prophesied or foretold the *free* future actions of God or of man, which is genuine prophecy.<sup>2</sup> In this respect Spiritists have no points of comparison with the great prophecies of Christ and of his saints. Yet they claim them; but it stands to reason that until they can bring forward at least one genuine prophecy, demonstrating a sure and certain foreknowledge of a future act that depends on the full will of man or of God, verified by the event, their claims to the prophecies of Christ and the Saints are gratuitous assertions.

And so the grand Spiritist Analogy falls to the ground, and behind it stands the terrible reality,—demons at work, the mediums

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<sup>1</sup> On this subject Dr. Wieser remarks in a note (l. c., p. 123): "The so-called mediumistic endowment is more commonly found in women than in men. Among the canonized saints of the Church who shone by their miracles the men are, on the contrary, by far in the majority. Providence knows why it has made this disposition."

<sup>2</sup> Mazzella, *De Religione*, Disp. i., art. xi.

possessed by them, *diablerie* and *possession*, while over against them stands their victorious enemy, the wonder-working Church of Christ, who, from the days of her Founder, has exerted her miraculous power most strikingly in the deliverance of the possessed.

And thus falls the whole claim of Spiritism to Christianity, a claim which, though insulting and blasphemous, is certainly a magnificent recognition by the very powers of darkness and their votaries of the unrivalled empire that Christianity holds over the heart and mind of civilized man.

#### CONCLUSION.

##### *The real nature, claims, and promises of Spiritism.*

After carefully studying the nature of modern Spiritism, two most consoling conclusions force themselves upon the Christian mind.

The first conclusion is that the hand of God is upon the spirits of Spiritism. The great natural powers of these evil spirits, which mankind has always acknowledged in its beliefs and practices, and which, as was seen elsewhere,<sup>1</sup> are recognized by the Church, are evidently curtailed and crippled by Almighty God in a most humiliating manner. If those spirits were allowed to exert their entire strength at pleasure, modern Spiritism would be formidable indeed. Their power over matter, their knowledge of physical nature, their insight into the imagination of man, their accumulated experiences of centuries, are such as, if manifested to their full extent, would appal the world. The marvels which the evil spirits of Spiritism *might* work would shake the faith of many, and will one day, as we are forewarned, be the actual power of Antichrist. But as yet the hand of God is upon the spirits, and those fallen archangels and angels that once thought themselves great enough to claim some equality with God are condemned to the abject condition of the gibbering ghosts of the séances, and must be contented to be received and treated, even by their friends, as the scum of the spirit-world. They are compelled to be the slaves of cataleptic mediums. They are permitted to make a revelation, yet so that it may be seen at once to be a web of falsehoods and contradictions. They are allowed to work marvels, but are forced by God to defeat their purpose by explaining the manner in which they are wrought. *Their power over matter, their knowledge of the forces of nature, their keen insight into the actions of men, and their perception of man's imagination, are their own explanations of those marvels, and destroy every pretension to the miraculous.* They are thus enabled to per-

<sup>1</sup> V. article on the Spirit-world, Quarterly for October, 1881.



form all the feats of rapid locomotion of material objects, to produce writing on paper or sounds in the air, to possess the mediums and make their tongues speak unknown languages, or reveal distant events, to read the imaginations of the bystanders, or tell past events concerning them which they know by remembrance, to make shrewd conjectures of what may come to pass in a short time, to diagnose diseases which they have seen for thousands of years, to compress the air into spirit-forms,—in a word, to perform all the feats of the séances in a perfectly natural manner. But how little, how ignoble, these tricks are, coming, as they do, from fallen archangels and angels! Why do they not fling off the chains that bind them, and without servility to a cataleptic medium come and go among their own as they list, and putting forth the full strength of their nature make men do their will? The hand of God is upon them. They may tempt man, but not beyond his strength. Therefore are they permitted by God to practice the highest arts of deception, but in such wise that the deception is palpable, and can harm none save those who are willing to be deceived.

The second conclusion is that the hand of God is upon Spiritism, and has stricken it with that intellectual and moral leprosy which is ever the punishment of culpable and obstinate rebellion against his law. Already have the false doctrines and heresies of thirty-four years of modern Spiritism outstripped those of all the Protestant Reformers since the days of Luther, and taken their place beside the absurdities of Pantheism accumulated since the time of Xenophanes; already have its extensive outbreaks of public immorality brought upon it the severe castigation of civil justice, and driven it back into its midnight chambers; already have the enormities of its secret demon-worship caused historians to rank it with ancient Gnosticism or downright paganism; already has Spiritism, instead of satisfying the good heart and the right reason of man, proved itself a deadly poison to both. Indeed, it cannot be otherwise; Spiritism, being the work of Satan, is, by its very nature, a curse.

Its triumphs are the victories of the powers of darkness, yet even those victories are only apparent. The triumph over materialism is only apparent. According to Mr. Wallace, "evidence" is substituted for "faith," and, therefore, as Dr. Wieser correctly infers (l. c., p. 709), "what one cannot touch possesses no value. Wherefore, the distance from materialism is only apparent; the existence of spirits is accepted, but they are mostly understood to be only beings of finer matter; a future state is acknowledged, but only on condition that it be a more pleasant earthly or planetary existence. Materialism, therefore, continues to exist." Much

more is the victory over Christians only apparent, for it will be found, upon closer scrutiny, that the victims of Spiritism are mostly unbaptized, and they surely cannot be called Christians. Such a triumph is no novelty in the world. According to Christian doctrine the unbaptized belong to Satan, and the religious history of unbaptized peoples demonstrates that Satan has enjoyed among them a worship not unlike that of Spiritism. What wonder, then, that the devil claims his own, even among those who call themselves Christians, but who are not even baptized? <sup>1</sup> The triumphs of Spiritism, such as they are, only give the devil his due; but just on that account Spiritism is, by its very nature, a curse.

Claiming the name of Religion, though it gives no worship to God, it substitutes a rabble of low spirits for God as the object of man's worship, the grossest falsehoods for God's infallible revelations, tricks and juggling marvels for Divine miracles, the feverish frenzy of the séances for rational worship, and an ignominious future for bliss everlasting. Such doctrines can never satisfy the deep yearnings of man's soul; the wild bacchanal of Spiritism must end, like every drunken revel, in a complete prostration of man's faculties; and, sick of the mad whirl, he will either despair or embrace Nihilism. Such is the religious claim of Spiritism.

Spiritism pretends to indorse or enhance the moral teaching of Christ, but in reality abolishes it in principle and in practice. The boast that it has vindicated the immortality of the soul against the false philosophy of Materialism can in no wise hide its sophistries. The immortality vindicated by Spiritism is, in its religious and moral effects, not a whit better than the annihilation of Materialism. The certainty of immortality does not, of itself, make men religiously or morally better. The thought of living forever cannot, of itself, terrify a debauched Spiritist, who believes that his revels and wassails shall continue unchecked by conscience through a round of incarnations yet to come. According to his revelation, there is no moral responsibility even, let alone an eternal law and its sanction in the reward of heaven, or the punishment of hell. No matter how wicked the Neros have been, even they must ascend into the region of "the star of light and beauty" <sup>2</sup> unto perfect purity and happiness. Live as you list, sin as you will, for there is

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<sup>1</sup> The fact that Spiritism has filled its ranks with unbaptized descendants of Christian parents throws a new light, not only on the necessity of baptism, but also on the divine virtue of the baptismal character. For pertinent teachings of the Fathers on this subject see Father De Augustinis's *De Re Sacramentaria. Trac. I. De Sacramentis in Genere. Pars. III, Art. VI. De Characterē Sacramentali.*

<sup>2</sup> According to Koons's revelations, "the region, called the 'Star of Light and Beauty,' signifies the unpenetrable, the inconceivable, the source, fountain and centre of all light, heat, life, force, gravitation, and attraction, . . . in a word, the profound mystery, . . . summed up in the grand, solvent name of God."

nothing to restrain or forbid you, and in the end your reward shall be exceeding great; this is the moral code that is the sequel of the immortality preached by Spiritism. Lo, the pillow of sin, upon which man may sleep soundly! There is neither a God nor a Satan to disturb his slumbers; the very sound of the word hell is unknown, and even the shell of conscience has lost its echo. "If man durst shape his destiny according to his wishes, were not this," Mr. Wallace somewhere writes, "all that he could desire?" Yea, verily; for so it has ever been the vain wish of the sinner "that hell should never be."

The actual outbreaks of the immorality of Spiritism are known at least to Americans.

Whosoever it found itself unrestrained by the presence of chaste Christianity it broke out into the most disgraceful bacchanalia that the world has witnessed since the days of Nero's Rome. The Mountain Cove, the Kiantone Movement, the New Motive Power, the Sacred Order of Unionists, the Order of the Patriarchs, and worst of all, the Arkansas Angelites, are known to the English-speaking world as specimens of the full development of Spiritist immorality. They were so many attempts to establish "little kingdoms of heaven upon earth," such as Spiritism promises to the whole world in the Millennium, if the strong arm of the law does not crush them out, even as it did those first beginnings, on account of their freeloivism, and worse. St. Paul's words should be written in flaming characters over all the gates of Spiritism: *quæ in occulto fiunt ab ipsis, turpe est et dicere* (Eph. v. 12). What a strange complement and consummation this is of Christian morality!

Let no man quote the old adage, that "the best of things may be abused," in defence of the morality of Spiritism. Abuse is an impossibility here; immorality is intrinsic, inherent in Spiritism itself. By banishing God, and, consequently, religion, from its very teaching, it subverts all the foundations and safeguards of moral virtues. Instead of the religious worship of God, the Creator and Remunerator of man, the Spiritist embraces the grossest superstition, worshipping the spirits of dead men, more stupid or not wiser than himself. His exterior worship is brought down to the insipid mummerly and experimenting of the séances; for his soul there is nothing left but the mockery of gibbering ghosts. Yet, all the while, his passions remain, and, as he flings the law of God behind his back, his low cravings possess him wholly. What can restrain him from abandoning himself to every vice? Shall it be the fear of God? He will not own such fear. Shall it be the fear of civil law? As he is a Spiritist, he is a Socialist. Shall it be a sense of decency? His definition of decency is to make the best of

the chances of this life without getting into trouble. Shall it be the ambition of rising to a higher station in Spiritland? There is no hurry; he is sure to rise, sooner or later, but, meantime, he will have his way. Surely the immorality which must be the necessary consequence of such belief can be easily understood by every man who knows his own heart. The *moral* claims and promises of Spiritism are intrinsically immoral in principle, and extrinsically lawless in practice.

With these anti-moral and anti-religious tendencies, it is easy to calculate the effect Spiritism might produce in the end upon the social condition of mankind. Suppose, for an instant, the universal adoption of Spiritism among the civilized nations. Religion is dead; morality a byword to scoff at its death; the *hereafter*, that terrible whip which formerly could keep even a coward to his track, will be only the invisible re-enacting of the present life, without a shadow of retribution; low in society here, a man will appear low there; high here, he must begin exalted there; hereafter is only another planetary existence, a little more ethereal than the present, but otherwise its perfect counterpart. How shall such doctrines and beliefs do away with the social evils? How can they do away with the insolence of office and the pride of life, the proud man's contumely and the oppressor's wrongs? How can they set bounds to the tyranny of wealth, or stay the lash that galls—not stubborn slaves—but people driven by laws and arms to starvation? How, above all, can it reconcile the discontented masses, and bring them to a patient frame of mind? For why should the high-bred or the base-born tyrant fear the assassin's blow, or the assassin dread the gallows, if death is only the transit to another stage where they must play the same role over again with the certainty of rising to the rank of *stars* at last? Thus Spiritism cuts all the nerves and ligaments of the social body to pieces. It openly advocates Socialism, and is straining forward with all its strength towards the dissolution of society into atoms, to individualism, which is never, and can never be, separated from Servilism and Despotism. Without God, without religious truths, without moral principles, it renders civil authority an impossibility unless it be armed with pagan omnipotence and absolutism. Adopting, with an Eclecticism and Syncretism worse than pagan, not the truths and virtues, but the worst errors and vices of mankind, Spiritism is ultra-radical, toiling to pull down all existing institutions without building up anything save illusory hopes and frenzies. While preaching Optimism, it works Pessimism; while promising to resuscitate man from the deadly errors of the past, it is hurling him back into them. Spiritism can only paganize the individual, the family, and the state, and if anybody wishes to un-

derstand in full what that means, let him read Mr. Allies's *Formation of Christendom*.

Such are the claims and promises of Spiritism for the welfare of the individual, the family, and the state, to be realized in the millennium.

Of all the fair promises of Spiritism to satisfy the hearts of men, only its boast of scientific revelations now remains, and that is, after all the voluminous communications of the spirits, a sorry boast. That spirits of the 19th century should go to all this trouble in order to tell us of an unknown God, of pre-existing souls, of their transmigration, and all the other philosophical falsehoods that the world has been smiling at in the vagaries of the old pagans, can only excite one's pity.<sup>1</sup> Science has gained nothing new from these revelations, has certainly not learned anything reliable. The whole chaos of Spiritism has contributed only one scientific blessing, and that is a palpable proof that ancient and modern magic is not a mere trickery and an ungrounded superstition, but the dark work of evil spirits.<sup>2</sup> Even this is not a discovery; the old fact so well known to our forefathers has merely received the nod of skeptical science to allow it to exist. Every other revelation, even that of the immortality of the soul, possesses no higher scientific value than can attach to the assertions of spirits that are chronic liars.

Dr. Wieser is inclined to grant a little more. He says (l. c., p. 681), that the mediumistic force that has been evolved by the practices of Spiritism postulates the admission of a hitherto *unexplored natural force* in man, and assigns the following reasons: 1. The "mediumistic endowment," which is required for the achievement of certain results, is connected not so much with the moral as with the physical qualities of the medium, and is gradually developed and perfected by practice. 2. The closing of the chain, that is, the

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<sup>1</sup> Here is Mr. Huxley's appreciation of the revelations of the spirits, of which he delivered himself in his speech to the Committee of the Dialectical Society of London: "But supposing the phenomena to be genuine, they do not interest me. If anybody would endow me with the faculty of listening to the chatter of old women and curates at the nearest cathedral town, I should decline the privilege, having better things to do. And if the folk in the spirit world do not talk more wisely and sensibly than their friends report them to do, I put them in the same category."

<sup>2</sup> In this connection the learned Dr. Wieser has a pertinent note on the vexed question of witchcraft. He writes: "Witchcraft is at bottom identical with Spiritism; it only developed itself in a different direction. Who will persuade himself that this plant, which flourishes and spreads out its branches so luxuriantly in our sober century, did not find a congenial soil when alchemy and astrology were in full bloom? We do not deny the enormous abuses of the witchcraft processes; but that everything was only an airy nothing, cannot possibly be admitted. The *onus* of the abuses falls especially upon jurists; the Holy See can least of all be held accountable for them." L. c., p. 132.

locking of hands, is, as a rule, required as a preparation and a support of that force, in order to evoke and sustain its activity. 3. If the phenomena were produced in the presence merely of the medium, it would be impossible to assign a reason for the excessive nervous strain and subsequent exhaustion to which the medium is invariably subjected, as also for the fact that any, even an accidental, breaking of the chain by the withdrawing of a hand instantly disturbs or entirely breaks off the phenomena.

This, we submit, is granting too much. If the mediumistic endowment is a natural and a physical force, it is difficult to understand why it should be given to only a few individuals, and above all why it should be limited to one or other class of phenomena, and not embrace all of them. But, apart from these considerations, there is no need of admitting an unexplored physical force at all. Dr. Wieser more than once maintains, and that correctly, that the physical condition of an active medium is merely a case of *transient possession*. This explains everything. Surely, possession does not require a *special* physical aptitude, or a yet unexplored force in man. With God's permission the devil can take possession of any man's body, and can lay hold of it under such conditions and in such a manner as he thinks expedient, or as God compels him. This is the obvious explanation of the mediumistic force. The spirits choose a medium, heighten its nervous powers, and work their marvels. The external condition *sine quâ non* points to nothing new in the medium. It is well known to those who have given the history of ancient and modern magic some attention, that the evil spirits are always bound down to certain conditions in their communications with men. The Almighty has subjected them to this ignominious servility, not only for their own humiliation, but also for the conviction of guilty man, who cannot, after such conditions, plead ignorance for his dealings with the enemies of God. The closing of the chain is certainly only a condition for entering into dealings with the spirits, and the disastrous consequences of mediumistic activity differ in nothing from those of ordinary possession.

Many will be reminded by the foregoing remarks of those hideous spectacles which Spiritist eulogists only hint at in their books, and of which Dr. Larkin's servant girl, Mary Jane, may be taken as a fair illustration. We are told that in the mediumistic state she was thrown down, her limbs were dislocated, she foamed at the mouth, cried out, swore and blasphemed with loud bursts of laughter and ribald scoffing. To the Christian mind this is unquestionably *possession*, and if the devil treats other mediums more gently, it will be remembered that even the devil can be civil when it serves his purpose. And here a suggestion to honest Spiritists

like Mr. Wallace will not be out of place. They have subjected the phenomena of Spiritism to all the tests within their reach except one, namely, the power of exorcism as practiced by the Catholic Church. It would certainly be a new departure to call in a Catholic priest to exorcise an operating medium, and the result might lead many Spiritists to a higher field of investigation to which they have hitherto given no thought.

When asked why the spirits have not made at least one important scientific revelation as to the mysteries of nature around us, Zoellner answers that it is owing "to our incapability of understanding them," and Ulrici adds that "the spirits know very well that men can learn the secrets of nature *only by experience*, and must freely, that is, by their own endeavors, seek and find the vital moral and religious truths," and he solemnly concludes, "the hand of Providence directs those spirits, and rules their contact with our lives." Sweet Providence! We know so much, or rather so little about nature, that we could not understand more! But why do not the spirits teach us at least the history of the past, give us the *facts*. The spirits ought at least to remember their own lives. Why then not conjure up the ghosts of the great actors themselves to give the true version of their deeds? Why not summon Napoleon to furnish the lost sequel of the Memoirs of Madame de Rémusat? Alas, we could not understand! Therefore, instead of substantial information, our disembodied friends can only give us philosophical nonsense, disjointed romances, newspaper poetry, and sentiment. These goblins have indeed a holy reverence for our unfortunate condition,—a high motive to leave us in it, because we cannot understand! Otherwise interminably loquacious, they answer our most eager and importunate pleadings for scientific enlightenment with pitying silence; for we are blockheads, and must work out our destiny on the hard road of experience. Yet this is the claim and promise of scientific progress.

The irreligion, immorality, socialism, absolutism, nihilism, and despair, into which Spiritism is striving to hurl mankind by its demon worship, prove conclusively, if proof were at all needed, that its whole *mission* is in its origin, its spirit, its tendency, and its effects Satanic. Spiritism is the work of Satan; but its providential purposes lie beyond his control in the hands of God. There is no need of further demonstration to show that Spiritism is in its very nature one of the most dangerous enemies of the Church. In its attack upon miracles as a criterion of revelation, and upon the faith and the principle of authority of the Church, it has used the most powerful engines that hell could devise, and worked them in the most effective manner. So far, however, from weakening the hold of Christian doctrines upon the minds of the children of the

Church, Spiritism has in many ways strengthened it. Spiritism has furnished a positive and palpable proof of the Christian teaching concerning evil spirits, thus justifying the exorcisms, benedictions, sacramentals, and ecclesiastical statutes against the practices of magic, over which even some of her sons shook their heads as if they were too much to accept. In the next place, the pseudo-revelation and pseudo-marvels of Spiritism have by contrast thrown Christian revelation and miracles into the strongest relief, making it next to impossible for men to deny their divine character. Neither has God been slow in manifesting His miraculous power to neutralize the baneful influence of the multitudinous portents of Spiritism. Over against the experimental, capricious, and ignoble communications with evil spirits, He raised up from the beginning of the present century saints for whom it seemed to be more natural to live in the sublimest intercourse with the angels and saints of heaven than with their friends and relatives upon earth. Before Spiritism ever made its appearance, the world had been awe-struck by the uninterrupted wonders in the life of Anne Catherine Emerich. Then came Maria Taigi and Louise Lateau, both of them divine condemnations of the trances and visions of Spiritists, while, against the other wholesale marvels of Satan, Lourdes alone filled the earth with miracles.

The complete failure of the attacks of Spiritism upon the Church prove once again that every attempt to equal or surpass her only confirms the historical fact that such endeavors are vain, and that the principles of her pure Christianity cannot be explained in any way on merely natural grounds. Surely, if any explanation ever promised to be satisfactory, it was that of modern Spiritism. On the other hand, Spiritism demonstrates that every departure from Christianity is only a falling back into paganism, that there can be for man only Christianity or heathenism, and that to heathenize Christianity is an impossibility. Spiritism is not only a relapse into paganism, but a plunge into the lowest depths of demon-worship.

In fine, Spiritism is shedding a strong light upon the Scriptural prophecy of Antichrist, enabling the incredulous to begin to believe St. Paul's announcement of "the man of sin," who, with the help of Satan, will arise with great signs and wonders, and claim for himself divine honors. A mere glance at modern Spiritism is sufficient to satisfy us that "the mystery of iniquity" is becoming ever more and more prominent, that anti Christianity, which will culminate in Antichrist, is constantly revealing more unmistakably its Satanic nature. Spiritism now needs but to enlist freemasonry in its ranks, as Dr. Wieser remarks, in order to array the powers of hell and the world in the most universal and terrible persecution against the Church that could be imagined. "But of



that day and hour no one knoweth," and the end may be far off yet. He who has directed Spiritism to break the pride of Materialism, and to give glory to his militant Church, may make the evil spirits of the séances, even as he made Balaam, the son of Beor, utter words of blessing instead of a curse. Or, He may allow ungrateful nations to become the guilty victims of Spiritist demon-worship, and while the Church springs again from the ashes of her ruins in Asia and Africa, suffer the western world to go on its way of paganism. But even then the end may not be as yet, and the day of salvation may dawn again. One saint of God could come and, singlehanded, overthrow the empire of Spiritism. That happened before, and may happen again. In the sixteenth century the East was buried in the darkness of Spiritism; fakirs, sanyasses, nirvanys, and jogys ruled with absolute power over that vast empire of Satan. One man went forth, commissioned by the Pope, and armed by God with the plenitude of miraculous power, and overthrew that vast empire of Satan. That man was the Jesuit missionary, St. Francis Xavier.

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## BOOK NOTICES.

THE WORKS OF ORESTES A. BROWNSON: Collected and arranged by *Henry F. Brownson*. Volume I. Containing the First Part of the Philosophical Writings. Detroit: Thorndike Nourse, publisher. 1882.

It was a very happy idea, on the part of his son, to collect, arrange, and republish the works of the late Dr. Orestes A. Brownson, in a series of consecutive volumes, the first of which lies before us; for, to use a somewhat hackneyed, yet, in this instance, a perfectly true and expressive phrase, the collection and republication of these works will supply a widely and deeply felt want. The writings of Dr. Brownson were scattered, in great degree, through quarterly reviews, monthly magazines, and weekly newspapers. Owing to this it is a work of extreme difficulty to make a collection of his writings. It was very difficult even to obtain a full set of Brownson's *Quarterly Review*, which contained many of his most important essays, and, with the exception of a few occasional articles, was written entirely by himself.

Yet the placing of his works within reach of the public, by a republication of them, was greatly to be desired; for Dr. Brownson was, beyond all question, the keenest dialectician America has produced, and, after his conversion to the true faith, the ablest Catholic lay controversialist whom God has thus far raised up and called into His service in America. Indeed, it may be questioned whether, as a philosophical critic, his peer could be found in Europe. His power of analysis was wonderful. He seemed instinctively to perceive the fundamental fallacy of the erroneous systems he discussed, and with a criticism which was as keen as it was severely logical, he dragged the falsehood to light, stripped it of its disguises, separated from it the truths with which it sought to connect itself, and exposed plainly to view the delusive arguments. He had the rare gift of being at once profound and clear. His arrangement of ideas was so direct and consecutive, his language so lucid and so strong, that minds which would have been unable to understand his arguments if presented by other writers, readily followed and understood him, even when discussing subjects too profound for ordinary comprehension. On this point it seems eminently proper to republish what was said in the AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW in the memorial notice of Dr. Brownson, in the July number of 1876: ". . . His *Review* is a rich mine, which will never lose its value for the student of controversial theology, of Christian philosophy, and Christian politics. His style, based on the best English models, gives an additional charm to all he wrote. He stands out, certainly unsurpassed, perhaps unequalled, by any of our countrymen, in his masterly handling of the mother-tongue. But the beautiful workmanship is as nothing compared to the glorious material which it adorns. It is like the mantle of gold which enwrapped the matchless Olympian Jove of Phidias. His logical power is simply wonderful; no sophistry, no specious reasoning of error or unbelief can stand before it. And, coupled with this, is the gift, so rare amongst profound thinkers and subtle dialecticians, of bringing home his triumphant process of reasoning to the minds even of ordinary readers with clearness and precision."

Though Dr. Brownson always dealt with living questions of his time, and though he has passed away, yet most of the subjects on which he wrote retain their freshness as being immediately connected with ques-

tions which still survive, and which are of permanent and paramount importance. Others of those subjects, but the fewer of them, though less closely connected, in form, with present issues, yet have a real and vital relation to them; and will be read, not only with interest, but also with profit and instruction by the intelligent and thoughtful student of the underlying principles of the controversies of to-day. For Dr. Brownson, whether dealing with the profoundest questions of speculative philosophy, or with subjects of a purely practical character, always searched for, and, with a keenness of perception that seemed natural instinct or intuition, laid hold of and profoundly discussed the fundamental principles of the subjects he dealt with. He seized, with a tenacity that never lost its grasp, the deepest central idea of his subject, and on that he built his argument.

Hence the thoughtful student of politics, we mean of the methods and science of civil government, of philosophy and ethics (as well in their principles, as in the application of those principles) and of theology, will find in Brownson's writings, both a profitable intellectual exercise and a rich mine of instruction.

All, even, of his earliest essays, when he was farthest away from the truths of Christianity and of Christian politics and theology, can be perused and studied with profit, by the discriminating reader. For, though often widely astray in those earlier essays in the ideas which he positively puts forth, yet he was rarely, if ever, inaccurate in his dissection of the erroneous systems and methods he opposes. In his critical analysis of their fundamental thoughts and principles, and from the premises he lays down, true or false, his argument is conducted onwards with almost unerring precision.

As regards this, we again quote from the memorial notice of the *AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW*:

"One need not subscribe to his philosophical system to recognize the power and skill that characterize his grappling with the most abstruse and intricate problems of metaphysics. And even those who do not assent to all his philosophical and political views, must allow that they were as conscientiously held as they were ably defended. Here, too, his great love of truth was manifest; for he retracted without shame or hesitation whatever he afterwards discovered to be false or unsound. Even when he laid down certain doctrines or opinions that gave offence and exposed him to obloquy and in some degree to persecution from his brethren in the faith, his fault, if such it must be called, arose both from his own brightness of intellect and his inherent love of truth. What he said he had to utter, because he saw it in the clearest light of evidence; and because it was unpopular, he feared that to give it anything short of the boldest expression might seem like paltering with the truth."

The editor has very properly prefixed to the first volume of his collection of Dr. Brownson's works an introduction, whose only fault is its brevity. It explains the logical process through which Dr. Brownson passed till he found firm ground, on which he could rest, and shows that his successive changes of opinion were not by any means the vagaries of a restless searcher after novelties, but the earnest strivings of a highly-gifted and earnest mind to attain the truth. Those changes were but the successive abandonment of errors, which, in course of time, he came to perceive, and the seizing hold of new truths; they were but the tentative efforts of one who ardently loved truth, and sincerely desired to know and embrace it. Hence, even the earlier writings of Dr. Brownson, though containing many ideas, which subse-

quently he discarded and refuted, are interesting and instructive, as showing how a strong and earnest mind, when in error, will strive to break its chains and reach the light and freedom of truth. And numerous as were the ideas and systems taken up by Dr. Brownson and each in turn discarded in his tentative process, and numerous as were his resulting changes of opinion, the connection between them is obvious; and the process through which he passed till he found rest, where true rest alone can be found, in the Catholic faith, is simple, direct, and easily understood. In youth, he was trained up in Calvinism; but reflection speedily caused him to revolt from its cold and cruel and illogical creed. He saw then that either he must "accept revealed authority, which would lead to the Catholic Church," or else "reject supernatural revelation, and seek for the truth in infidelity." With the ideas of Catholicity which he imbibed in his early training, he did not consider the first of these alternatives as worthy even of thought, and, therefore, adopting the second, he tried infidelity, chiefly under the forms of Universalism and Unitarianism. "For twenty years he wrote and preached the religion of humanity, philanthropy, and progress." Its ideas he earnestly tested and tried, but found that the progress and perfection of the race, of which he dreamed, required other light and aid than the race itself furnished. As he expressed it, "a man cannot raise himself by his own waistbands," and so neither could the human race, by its own efforts alone, rise above its natural condition. Some extrinsic aid and light, something outside of and above nature, must be communicated to it to elevate, perfect, and enlighten it. This something he could find nowhere, except in the supernatural life and divine doctrine of the Catholic Church. . . . "Dr. Brownson had already convinced himself of the insufficiency of Naturalism, Rationalism, and Transcendentalism; he had also convinced himself of the necessity of a divine revelation, and of the fact that the Christian revelation was such a revelation. From this, by a process of reasoning which may be seen in the article, *The Church against No Church*, he arrived infallibly at the Catholic Church." The process is simple and easy. It requires no metaphysical subtlety, no long chain of metaphysical reasoning. All it needs is good common sense, a reverent spirit, and a disposition to believe on sufficient evidence.

This was the process by which Dr. Brownson, "after twenty years and more of wandering, in search of a new and better way to the truth, was forced to come back to sit in humble docility at the feet of God's priests, and learn of those sent by our Lord to teach."

The following statements of the editor explain his method of arranging Dr. Brownson's writings, and his reasons for departing from an exact chronological order:

"It has been thought necessary for the full understanding of Dr. Brownson's philosophical writings to republish his earlier essays; but this has been done more for the purpose of showing how he arrived at his later conclusions and in what sense he understood them, than on account of any merit they have in themselves; for he himself expressly repudiates all his philosophical writings prior to his conversion. Still, while he disavowed these earlier writings, there was no time when he broke entirely away from them and started anew. In all his philosophical essays there is a slow and gradual elimination of previous erroneous thought and expression, and a clearer perception of the truth, growing brighter and brighter until in his *Essay in Refutation of Atheism* and the subsequent articles there is no longer any hesitancy or doubt, but he writes as one who has found the truth he has been seeking for all

his life long, and knows he has found it. Many, too, of the fundamental doctrines of his philosophy are more elaborately argued in the earlier essays than in the later writings; for in these he often assumes them as proved or adduces the principles on which their demonstration depends without digressing from the matter of which he is more especially treating.

"To place the philosophical writings at the commencement of these volumes may be a great obstacle in the way of some readers, who may be repelled by the dryness of the subject. But it is the logical order, and though the author's philosophy is drawn from revelation or tradition as well as from reason, a full understanding of it is useful, if not necessary, for the complete appreciation of his controversial writings. If accepted, it is a more convincing refutation of the errors of the day than the arguments aimed directly at them; for in all these arguments it enters as an important element, and besides the ground has shifted and is shifting daily."

Dr. Brownson's philosophico-political writings are highly worthy of study. They touch, "as with the point of a needle," the dominant political errors of our times. He held and forcibly shows that no government, democratic, aristocratic, or monarchical, is or can be a good government if divorced from religion, and moving on independently of the Church; and that no secular order can sustain itself without the aid of the Church, nor even with her aid, if Catholics adopt the false maxim that their politics have nothing to do with their religion, or in politics act as if God had no rights and they no religion; that God is King of kings and Lord of lords, and the state, whatever its constitution, is subject to His supreme and universal law, and bound by His law as declared by His Church, as much as is the individual himself. Dr. Brownson, accordingly, held that it is the forgetting of these great truths or the neglect of courtly prelates to insist on them with due emphasis that has brought the old Catholic nations of Europe into their present deplorable condition; and that without a recognition of these truths by the American people, American democracy will go to destruction.

Dr. Brownson also strenuously maintained the supremacy of the Pope as representative of the spiritual order over temporal princes; that the power assumed by the Pope to depose emperors and other princes during the Middle Ages belonged to him, *jure divino* and not simply *jure humano*, not from the *jus publicum*, or consent of the nations, but as the Vicar of Christ and as inherent in himself as the divinely constituted representative of the spiritual order on earth or in human affairs. But the Pope, as Dr. Brownson maintained, is not obliged to exercise this power unless he believed it necessary for the interest of religion, or to maintain freedom of conscience, and also believed that his sentence would be carried into effect. The Pope still holds the power, but there are no subjects on whom to exercise it. The Popes might as well have attempted to exercise it on the pagan emperors of Rome who persecuted the Christians of the Empire as to attempt to exercise it on any of the sovereigns of the present day, for they have all emancipated themselves from the law of God.

Consistently with this, Dr. Brownson maintained that it is impossible to protect society from secularism and godlessness without asserting the supremacy of the spiritual over the temporal, or, in other words, of the law of God, when human laws conflict with it; that Gallicanism, which asserts the independence of the secular order, is a species of political atheism, and contains the germ of communism or socialism; and that we cannot find any practical safeguard against political atheism, the

error that is ruining modern society, except in the recognition of the supremacy of the spiritual order, and consequently of the Pope as its divinely instituted representative.

In one respect Dr. Brownson agreed with Liberal Catholics. He looked upon the restoration of the old, mediæval, Christendom as neither practicable nor desirable. There was much in that Christendom, which has passed away and which many confounded with the Church, that was not at all as the Church wished. The Church then, as now, had to maintain an unceasing conflict with the powers of this world. Secular rulers then, as now, sought to destroy her independence, subject her to their will, and deprive her of her rights as the Kingdom of God. Many of the Popes then had no easier time than had the late Pius IX., nor less formidable enemies of the Church to contend with, than Victor Emmanuel, Bismarck, and the revolution which they inaugurated, have proved to be. The Church can hardly suffer more from the internationalists, socialists, and communists of our own day than she has in the past from the kings and kaisers of the West and from the Emperors of the East.

The Christendom that has passed away was based on the monarchical principle, and the Church, to a great extent, held her relations with the faithful in each kingdom through its secular ruler, instead of through her own prelates, with whom, latterly at least, the Pope could communicate, and who could communicate with him only by permission of the king. In France, Spain, Austria, and Italy, the Church, under the monarchy that succeeded to feudalism, has been bound, hand and foot, by the secular powers, and it is *to this fact* we owe the dissolution of Christendom, the present condition of the Church in those nations, and the anti-Christian revolution now everywhere in progress. Had the Church been free, that revolution, it is not too much to say, would, humanly speaking, never have occurred. The secular sovereigns have, in great degree, alienated the affections of their subjects from the Church, and brought her into contempt with the people. To retain their crowns, they are now obliged, or believe themselves to be obliged, to support the revolution in its war against the Church. But in doing this, they are depriving themselves of all power to suppress the revolution which, after using them to humiliate and, were it possible, to enslave or destroy the Church, will cast them away.

The Liberal Catholics urge the Church to abandon the secular rulers who have abandoned her; to make peace with the revolution, give it her blessing, and labor to reconstruct Christendom on a popular basis. These are opposed by another party of Catholics, who think that it is necessary to reconstitute Christendom on its old monarchical and aristocratic basis.

With each of these parties, Dr. Brownson agreed in part, and to each of them he was also in part opposed. For the re-establishing of order, and the independence of the Church, he strove with heart and soul. He abhorred any alliance with the revolution, and any concession to it. But he could see no reason, supposing the people Catholic, why the Church cannot be as free and independent with Christendom based on the republican principle, as she ever was under the Christendom which has been dissolved. The Church is no more necessitated to ally herself with monarchy and nobility than with republicanism. She cannot make common cause with modern Liberalism, nor bless the atheistic revolution; but there is nothing in her doctrine or constitution that prevents her from accepting a republican Christendom, or giving her blessing to a Christian republic when once it is constituted. The

people are not less trustworthy than are kings and kaisers, and it was with the secular rulers, not with the people, it must be remembered, that the revolution originated.

This is a sufficient explanation, and refutation also, it seems to us, of the charge of *Liberalism* that was brought against Dr. Brownson previous to the suspension of his *Review*, in 1864. Though the Council of the Vatican had not yet been convoked he steadily maintained two essential points that were finally settled by that Council,—the supremacy of the Pope as the visible head of the Church, and his infallibility in teaching and determining all questions pertaining to faith. In his *Review*, he steadily contended that Our Lord founded the Church on Peter, and that the papacy is at the base as well as at the summit, the foundation as well as the crown of the edifice; that all power and authority in the Church is derived from Christ through him, and that bishops hold and exercise their authority in their respective jurisdictions, from him as the successor of Peter, and Vicar of Christ. Dr. Brownson, of course, previous to the Vatican Council, could not assert papal infallibility as a Catholic dogma, but he personally held it as true, and was never able to defend the infallibility of the Church to his own satisfaction, without asserting it. And when the Vatican Council defined and promulgated it, he hailed it with joy.

It remains for us briefly to notice the volume of his writings before us, the first of the republication of his complete works, by his son, Henry F. Brownson, Esq. This volume, in addition to the valuable introduction, from which we have drawn copiously in the foregoing remarks, is composed of articles in which fundamental questions of metaphysics and philosophy are discussed with the keen analysis and depth of thought which so eminently characterize Dr. Brownson's writings. The titles of these articles are, respectively: "Philosophy and Common Sense;" "Schmucker's Psychology;" "Synthetic Philosophy;" "Kant's Critic of Pure Reason" (three articles); "An a priori Autobiography;" "The Existence of God;" "Schools of Philosophy;" "What Human Reason Can Do;" "Gratry on the Knowledge of God" (two articles); "Gratry's Logic;" "The Problem of Causality;" "Primitive Elements of Thought;" "Maret on Reason and Revelation" (two articles); "Rationalism and Traditionalism."

It would extend this notice, which already much exceeds the original intention of its writer, too far, to attempt, even briefly, to summarize the ideas set forth by Dr. Brownson in these articles. Suffice it to say that, while readers may differ with him on various points, as they do and will with each other, yet no one can read these essays thoughtfully without great intellectual benefit, and at the same time with interest; not only as acute and profound disquisitions on important subjects, but also as the expressions of a powerful and thoroughly earnest mind striving to grasp the truth in its relations to some of the profoundest questions which tax the powers of the human intellect.

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THE BEGINNINGS OF HISTORY: According to the Bible and the Traditions of Oriental Peoples. From the Creation of Man to the Deluge. By *François Lenormant*, Professor of Archaeology at the National Library of France, etc. (Translated from the Second French Edition.) With an Introduction by *Francis Brown*, Associate Professor in Biblical Philology, Union Theological Seminary. 1 vol., 12mo., 640 pp. \$2.50.

The subject of this book, as well as the high reputation and well-known scholarship of its distinguished author, and the spirit of good faith in which it is written, render it one of the most valuable contributions of

modern inquiry to the important work of harmonizing science and religion.

Mr. Lenormant begins his book by inscribing at the head of it that sentence of Montaigne: "C'est icy, lecteurs, un livre de bonne foy,"—"this is, oh readers, a book written in good faith,"—and by proclaiming in the preface that he is a Christian, that he acknowledges one science only, that his faith rests upon too solid a foundation to be timid, that he believes firmly in the inspiration of the sacred books, and that he subscribes with absolute submission to the doctrinal decisions of the Church.

The wonderful discoveries of the last fifty years in the vast field of Egyptian and Assyrian archæologies having changed entirely the face of history, as far as the early periods of mankind are concerned, far from resulting, however, in opposition to the Holy Scriptures, the more they are discussed the more they prove to be in confirmation of its statements. As remarked by the editor of the great work of George Smith,<sup>1</sup> "the earlier chapters of *Genesis* no longer stood alone." The clay records of ancient Babylonia, as well as the stone monuments of other nations, the writings of early poets and lawgivers, and the legends and traditions handed down from generation to generation since the most ancient times, all prove to be united together to demonstrate that even in history "a little philosophy inclineth man's mind to atheism, but depth in philosophy bringeth men's minds back to religion."

The attempt has been often made to put in contradiction revelation and science. The boldest think that science, being *positive*, and supported by facts, must prevail upon faith. Others, more timid, while consenting, either by admission, or by silence, that there is genuine conflict between the one and the other, maintain, however, that they constitute two fields of exploration entirely different, and that to each one of them belongs a peculiar kind of truth which cannot be reached in another way.

We believe that truth is one and always the same, and that its light has to be seen, from whatever place we look at it. We cannot conceive a fact which according to science is false, and is true according to revelation. But we give preference to the divine instruction, and, if it happens that the circumstances are such as to render reconciliation impossible, we would not hesitate to decide for a suspension of judgment, being certain beforehand that new discoveries, new facts, and further elucidation of the matter will succeed in the end in securing harmony and reaffirming the Word of God.

Geology used to be, in the beginning of this century, and in the hands of the disciples of Voltaire and Diderot, a well-provided arsenal, from which to draw arguments against the cosmogony of the Bible. But when the powerful voice of such a man as Cardinal Wiseman was heard in connection with this subject,<sup>2</sup> all fears were dispelled, and the rights of truth were vindicated. Further investigation demonstrated that even such details as the ones connected with the miserable condition of life to which man was submitted subsequent to his expulsion from Paradise, can be found out and read with peculiar emphasis upon the crust of our globe.

The chronology of the Bible was, likewise, one of the greatest battle-fields for infidels and opponents of revelation. The structure of the

<sup>1</sup> The Chaldean Account of Genesis, by George Smith. London, 1880.

<sup>2</sup> Twelve Lectures on the Connection between Science and Revealed Religion. London, 1835.



earth itself proves *beyond doubt*, they say, that from the advent of man up to this date thousands and thousands of years should have intervened. But the extravagant speculations in which they have indulged upon this matter have fallen to the ground under the authority of Cuvier, when he declared "that, if there is anything well proved in geology, it is the fact that the surface of our globe experienced a sudden and complete revolution, the date of which cannot possibly be assigned farther back than five or six thousand years before the present age; that that revolution consisted of a flood, which inundated the whole land inhabited by men and by the species of animals which are best known to-day; that the bottom of what theretofore had been the sea became thereafter dry land,<sup>1</sup> and formed the portion of the globe which is now inhabited; and that subsequent to this cataclysm a small number of individuals, who escaped from it, scattered themselves in all directions, propagated and multiplied themselves, founded the beginnings of society, built cities and palaces, and commenced to collect natural facts, and combine upon them scientific systems."<sup>2</sup>

Some learned men, thoroughly conversant, as they ought to be, with Egyptian antiquities, having found two zodiacs, the one sculptured upon the ceiling of the Temple of Dendera, and the other upon that of the Temple at Esneh, in Upper Egypt, set themselves to work, and proclaimed to the world that the Scriptural chronology has been completely exploded. Their astronomical calculations, *exact* as everything which has a mathematical character, *proved* that one of the two zodiacs was 3000 years old when the Christian era was commenced, and that the other "could be no younger than 17,000 years." Unfortunately for them, the great Champollion, adding to the patience and indefatigable activity of the scholar that lack of arrogance and pride which is the characteristic of real learning, found the name of *Augustus Cæsar* upon the zodiac of Dendera, and the name of *Antoninus* upon the one at Esneh.

Coming now to the book which is the subject of these remarks, we find that its purpose is to demonstrate that what is said in the first chapters of *Genesis* is the expression of "the ancient Hebrew traditions of the beginnings of things, which the Hebrews held in common with the nations by whom they were surrounded, and in a very special way with the Chaldæo-Babylonians." "This compilation," says the author, "was made by an inspired writer, who found means, while collating the old narratives, to make them the figurative garb of eternal truths, such as the creation of the world by a personal God, the descent of mankind from a single pair, their fall in consequence of the guilt of the first parents, which put them under the dominion of sin, and the free-will character of the first sin and of those which followed in its train."

Acting upon this principle, the author considers, in succession, "the creation of man," "the first sin," "the cherubim and the revolving sword," "the fratricide and the foundation of the first city," "the Shethites and the Cainites," "the ten antediluvian Patriarchs," "the children of God and the daughters of men," and "the deluge."

In corroboration of the Biblical account about the creation of man, Mr. Lenormant explains, with immense erudition and great lucidity, the Phœnician ideas, such as have been transmitted to us by Sanchoniathon, and points at their first human and mortal pair, Protogonos and Aeon,

<sup>1</sup> It is well known that what constitutes to-day the Great Sahara was a vast Mediterranean Sea; and this fact and the traditions, recorded by Plato and others, about Atlantis, or the Atlantis Island, situated somewhere between Spain and Africa, now buried out of sight, are curious monuments of this catastrophe.

<sup>2</sup> Cuvier, *Discours sur les Révolutions de la Surface du Globe*, etc. Paris, 1830.

calling attention to the fact that "Protogonos" in Greek, as well as "Adam-Cadmuth" in Hebrew, means "first-born." He reviews the traditions of Libya and the Egyptians' ideas that the mud, left by the Nile, and exposed to the vivifying action of the Sun-God, brought forth germs which sprang up as the bodies of men. He shows to us the monuments of Egypt, where it appears that man was made by the Divinity, by moulding clay upon the same potter's wheel on which the primordial egg of the universe had been already shaped. He explains, with remarkable learning, the traditions of the Chaldeans upon this subject, and shows us the striking resemblance between the account given by Berossus and the statements of *Genesis*. Belos, seeing that the earth was uninhabited, although fertile, took clay, and kneaded it with his own blood, and formed men, who were endowed with intelligence and shared in the divine thought, but were in common with the animals in all other respects.

The clay tablets, covered with cuneiform writing, belonging to the palace library of Nineveh, now in the British Museum, which contain the history of the creation,—and to which a great portion of the book of George Smith, above quoted, is devoted,—as well as the writings of Zoroaster, the Greek traditions of Prometheus, the legends of Scandinavia and other nations, and even the cosmogonies of Peru, of the Mandan Indians, and of Tahiti, are considered *in extenso*, and called upon to confirm the Biblical narration. All this is done with considerable accuracy, and if the conclusions of the author are not always acceptable, the merit of his labors does not suffer by it. The value of the book, as remarked by Mr. Brown in his introduction, does not depend as much upon the correctness of this or that particular opinion maintained in it as upon the opportunities it affords of studying the matter, and form upon the materials it has furnished just opinions of our own.

Mr. Lenormant seems, for instance, to be inclined to the idea, set forth by Plato more fully than by others, that the first human being was created androgynous, that is, man and woman at the same time; that upon a second thought the Creator divided it into two and separated the two sexes, and that the attraction of the two halves seeking forever to be joined together again in a perfect union constitutes love.<sup>1</sup>

Our learned author finds this doctrine in the Jewish tradition, in the Targumim and the Talmud, as well as in the writings of learned philosophers like Moses, Maïmonides and others; and, showing a good deal both of philological knowledge and ingenuity, notices that *Genesis* in its first chapter reads that God created man, male and female; that in the second chapter it says that God caused a deep sleep to fall upon Adam; that He took then one of his ribs, and that the rib which was taken from man was made a woman; and that the Hebrew word translated into the English word *rib* means also *side*, and is used in this sense in several passages of the Bible. Upon these facts, and for some other reasons, supported always by good authority, the author seems to conclude that the androgyn theory is correct, and that during the stupor of Adam the Creator separated from him one side, the feminine part, in order to make of it a distinct person.

The way in which the author handles the matter of "the first sin" is exceedingly curious and interesting. His demonstration of the univer-

<sup>1</sup> Plato says: "The cause of the desire for so perfect a mingling with the beloved person, that the two may henceforth be one, arises from the fact that our primitive nature was one, and that we were beforetime an entirely perfect being. The desire for and the pursuit of this unity is called love."—*Bangret.*

salinity of the belief in an age of happiness and innocence in the infancy of mankind, and in the degeneracy subsequent to it through the fault of man, seems to be conclusive. The limits of this article do not allow us to follow him step by step, and find with him almost always the same representations, the same symbols,—the garden, the tree, the serpent, the female curiosity, every one of the scriptural details, in a word, in the records and traditions of all the nations. "The analogy of form between the myths and the Bible narrative," says Mr. Lenormant, "is striking. It is, doubtless, the same tradition, but apprehended in quite another sense. The spirit of error among the Gentiles changed the mysterious symbolic reminder of the event which decided the condition of humanity. But the inspired author of *Genesis* adopted it under the very form which it had worn to the material sense, but he restored its true meaning and drew from it its solemn teaching."

One curious chapter of Mr. Lenormant's book is the one in which he engages in the investigation of the analogy between the Assyrian word *ki-ru-bu*, meaning the winged bulls which the Assyrians used to place at the gates of their palaces and dwelling-houses as protecting deities opposing the coming in of any evil, and the cherubim placed by God at the gates of paradise after the expulsion of Adam. The revolving sword is also studied in the same way.

The fratricide in connection with the building of Hanok, the first city, furnishes Mr. Lenormant ample material for exceedingly interesting remarks. The third month of the year in the Chaldean calendar was named the month of brickmaking; this month was represented in the Chaldean zodiac as well as in ours by the sign of Gemini, and the name "month of the twins" is also found in some cases instead of the one of "month of brickmaking," as above stated. The author sees that the Bible associates the building of the first city with the first murder perpetrated by one brother upon another, and then he says: "This tradition, which associates the formation of a city with a fratricide is, in fact, one of the ideas common to most nations of strictly primitive origin, anterior to the dispersion of the great civilized races, and may be traced almost everywhere. It would be a curious study to follow it through all its variations, beginning with Cain, who built the first city, Hanock, after slaying Abel, and ending with Romulus, who laid the foundation of Rome in the blood of his brother Remus."

It was well known, thanks to the labors of George Smith, Wilkinson, the two Rawlinsons, and others, that the Biblical account of the ten antediluvian patriarchs is corroborated by an imposing array of concordant testimony gathered from Egyptian and Babylonian sources. But Mr. Lenormant, going farther, has found out the same tradition almost everywhere in the world, and gives a synopsis of his inquiries, which cannot but be read with admiration. "These patriarchs," he says, "are ten in the story of *Genesis*; and, with a strange persistence, this number ten is reproduced in the legends of a very great number of nations when dealing with their primitive ancestors, yet shrouded in the mist of fable. To whatever epoch they trace back their ancestors, whether before or after the deluge, whether the mythic or the historic side predominates in their physiognomy, they invariably offer this sacramental number ten."

The names of the ten antediluvian kings mentioned in the Chaldaic tradition have been transmitted by Berossus. The Assyrian tradition preserved by Abydenus places at the beginning of the nation, anteriorly to the foundation of Nineveh, ten generations of heroes. The Armenian legends give the names of ten ancestral heroes, preceding Aram,

who finally organized the nation. The cosmogonic legends of the Hindus show the succession of ten *Pitris*, or "fathers." The sacred books of the Iranians give account of nine successive heroes of an absolutely mythical character, who, if added to Gayomaretan, the typical man, make ten. The Chinese reckon ten emperors sharing in the divine nature between Fo-hi and the sovereign who inaugurated their historic age. Germans and Scandinavians believed in ten ancestors of Wodan or Odin. Arabian legends speak of the ten mythical kings of "Ad." And the gods who reigned in Egypt before Menes were also ten.

In connection with this, mention must be made of the belief common to all nations in an extreme longevity among the earliest ancestors of the human race; and also of the universal notion of the gigantic stature of primitive men, and of the sanctity of character of one of the ten original ancestors in contrast with the evils and the impiety which surrounded him. In the same way as is related in the Bible that Enoch, a holy man, did not die, but was translated to heaven, Xisuthrus, one of the five Chaldean kings, is also a type of goodness and ends in the same way.

The deluge, among all the traditions which concern the history of primitive humanity, seems to be the most universal and best established of all. The Chaldean account of the deluge, as translated from the cuneiform epic of Izdubar, had already been the subject of most important investigations. The agreement between this and the Biblical narrative as to the announcement of the catastrophe, the command to build the ark, what was to be taken into it, the size of the ark, its being coated with bitumen, the coming of the flood, the idea that it came in punishment of the sins of mankind, the destruction of the people, the duration of the deluge, the assuaging of the waters, the opening of the ark's window, the ark's resting on a mountain, the sending forth of a bird, the order to leave the ark, the building of an altar, the promise that a deluge would not happen again, the covenant, the rainbow as a pledge of the covenant, etc., etc., had been pointed out with considerable clearness by George Smith and the two Rawlinsons. But Mr. Lenormant has widened the field, and extended his inquiries almost to every quarter of the globe.

We cannot follow him through the more than one hundred pages which he devotes to this subject, but must content ourselves with commending this chapter, the last of the volume, to the attentive consideration of all readers.

As stated before, more than one of the conclusions of the author seem not to be acceptable, and there are some which may be deemed injudicious. He says, himself, that he expects numerous objections, and that he makes "no pretension to infallibility." He acknowledges that he has freely exercised his liberty as a scholar, and maintains that "his strict fidelity to Catholic orthodoxy does not interfere with his right to do so." But his book will be welcomed, and will be added to the list of those, not many indeed in number, which are of lasting value.

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THE TYPHOONS OF THE CHINESE SEAS, IN THE YEAR 1881. By *Marc Dechevrens*, S. J., Director of the Zi-Ka-Wei Observatory, China. Shanghai: Kelly & Walsh. 1882.

The position of the Catholic missionary in the great empire of China is far different from that of his brethren in other pagan countries. While these latter have to deal with nations still barbarous, he must

meet on their own ground a people who can boast of a civilization older than our own and who point with pride to a literature which had reached a high stage of perfection when Christianity was yet in its infancy. Thus the missionary finds that to gain this countless nation to the standard of Christ he must speak to their minds as well as to their hearts. Aware of these facts, the first missionaries after Saint Francis Xavier strove to win the people not less by their learning and science than by their preaching and virtue. Hence the efforts made by Ricci, Schall, Verbeist, and Gerbillon. These devoted men gained so completely the Emperor's favor by their scientific knowledge that, besides admitting them to the imperial palace, he bestowed on them the highest honors, and even consulted them on the most important and intricate questions. Their influence is manifested by the works which they published, as also by their labors in the great observatory of Peking, whose ruins, even at the present day testify to its former importance.

About a century ago the work of the missionaries was, in a great measure, checked by adverse circumstances, and by the imperial edicts against the Christian faith. Of late years, however, affairs have assumed a brighter aspect, and the severe measures formerly adopted have been somewhat relaxed. In general, all the missions are flourishing, and that of the Vicariate of Nanking can count 100,000 Christians earnest in their endeavors to imitate their illustrious ancestors. But, alas! this little band dwindles into insignificance when we reflect that this Vicariate alone contains 40,000,000 idolaters.

In addition to the many labors of this extensive mission, the Jesuit fathers have opened an industrial school, a college, and a seminary. They also publish a weekly paper in Chinese, and strive to promote the study of natural history. A meteorological observatory has lately been started, which is furnished with all the instruments necessary for that branch. The progress made in natural history is attested by the splendid works which the Fathers have published, among which special mention should be made of the "*Memoires concernant l'Histoire Naturelle de l'Empire Chinois*," and the famous book of Father Hende, entitled: "*Conchyliologie Fluviale de la Province de Nanking et de la Chine Centrale*."

Father Dechevrens, the present director of the observatory, has been untiring in his efforts to promote meteorological investigations, and his labors have attracted the attention, not only of the local authorities, but also of several eminent French and English scientists. The work above-mentioned on the typhoons of the Chinese seas is one of his latest publications, the merit of which may be gathered from the following notice of it in *Nature*, a paper which certainly cannot be accused of partiality towards the Catholic Church.

"This work, by the learned director of the Zi-Ka-Wei Observatory, consisting of 171 pages quarto, and eight illustrative plates giving the tracks of the twenty typhoons of 1881, may be regarded as the outcome of the recent establishment of meteorological stations over the regions swept by the typhoon. The typhoons of 1880, amounting to fourteen, were described by Father Dechevrens in a previous paper. These two papers, from the greater fulness and accuracy of their details, form a contribution of considerable importance to the literature of cyclones.

"An examination of the tracks of these thirty-four typhoons shows that they generally have their origin in the zone comprised between the parallels of 10° and 17°, some of them originating in the Archipelago of the Philippines, but the greater number to the eastward of these islands in the Pacific. The first part of their course is westerly and northwesterly; they then recurve about the latitude of Shanghai, and

thence follow a northeasterly course over Japan. During the first half of their course the barometric gradients are steepest, and the destructive energy of typhoons is most fully developed; but after advancing on the continent, and particularly after recurving to eastward, they rapidly increase in extent, form gradients less steep, and ultimately assume the ordinary form of the cyclones of Northwestern Europe. In illustration of the steepness of the gradients sometimes formed, it is stated that on July 15 a gradient occurred of 2.760 inches per 100 miles, or one inch to 36 miles.

"Typhoons do not occur during the prevalence of the northeast monsoon, from November to May. In 1881 the typhoon season extended from May 22d to November 29th. In Japan the true typhoon season is restricted to August and September, the storms there during the other months resembling rather the ordinary cyclones of temperate regions. The tracks of the typhoons during the months of moderate temperature; May, June, the latter half of September, October and November, are the most southerly; they lie flattest on the parallels of latitude, and present a great concavity looking eastward; but those of the warmer months, July, August, and the beginning of September, exhibit, on the other hand, very open curves. This seasonal difference in the form of the tracks, taken in connection with the general form of the recurring tracks of the West Indian hurricanes, which are less open than those of the Chinese seas, suggests a possible connection between the forms of these curves and the different distributions of atmospheric pressure prevailing over the continents at the time.

"Of the new facts brought forward in this report, the most important, perhaps, are those which show that the typhoon tracks have the feature of recurvation as distinctly as the hurricanes of the West Indies and the Indian Ocean. The degree of recurvation and the relative frequency with which it occurs in the tracks of the cyclones of the Chinese seas, the West Indies, the Indian Ocean near Madagascar, and the Bay of Bengal respectively, are important features in the history of these storms, which such reports will do much to elucidate. We shall look forward with the liveliest interest to Father Dechevrens's future reports, which, from the lines of inquiry already indicated, may be expected to throw considerable light on the influence of extensive regions of dry air and of moist air respectively, and of elevated table-lands, in determining the continuance and the direction of the course of cyclones, and the influence of isolated mountains and mountainous ridges in breaking up a cyclone into two distinct cyclones, which, from the difficulty necessarily experienced by seamen in interpreting the complex phenomena attending them, often prove so destructive in their effects."

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THE HOLY MAN OF TOURS; or, The Life of Leon Papin-Dupont, who died at Tours, in the Odor of Sanctity, March 18th, 1876. Translated from the French of M. L'Abbé Janvier, Priest of the Holy Face. With permission of the Author. Baltimore: Published by John Murphy & Co. 1882.

THE LIFE OF LEON PAPIN-DUPONT, THE HOLY MAN OF TOURS. London: Burns & Oates. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Sons. 1882.

These two works are on the same subject. The first, as stated on its title-page, is a translation of a revision and abridgment by the Abbé Janvier, in 1881, of his previous more voluminous biography of M. Leon Papin-Dupont, published in 1879. The second is an independent work of a writer in England, made up chiefly from Abbé Janvier's materials, and also using M. Leon Aubineau's reminiscences of the Holy Man of Tours.

Each of these works has its respective merits, and each of them clearly and distinctly portrays the saintly character and works of M. Papin-Dupont.

They are both interesting and edifying as showing how, in this secular materialistic age, when Catholic laymen, particularly those who are possessors of large inherited and acquired estates, are apt to imagine that there is no call to them to engage in special works of devotion and of charity, God raises up from among themselves instances of laymen, wealthy as themselves, who, though remaining in the world, yet throw off its spirit, and by their zeal, their devotion, their charity, prove that it is possible to live in the world, and yet not be of it, and serve as shining examples to their fellow-laymen. Such was M. Leon Papin-Dupont, the Holy Man of Tours.

He was born in the island of Guadaloupe, of French Catholic parents, of noble extraction. Deprived of his father by death when he was six years of age, his youthful education was conducted for awhile in Guadaloupe under the care of his widowed mother, who was a highly exemplary Christian lady. He was then sent to the United States, and two years afterwards to France, where he completed his education in the College of Pontleroy and the law schools of Paris. Naturally he was high-spirited, bold, and pertinacious in his purposes. He had brilliant talents, was witty, genial, generous, and of distinguished manners. Physically he was tall, handsome, and expert in athletic exercises. In his minority his annual allowance by his guardian was more than ample to meet all reasonable personal expenses and to allow him to indulge in fashionable amusements, and when he attained legal age he entered upon the possession of a large fortune.

Such was Leon Papin-Dupont, a youth in Paris, at twenty-one, free from all family control and fond of pleasure, admired and courted in the highest circles of fashionable society. For awhile he enjoyed with zest the amusements of the Parisian *beau monde*, and allowed himself to be engrossed with worldly frivolities. Yet, though his early piety suffered an eclipse at this time, and the affairs of his soul occupied but a slender portion of his attention, he did not actually renounce or discontinue the practice of his religion. He retained an unsullied reputation as regards morality, and his life, though worldly, was not corrupt. Moreover, his society was not limited to gay acquaintances of the fashionable world. He also cultivated acquaintances of a more profitable character, with men who were as remarkable for their talents as for their sound Christian principles. One of these who was a highly gifted and devoted young priest, who had been one of his schoolfellows, and exercised a salutary influence over him.

M. Dupont's conversion from a worldly life was effected by a seemingly trivial incident. From that time onwards, without secluding himself from the world, or taking any special religious vows, he devoted himself unsparingly to a life of prayer and charity and holy labors. What gives additional interest, too, to the recital of these labors and the beautiful portraiture of his character which the volumes before us contain, is the fact that M. Dupont belonged not to an age that has passed and gone, but to our own times, thus being a shining proof that the power to excite her faithful children to deeds and lives of heroic virtue and sanctity is unimpaired and active in the Church in our own times as it was long ages ago.

THE LIFE OF ST. LEWIS BERTRAND, FRIAR PREACHER OF THE ORDER OF ST. DOMINIC, AND APOSTLE OF NEW GRENADA. By *Father Bertrand Wilberforce*, of the same Order. London : Burns & Oates. 1882.

The Church is the fruitful mother of Saints. They rise up more numerous and conspicuously in proportion to the violence of the assaults made against her, and the seeming imminence of the dangers that surround her. Thus when, in the sixteenth century, a new epoch commenced in the world's history ; when the time of rebellion foretold by the Apostle seemed to have arrived, when the right of private judgment and of free thought concerning revealed truth which afterwards developed into infidelity was openly advocated in Europe, the state almost everywhere triumphed over the Church, country after country was severed from the unity of the Church, its sanctuaries were robbed and desecrated, its shrines pillaged and destroyed, and those who adhered to the old and unchangeable faith were persecuted, it seemed as though resistance to the torrent of rebellion and heresy was of no avail, and that the Church was destined to remain in desolation if not to be destroyed. Yet just then a mighty army of Saints arose and rallied around the undying Church, their Mother. Some of these, like St. Pius, St. Ignatius, St. Philip, and St. Charles, were destined to stem the torrent of irreligion and heresy in Europe. Others, like St. Francis Xavier, to evangelize heathen countries and to win souls for Christ among remote nations, as a compensation for those lost in Europe. Among these last mentioned was St. Lewis Bertrand, whose biography unfolds one more page of the grand history of the missionary life of the Catholic Church.

The volume before us contains the first Life of St. Lewis Bertrand that has been published in the English language, though in the Spanish catalogue in the British Museum as many as fourteen different biographies of him are mentioned, and there are also a number of French lives of St. Lewis. The reverend author of the work before us has carefully examined these, and also availed himself of other sources of information. Employing these materials he describes the boyhood of the Saint, which in its remarkable signs of virtue, even from tenderest years, was a prophecy of his after-life ; the difficulties and delays encountered and finally overcome, that opposed his entrance into the Order of the Friar Preachers ; his life as a Novice and as Master of Novices and as Vicar of St. Anne's, his labors in Valencia and their wonderful fruits. The author then follows St. Bertrand to South America, describes the condition both of the European settlers and of the natives, and depicts the heroic labors, self-denial, and self-mortification of St. Lewis, successively in Carthage, Tubera, Cicafoa, Poluato, St. Martha, and among the Caribbee Indians, and their blessed results.

After seven years of labor, productive of wonderful spiritual fruits in America, St. Lewis found himself constrained to request the General of the Dominican Order to recall him to Spain. His biographer explains the reasons for this step, and then depicts the subsequent life of St. Lewis as Prior of the Convent of St. Onuphrius, as again Master of Novices, as Prior at Valencia, the Christian virtues which shone forth most conspicuously in him, his last illness, his horrible sufferings, heroic patience, and cheerful endurance and fortitude ; his intense contrition, profound humility, ardent devotion, and triumphantly peaceful death ; the immediate miraculous manifestations of the sanctity of St. Lewis even before his funeral ; his funeral and the miraculous manifestations connected with it ; his miracles after death ; the canonization of St. Lewis and the history of his shrine.

In the course of the author's narrative, and as connected with the



different subjects it comprises, the work furnishes a large amount of valuable and interesting information respecting the condition of Spain and of Spanish America in the sixteenth century, the Mohammedans, Moors, American Indians, and kindred topics.

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**THE FIRST LINES OF ENGLISH GRAMMAR;** being a Brief Abstract of the Author's Larger Work, the "Institutes of English Grammar." Designed for Young Learners. By *Goold Brown*, author of the "Grammar of English Grammars." A New and Revised Edition, arranged to form a Series of Language Lessons, with Exercises in Analysis, Parsing, and Construction. By *Henry Kiddle, A.M.*, late Superintendent of Common Schools, New York City. New York: William Wood & Company.

**THE INSTITUTES OF ENGLISH GRAMMAR,** Methodically Arranged; with Copious Language Lessons; also, a Key to the Examples of False Syntax. Designed for the Use of Schools, Academies, and Private Students. By *Goold Brown*, author of "The Grammar of English Grammars." A New and Revised Edition, with Exercises in Analysis, Parsing, and Construction. By *Henry Kiddle, A.M.*, late Superintendent of Common Schools, New York City. New York: William Wood & Company.

**THE GRAMMAR OF ENGLISH GRAMMARS,** with an Introduction, Historical and Critical; the whole Methodically Arranged and amply Illustrated; with Forms of Correcting and Parsing, Improperities for Correction, Examples for Parsing, Questions for Examination, Exercises for Writing, Observations of Disputed Points, Occasional Strictures and Defences, an Exhibition of the several Methods of Analysis, and a Key to the Oral Exercises. To which are added four Appendixes, pertaining separately to the Four Parts of Grammar. By *Goold Brown*, author of "The Institutes of English Grammar," "The First Lines of English Grammar," etc. Tenth Edition. Revised and Improved. Enlarged by a Copious Index of Matters. By *Samuel U. Berrian, A.M.* New York: William Wood.

The decided merits of Goold Brown's series of English Grammars have long been recognized. Though countless competitors for favor have arisen, from time to time, Goold Brown still retains the high place which years ago he won in the estimation of most competent masters and teachers of English Grammar. The title-pages of the several works which form his complete series of grammars, and which we have given above in full, clearly and distinctly state their respective purposes, and the educational institutions and classes of persons for which they have been severally prepared.

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**THE WORKS AND WORDS OF OUR SAVIOUR:** Gathered from the Four Gospels. By *Henry James Coleridge*, of the Society of Jesus. London: Burns & Oates. 1882.

This book is mainly a republication of the greater part of the masterly work published by Father Coleridge, some years ago, under the title of "The Life of our Life." The Harmony of the Gospels, which that work contained, is omitted, and its narrative and explanatory chapters, together with a considerable amount of new matter, have thus been comprised in a single volume. It would not be easy to speak too highly of the merits of this truly admirable work.

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#### BOOKS RECEIVED.

**THE MYSTERY SOLVED;** Or, The Prophetic History of the Church. By the *Rev. M. J. Griffith*, Pastor of St. John's Church, Valatie, N. Y. New York: The Catholic Publication Society. 1882.

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**CONFERENCES ON THE BLESSED TRINITY.** By the *Rev. Dr. J. J. O'Connell, O.S.B.*, St. Mary's College, Gaston County, N. C. New York: The Catholic Publication Society. 1882.

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## A LIMIT TO EVOLUTION.

**A**RE there, or are there not, limits to evolution? In considering this question it will be well to start with clear ideas as to what is meant by the term "evolution," for that term has various meanings.

The most familiar sense in which the word "evolution" is used may be best illustrated by such a process as the hatching of a hen's egg. The new-laid egg contains, as everybody knows, a more or less homogeneous and seemingly lifeless mass of semifluid substance (the "white" and the "yelk"), and no more. Yet, let such an egg be submitted for a time to certain definite physical conditions—such as a due supply of air, a certain amount of moisture, a certain degree of heat, etc.—and gradually that apparently passive matter takes on an organic form. After a certain formation of superficial layers, and certain foldings of a minute portion of its surface, a heart appears and beats, and blood is formed and circulates. Gradually body and limbs, with all their organs, become defined, and ultimately a living chicken, clothed with downy feathers, chips the shell, comes forth, walks about, and quickly manifests the sharpness of its senses by pecking at grains, or other small objects which it may find in its vicinity.

The hatching of eggs being an every-day matter, our very familiarity with it tends to blind our eyes to its many marvels. Really, however, the process is a very wonderful one. The more it is pondered over and studied, the more wonderful it will be seen to

be ; and the most recent labors of men of science (who have lately made great advances in investigating such matters) have but added to our motives for wonder and admiration.

The process by which the egg becomes a fowl is called the "development" of the fowl, and is an example of one kind of "*evolution*"—namely, the *evolution of the individual*. Almost all living creatures, whether plants or animals, attain their adult condition by going through some essentially similar process—some process of individual evolution. The process is sometimes a very short, rapid, and uninterrupted one ; sometimes it is a very long process, which appears to be interrupted at certain stages, as in the evolution of the butterfly from the egg, in which the grub and chrysalis stages of existence last long enough to seem to be interruptions in what is really a continuous series of changes.

"Evolution" should, according to its etymology, mean a process of unfolding, such as we see in the expansion of a bud, whereby its minute, closely-packed leaves, become by degrees freely expanded. But evidently no minute organs exist folded up in the glairy fluid of the new-laid egg ; and microscopic examination, instead of revealing any such enfolded rudiments, actually demonstrates their non-existence.

It is none the less certain that they are not introduced from without. The gases of the atmosphere and its watery vapor find their way in through the pores of the egg-shell ; but such matters, together with the physical influence of heat, are obviously quite insufficient to explain the formation of the blood, the heart, the eyes, the limbs, etc. It is evident there must be something, which no microscope, and none of our senses, however aided, can detect, present in the normal new-laid egg, which something is the real cause of the successive appearance of the different organs. This is demonstrated for us by the fact that if an unimpregnated egg, or one which has been allowed to die, be submitted to all those external processes which ordinarily suffice to hatch an egg, no chicken will, even for all that, come forth from the egg in either case.

The process of individual evolution or unfolding must, therefore, be a process of the gradual development of organs which pre-existed only in the sense that the living egg was endowed with an invisible, intangible, immaterial, *internal* force or power, capable of producing them all on the occurrence of the requisite *external* conditions.

That animals, for the most part, undergo such a process of individual evolution has long been recognized ; but, till within the last few years, it has been generally supposed that each kind of animal and plant had a distinct and sudden origin, each kind being independent of every other at its first creation ; now, however, the

majority of naturalists have come to believe that new species—new *kinds* of animals and plants—have from time to time arisen from antecedent kinds by a mere process of natural generation, by a process of evolution of another kind,—the *evolution of the species*. Here we find the term “evolution,” and in a second and more extended sense.

Here, also, the process of “evolution” can be no “unfolding” of conditions previously enfolded. If we suppose that an antelope has been evolved from an ancestral animal having a greater likeness to existing pigs than to existing antelopes, it is evident that the antelope's horns and other special organs did not exist in a minute form in such ancestral pig. Neither could they have been introduced by changes of climate, or by any other *external* conditions. Therefore there must have been an *internal* capacity on the part of such ancestral animals to vary and develop in the way they have developed.

Some persons contend that each animal has no special and definite aptitudes of the kind, but that variation is quite unlimited (though very minute) in every organ in every direction. Others contend that there are in each case definite internal tendencies to vary in certain directions; and that there are also very definite limits, few or many, to this process of specific evolution.

This term, “evolution,” is also frequently used in a third and much more extended sense. Some persons believe that the whole material universe of solar and planetary systems, has been “evolved” from one universally diffused primary mass of nebular substance—suns, moons, and worlds—crystallization, life, sentiency, and intellect having been successively evolved from the cloud-land of primeval, nebular matter, as the limbs and other organs of the chicken have been evolved from the matter of the new-laid egg.

It is not intended to discuss in the present article either this last or cosmical, evolution, or the evolution of the individual, but only that second kind of evolution, the evolution of new species, which the late Mr. Darwin's publications have made a subject of popular interest.

Neither will the question as to the truth of the belief as to specific evolution be discussed, but only the question whether (granting its truth, if only for argument's sake) there are or are not any necessary limits to the action of the evolutionary process; and if so, then what those limits may be?

It is here contended that there are and must be three such limits.

The first is a limit which stands at the beginning of all species of animals and plants considered as one great whole. This limit marks the commencement of life itself. If the world of inorganic matter, such as limestone, granite, sand, mud, water, air, etc., is, as is commonly supposed, entirely devoid of everything like life,

then it seems clear that such a world could never by itself give rise to a living being. It seems clear that the action of some other and higher agency than the properties of such substances must have been needed for the first introduction of life. On the other hand, it is possible that life may have even existed *potentially* in inorganic matter, in the sense in which "an oak" may be said to exist "potentially" in an acorn. In other words, a higher agency than mere physical force may have been implanted in matter; not life, but such antecedent conditions of subsequent life from the beginning; such higher agency producing actual life upon the concurrence of the appointed physical conditions.

Such "spontaneous generation" would not be an evolution of life from matter devoid of anything like life; nor would it be due to the action of physical forces merely. Such "spontaneous generation" has been generally in antecedent ages believed to exist, and is generally believed (amongst men of science) to have existed. Nevertheless it must be confessed that not only is all conclusive evidence for its existence wanting, but also that a mass of evidence has been of late accumulated against its present existence. That "spontaneous generation" does not now take place has become the conviction of the great majority of living scientific men,—men belonging, in other respects, to the most various schools of thought. But if such generation cannot be made to take place now, it is not easy to understand how it ever could have occurred. A vague supposition of undefined and inconceivable conditions, other than those we know, can be no explanation; and surely, if anywhere, then in physical science actual experience must be our only guide.

The second limit to evolution seems to be the limit between whatever has the power of feeling and things utterly destitute of that power. If, as is generally believed, such living things as grass, moss, trees, and other vegetable organisms, are really destitute of all power whatever of sensation, then it seems certain that no mere play of physical forces upon them could give them such a power. Once let there be some slight faculty, however rudimentary it may be, of touch, sight, or hearing, and it can be well understood how evolution may augment and perfect such rudimentary powers till we come to their more perfect state. But it is plainly impossible that the mere striking of any number of waves of sound or light, or mere impacts of any kind, upon an utterly senseless surface, can ever give to that surface a power of feeling.

The third limit of evolution is the limit which it is here contended exists between a rational nature—such as that of man—and a nature which, though rich in feelings, is devoid of reason—such as is that of the highest animals. This is the limit most interesting to us, and which it concerns us most to know. The question of

our true place in nature is one which carries with it very far-reaching consequences.

The Darwinian school teaches that man descended from ancestors allied to apes, and that from such creatures he has been gradually evolved. Now it is obviously impossible for us directly to examine man as he was in prehistoric ages. We can only infer the past from what we find about us in the present. In order, then, to form an opinion worth anything about what man *was*, we must begin by correctly understanding what man *is*. We must understand the nature and extent of his present faculties.

Ever since the time of Aristotle man has been defined as a "rational animal." That he is an animal, and endowed with the powers common to the higher animals generally, is what no one can for an instant deny. Neither can it be denied that man possesses a rationality which, however arising, and whether it is or is not different in kind and origin from instinct, is here and now distinguishably different from the powers of non-human animals.

It will be well, then, to begin this investigation by examining (1) some of those powers which we undoubtedly share with animals, and (2) also certain of our higher powers, in order that we may see whether they are or are not different in kind from the former. This examination can, of course, only be carried on by each of us looking into his own mind, and seeing what takes place, or must have taken place therein.

Now it is evident, to start with, that we possess a power of *feeling* (*i. e.*, that we possess sensitivity), and that we have many feelings of different sorts.

Thus we all have *appetites* and *desires*, with feelings of *pleasure* and *pain*. These feelings can exist independently of the human intellect, though that intellect can, by reflection, recognize their existence. That they have this independence is proved by the circumstance that even idiots and new-born babes possess them. We neither need intellect in order to feel hungry nor to make a hearty meal.

We also, of course, possess the power of experiencing feelings of certain definite kinds called *special sensations*. These definite feelings are, for example, the feeling of some color, or of some musical tone, or of bitterness, or of some pleasant or disagreeable odor, or of smoothness, or of warmth.

Again, feelings which have been experienced may again be reproduced by what we call *imagination*. "Imaginations" (or "phantasms" as they were called of old) are faint reproductions of before-felt sensations, and we cannot doubt but some, at least, of those parts of the nervous system which are strongly stimulated in experiencing an actual sensation, are also faintly (or it may be strongly) excited during the imagination of such sensation.

Thus we have manifestly a certain power of *retention* with respect to feelings, and this retentive faculty lies at the base of our wonderful power of memory. By the term "memory," as here used, that higher kind of memory, by the aid of which we may successfully seek to recall the past, is not referred to; neither is that by which a for-a-time-forgotten fact flashes forth into consciousness; but only that lower *sensuous memory*, by the help of which we perform, unconsciously, a multitude of familiar actions. Such actions may not only be performed without the advertence of our conscious intelligence, but such advertence may actually mar the performance of the action. We may find this to be the case in running up stairs, for the direction of the attention to the movements of our limbs in so doing will often create a difficulty in the accurate and easy performance of this familiar act, which would otherwise not trouble us. Again, almost every one who plays the piano by heart, knows how a melody once learned, but for the moment partly forgotten, can be best recalled by studiously turning the mind away from what is being done while an effort is made to play it automatically. In other words, the melody is recalled by avoiding the use of intellectual memory, and by trusting entirely to that sensuous memory, which has become, as it were, imbedded in the nerves and muscles,—the retentive memory of the imagination.

We have also (and it is very important to note this) a power of *associating* together feelings and imaginations in groups, and in groups of groups, so that when one or more of the feelings associated in the imagination is again freshly experienced, all the feelings which have been associated with it in the past, tend to be aroused also. Examples of the exercise of this power may occur very frequently. Thus the sound of a dinner-bell, or the sight of an expanded umbrella, may instantly arouse associated images in our minds of food or of rain. It is not only that we intellectually know that this bell may be a call to dinner, or that the umbrella is probably expanded on account of rain, but associated images may arise *before* the thoughts with which they are connected, and such images will often persist for a time in spite of our efforts to expel them. In hearing, it may be after an interval of many years, the notes of some melody familiar in early days, images may be aroused which kindle long-dormant emotions. The old man may momentarily become, in imagination, a youth once more, and seem to feel his half-paralyzed limbs again treading the rhythmical measures of the waltz, and his feeble arm supporting a form dear to memory. Even so simple a sensation as that of some odor will often recall a whole train of vivid images which have been therewith associated. These complex associations of feelings, accompanied with more or

less pleasure or pain, constitute what we may distinguish as *sensuous emotions*.

And this consideration leads naturally to the distinct recognition of a tendency which is deeply rooted in our constitution. We not only have pleasurable and painful sensations, imaginations, and emotions, but we have an innate, twofold tendency in their regard. On the one hand, this spontaneous tendency inclines us to *pursue, persist in, or plunge deeper into* whatever is pleasurable, and on the other to *avoid whatever is painful*.

Amongst our various feelings there are two which are of constant occurrence and have great significance. Whenever we act we have a certain vague feeling of our *self-activity*, and when we are acted on a feeling of *passivity*. These feelings are quite apart from the intellectual consciousness we have of our existence, and of the action of bodies on us. We may be walking, so deeply immersed in thought as to be quite unconscious of our movements. Let this be the case, and let the wind (blowing in the same direction as that in which we are walking) so increase as to accelerate our progression by its force. We then immediately have a feeling corresponding with our being acted on by a power external to us; a feeling different from that which corresponded with our activity acting alone and without the external propulsion. Thus, it is plain that we have not only a feeling of our activity, and of our passivity, but also a feeling corresponding with the difference between these states, apart from our intellectual recognition of the difference. So, again, in feeling one hand with the other, we have a double feeling of self-activity, and a double feeling of resistance and passivity, and in each hand we have combined feelings of both activity and passivity, and the passivity of the one is felt in correspondence with the self-activity of the other. If from this we pass to the consideration of the feelings accompanying the action of drawing our hand over a foreign body, or of grasping that body, we have again the combined feelings of activity and passivity in the hand, but its feeling of passivity is no longer felt in correspondence with any feeling of self-activity in that which occasions its feeling of passivity. Thus we come to have a feeling of the action on us of something external to us, and a practical *sensuous feeling of objects* without any intellectual recognition of their being objects.

We may next note certain feelings which occur in connection with such felt objects. In feeling something in motion (as in feeling the links of a chain drawn across the hand), we have a feeling corresponding with the *succession* of the parts as they pass, and a feeling of the *termination of the succession*, when the motion has come to an end. It is the same in hearing a succession of sounds, or seeing a series of similar objects in a line, and if there is a physical resemblance between the series of succeeding things, there is



a corresponding resemblance between the feelings they induce, which may be themselves successive. We have no feeling of succession itself, which is a purely intellectual apprehension, but we have feelings corresponding both with succession and their termination. Similarly, in exploring any solid object with the hands. We have the intellectual perception of its three dimensions of length, breadth, and thickness, but we also have a number of feelings of touch, pressure, the motion of our hand and fingers, etc., and thus we have a group of feelings, corresponding with the *extension* of the object felt, together with feelings corresponding with its limits, or the felt *terms of its extension* in different directions. In this way we come to have certain plexuses or groups of feelings corresponding with the *shapes* of bodies, and also (as by the need of more or less widely extending our arms or fingers to embrace them, or of moving our head or eyes to survey them), others corresponding with the *magnitude* of bodies. We also have feelings corresponding with the *unity* or *multiplicity* of bodies, when we are impressed by single objects, or by many, as in a sharp hailstorm.

The feelings accompanying the drawing of a chain over the hand are feelings of succession, but these are accompanied by a feeling of its *motion*, as we feel the succession of its points of contact over the breadth of the hand, and a very distinct difference of feeling takes place when this motion is brought to an end, while the chain is still felt in the grasp. We thus experience a feeling corresponding with its *rest*, as distinguished from that corresponding with its motion.

Again, we experience a certain feeling of *shock* when upon the occurrence of certain sensations, other sensations, different from those which have become associated with the former, come unexpectedly upon us. Let us suppose that an orange has been so artfully imitated as not only to look like, but to feel like an orange. Being deceived to such an extent, when we cut it open and find its interior very different from what we imagined, we have, of course, our intellectual perception of the fact, but we also have a certain feeling of shock accompanying our surprise on making the discovery. Similarly if the nature of an object seems to us doubtful, we may have a feeling of *suspended* action, and if we find out that it is in truth what we anticipated it to be, we have on the instant of finding this out a feeling, as it were, of *smooth and easy transition*. These feelings we may distinguish as corresponding with the *congruity* or *incongruity* which may exist between different modifications of our sensitivity.

By the exercise and combination of all these different kinds of feelings—by the association of sensations, imaginations, feelings of pleasure and pain, feelings of activity and passivity, and feelings corresponding with the succession, extension, figure, magnitude,

unity, multiplicity, motion and rest of bodies, we come to possess groups of feelings of the most varied kinds, which feelings correspond with different states of a multitude of external objects which have given rise to them.

The power and habit of association amongst feelings which we have thus recognized leads to yet another consequence worthy of note; when a group of sensations has become intimately associated with certain other sensations, then, upon the recurrence of these other sensations, an imagination of the sensations previously associated therewith spontaneously arises in the mind, and we have an expectant feeling of their proximate actual recurrence. Thus, the sensation of a vivid flash of lightning has come, by association, to lead to an expectant feeling of the thunder-clap to follow, and the sight of what looks like an orange, may lead, in a thirsty man, to an expectant feeling of sweet juiciness, quite apart from an intellectual recognition of the properties of an orange, or of the relation between lightning and thunder. This expectant imagination of sensations yet to come, brought about by the rousing of certain feelings, has a certain analogy with reasoning or inference, although altogether distinct from it essentially. We may, then, distinguish this kind of feeling as *sensuous inference*.

Having now reviewed these various kinds of feeling, let us next consider certain different sets of movements variously related to these feelings.

Sensuous emotions have been shortly described, but such emotions often give rise in us to movements of which we may be entirely unaware, or, if aware, quite unable to suppress, and which movements thus become *external signs* of the internal feelings (emotions) which give rise to them. Thus the emotion of terror shows itself by tremblings of lip and limb, a dropping of the jaw, suppressed breathing, and deadly pallor of the face, with staring eyes.

With the emotion of anger, the eyes glare, the hands are often clenched and raised, and the lips may be compressed or possibly drawn aside in a fierce grin.

Such signs are readily understood by those who behold them, and in this way it is plain that we possess an *emotional language*, one which merely expresses our feelings, in addition to that power of speech by which we communicate our ideas. Moreover, this emotional language of gesture, is not only understood by observers, but often by sympathy produces in them emotions like those the signs of which their senses recognize. Closely connected with and underlying this power of *sympathetically generating like emotions*, is that tendency to imitation which we all of us possess more or less, and to which reference will be shortly made.

But the complex and intimate relations which commonly exist between our feelings and movements of all kinds, are surprising. Thus even the trivial act of a lad throwing a stone at a mark, is very wonderful when we come to examine it carefully. How complex must be the co-ordinations between different parts of the body in order to produce the result! The lad's mind has little to do with it beyond the one impulse to hit the mark. He knows nothing of anatomy, but sets going the wonderful mechanism of his body (with all the diverse and delicate feelings of its different parts), and this works out the desired effect for him as if it were only an elaborate piece of mechanism. In the first place, the various parts of his eyes must be adjusted to see the object distinctly. Then his body must be held in a certain position, the stone be grasped with a certain strength, the arm be thrown back to the due extent, and its muscles contracted in co-ordination with his sense of sight, and with just that degree of vigor, as his fingers are relaxed, which will carry the stone as desired. Different feelings accompany these actions—feelings of activity, passivity, etc.,—and these feelings guide the actions of his body as a sort of automatic sensitive machine.

That these co-ordinated actions may take place through the intervention of merely sensuous impulses, is plain, from the fact that many idiots and sleep-walkers perform them. Even with regard to ourselves, we may set going our bodily mechanism in a certain way and then withdrawing our mind entirely from its actions leave it to act, as it were, by itself. Thus we often start for a certain place and then give up our thoughts entirely to some engrossing matter, walking on "lost in thought" till we are surprised at suddenly finding we have arrived at, or possibly overshot, our destination, without having thought at all about our journey while on the road. But the remarkable power we have of co-ordinating complex series of actions and sensations is exceedingly well shown in such an action as playing the piano by heart. Here the actions follow each other in an orderly series in connection with felt touches of the keys and heard sounds of the notes. Let a key stick or a note become dumb, and the automatic action ceases—through a failure of co-ordination in the associated sensations—and intellectual attention is at once aroused.

The result of all the foregoing powers of feeling, with their associations, and of all the foregoing powers of motion, with their various co-ordinations, is that we have the power of *uniting or synthesizing our various pleasurable tendencies* into now one and now another *dominant impulse*, and of *synthesizing our various co-ordinated motions* so as to unite them into *one complex, general action directed to gratify such dominant impulse*.

Let us now consider that tendency to, and power of, *imitation*, which was spoken of a little way back. Of course we may intentionally imitate, but this is not at all the one of action which is here referred to. Everyone knows how frequently yawning is induced in many persons by the sight of another person yawning. Such spontaneous and unintentional imitation is often carried much further, notably by certain idiots, who accurately imitate any actions which may be performed before them. This tendency is at first very surprising. When, however, we reflect that the sight of any movement tends slightly to stimulate those very nerves in the observer which correspond with those by which the action observed has been produced, it becomes easily explicable. For, let the stimulation be sufficiently augmented, and actual movement on the part of the observer necessarily follows.

Lastly, we have, through the action of associated feelings and co-ordinated motions, the power spontaneously and automatically to employ what are practically means to an end, apart from our intellectual recognition of either "means" or "end" as being "means" or "end." This is brought about mainly by the association of feelings, but partly by our innate tendency to imitation. It is by the habitual association of feelings that, without a moment's thought, we take the simplest means to obtain ends, such as to quicken our pace to overtake a friend we may discover to be walking in front of us, or to jump upon a bank to pluck a flower which otherwise is above our reach. The sight of some simple means employed by their seniors, may lead to children, by imitation and without reflection, employing the same means themselves, which may readily become automatically habitual if the result attained is agreeable and capable of frequent repetition. The employment of means for ends apart from the exercise of the intellect is sometimes exhibited by somnambulists. Thus a sleep-walker will open a drawer to take out of it some desired object therein contained, or will turn a key to unlock a door, and so obtain entrance into some locality sought after. Such actions are easily explicable through the habitual associations of sensations with co-ordinated movements. Thus the senses of the sleep-walker have presented to them various groups of sensations, such as those produced by the walls and furniture of the room the somnambulist is traversing on his way to the desired locality, the entrance to which is locked. The sensations thus induced arouse the imagination of the inside of the desired locality; this arouses the nervous channels habitually stimulated in overcoming the intervening obstruction, the hand automatically seeks the key, the stimulus of its touch stimulates the muscles of the arm, the key is turned, and the door opened. Very complex movements of the kind are sometimes

performed in order to *complete a harmony which the imagination craves*.

Let a certain set of initial sensations ( $A, B, C$ ) have been habitually followed in past experience by certain other sensations ( $L, M, N$ ), which latter are intimately connected with certain movements ( $\lambda, \mu, \nu$ ). Thus upon the actual recurrence of the sensations  $A, B, C$ , the imagination of the associated sensations  $L, M, N$ , may give rise to such a craving anticipation of their repetition that the requisite movements  $\lambda, \mu, \nu$ , will be performed automatically so as to bring about their recurrence, and so complete the sensational harmony vaguely desired. This is the practical imagination of means to an end without the intellectual recognition of either end or means.

Such are some of the many and wonderful powers of feeling with which human nature is endowed.

It will be well now to consider the intellectual side of our nature.

We all know that we have perceptions of things about us. But what *is* a perception? Selecting some familiar object as an example—say a white handkerchief—how do we perceive it? Through a number of impressions it makes on our organs of sense, such as: the feeling of a certain softness and pliability; of a certain smoothness, a certain kind of whiteness, etc., with various other feelings which were before described as culminating in what has been here distinguished as “sense-perception.” But though these feelings exist, it is not these nor any feelings resulting from them which we perceive in our act of perception, but *through* them we have the apprehension of a distinct object,—*the handkerchief itself*. The feelings it produces in us are the *means* of our perception, but not the *object* of perception. So with every other external object we may look at, the sensations and other feelings they occasion in us are not adverted to by us. They are signs of the object, which signs seem themselves to disappear in making known the object they introduce to our notice, though they really persist unnoticed. It is plain that they do persist, since we can actually observe them persisting if we choose to advert to them. Thus, if we are looking, for example, at a house, we can observe if we please any of the sense-impressions which are actually affording us the perception of that house. We can observe the shape of the image made by it on our field of vision, and we can draw out on paper the perspective lines of the building, but when we look at a house ordinarily, we do not perceive *them* but *it*.

If a solid cube, suspended by a string, be turned round in front of us, we can never see the whole of it at once, and its faces, as we see them in perspective, do not appear square but lozenge-

shaped. Nevertheless these, in themselves imperfect sensible signs, serve perfectly well to give us not a feeling, but a true and adequate perception of the whole cube as it is in itself. It is true and noteworthy also that the very act of turning the cube round, and so changing our successive sensations, causes no corresponding changes in our perception of the cube, which remains throughout the same, or even becomes more clearly and definitely a single perception of a single object, through the multiplicity and variety of the succeeding sensations it occasions. Perception, then, is a natural interpretation of sensible signs—an interpretation made spontaneously, unconsciously, and without advertence by a natural power which our intelligence possesses, and which is improved by practice.

But into *what* does this natural power interpret the signs given to our sense organs by external objects? Into the apprehension of something distinct from and independent of us; into the apprehension of some object which, as standing opposite, as it were, to each of us, who may be the subject of the sensations we call *objective*, while all modifications or affections of the thinking and feeling subject of such sensations we call *subjective*.

In every perception, then, we perceive an object of some kind. It may be that we know it as a horse; or merely as a quadruped; or if not that, then as a living creature; or, perhaps, only as some solid body; and if we cannot be sure even of that, then, at least, we perceive it to be *something*.

"Something!" what a wonderful idea is enshrined in that most familiar expression! It is the idea of *Existence*, the idea of *Being*, and this supreme notion rises spontaneously to the lips of the little child who asks, "What is that *thing*, mother?"

"Being," is an idea which is inexplicable, for no one can even ask what "being," or "existence" is or means, without showing, by his very question, that he himself already both possesses, and (to a certain extent, at least) understands it.

"Existence," or "being," is an idea applicable to everything which can be conceived by the human mind as having any reality. The other much more restricted classes of objects just referred to—"solid body," "living creature," "quadruped," "horse"—which we supposed to have been perceived in the supposed act of perception, are all ideas which are applicable (though in a vastly less degree than the idea "something") to a greater or less number of distinct things. Each of these conceptions, for example, that of "horse," is applicable to a multitude of individuals of the same kind—to all horses. At the same time such a conception considered *in itself* is ONE. It is a *single* notion, not of any one subsisting thing, but of a kind or class of things real or possible. It refers to a whole

group of such things to each one of which the notion is applicable. It is, therefore, a *general* or *universal* idea.

It will be well now to advert to, that we may distinctly recognize it, that extreme contrast—that difference of kind—which exists between this intellectual conception on the one hand, and all those varieties of feelings and groups of feelings which we have, and to which attention has here been called as they have been successively passed in review.

"Feelings," whether single or in groups of groups, are all modifications of the sentient being which is the subject of them. They are impressions on our sensitivity made by individual things never felt as otherwise than individual. They are, therefore, essentially individual and subjective, while our intellectual perceptions are essentially universal and objective.<sup>1</sup> "Sense perceptions" are groups of associated feelings, but "ideas" are apprehensions of objective qualities grouped round an objective unity about which various judgments may be affirmed. The former are but reinstatements of sense, the latter are unities abstracted from sense. Feelings again can never be reflective. There is, indeed, a feeling of self-activity but not of any definite feeling or being of whatever kind it may be. It is quite otherwise with an idea which may be perceived and recognized as being the sort of idea it is.

In all those states of our unconscious activity—habitual actions, sleep-walking, etc.,—which have been before referred to, there is no intellectual recognition of external objects as objective. Each excites its own impressions, which produce corresponding appropriate actions, and similar causes produce in us, of course, similar effects. But the mind in this condition, in spite of its effective action, does not apprehend that the objects thus practically recognized by our organism as alike, belong to one kind or class of existences.

This essential distinctness will be more clearly apparent if we refer again to our conception of "existence" or "being." That notion is applicable, as I have said, to everything, and, therefore, both to the subject thinking and to the object he thinks about, both of these being and being clearly seen to be "beings" of different kinds. Without this idea, nothing can be understood or apprehended.

But no sensation or group of feelings, however complex, could

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<sup>1</sup> As Mr. Lewes has truly said (*Problems of Life and Mind*, 3d series, p. 467): "No aggregation of mathematical lines can make a mathematical surface, for lines are without breadth. No aggregation of images will make an idea, for images are particular and of concrete objects, whereas ideas are *general* and abstracted from the concrete by a special operation. It is true we cannot imagine a line without breadth, nor a general object without particular qualities, but we can and do think these, and this mode of thinking is ideation or conception."

give us a *feeling* of "being;" because, though there is a feeling of "self-activity," and a feeling of "passivity," and of the actions of external things upon us, there neither is nor can be any feeling common to these and all other feelings, and yet, if there was a feeling of "being" at all, it must be of this universality of nature, while at the same time it must be a distinguishable feeling of some kind. Yet, though we have no *feeling* of "being," the *idea* of "being" lies at the very root of all our conceptions, and, as I have said, presents itself spontaneously to the mind even of the infant.

It is nevertheless quite true that we cannot have any of the ideas or notions which either perception or reflection give us, without first having corresponding sense-impressions (sense-perceptions) or imaginations, as their basis and support. This necessity is a simple fact of observation, and may be seen to be a consequence of our bodily organization. Our minds are first aroused to activity by the action of surrounding bodies upon our sensitivity, and can never at any time act without some imagination—some phantasm—accompanying, and, as it were, supporting that action.

Thus in every intellectual perception we have two distinct elements: (1) We have first, what may be called the subjective element,—the feelings, or sensible signs, aroused by the presence of the object; and we have (2) secondly, what may be called the objective element,—our intellectual apprehension of the object as it really exists in itself apart from our sensations. In this latter objective element we may distinguish two distinct aspects and notions: one is (1) that of the *nature* of the thing perceived, and the other is (2) the actual *subsistence* of that thing.

But the distinctness of kind which exists between the sensitive and the intellectual sides of our nature will be yet more apparent if we go one step further in the examination of our higher faculties. We have examined perception, and seen that it is the translation of a multitude of feelings into a single intellectual idea or notion of some being or other, and this of course implies a sort of vague mental operation that the thing perceived is of that kind. It contains, therefore, our implicit judgment. The one step further, beyond perception, is the clear and explicit mental operation that the thing really is of that kind we perceive it to be. This latter act is a mental affirmation or *judgment*—an act which follows upon and is the consequence of antecedent perceptions.

What, then, does our mind do in forming an explicit judgment? Every object which presents itself to our senses possesses a number of different qualities, such as shape, size, color, etc., which are more or less distinctly perceived by us simultaneously, and in union with our perception of the object possessing them. But, the act by which we perceive them is different from that by which we per-



ceive the object as one whole. Perception is the acquisition of one idea through a multitude of sensations ; but an explicit judgment involves, first, the ideal separation, and then the ideal union of the qualities of the object about which we judge. What is this power which thus ideally separates these qualities ? It is the power of ABSTRACTION.

By the act of abstraction our mind isolates (in order to consider them distinctly) those various ideal qualities of an object which were not distinctly noticed in our first perception of the object.

No sooner has any object, such, for example, as an oak tree, been perceived by us as a distinct subsisting reality, than it undergoes this singular transformation. The various qualities which, in truth, exist intimately united in that concrete, real oak tree, are ideally detached and isolated from it in our minds, and regarded in themselves. Thus, in the initial stage of a judgment, such as, "*that is an oak,*" its various qualities, such as "solidity," "branching shape," "vegetable nature," etc., are abstracted by our minds, and thus the abstract idea, "an oak," is distinctly apprehended by the help of a number of subordinate abstract ideas. For what are the various qualities of any object—its shape, size, color, etc. ? They are, in reality, so many states or conditions of one actual, really-subsisting, material thing. But they also have an ideal existence, as so many abstract ideas, in the mind which apprehends them.

Let us for a moment consider the "branching shape" of the oak, as it exists in reality, before abstraction, and as it exists ideally after abstraction.

Really, and before abstraction, it is one of the aspects of *that particular oak tree*, a quality actually united indissolubly with it, and not existing at all save in that one particular oak tree. After abstraction, it is no longer one aspect of that oak, but is a general conception, an idea, applicable not only to all oaks, but to all branching things.

One fundamental abstraction is that which was for a moment before referred to, namely, the abstraction of the nature—the "thatness," so to speak—of a thing, for its existence is subsistence. When we say, "*that is an oak,*" we do not mean to assert that a *kind* exists, but that there is a *real thing of a certain kind*.

This process of mental abstraction is a necessary result of our nature. In the presence of any object apprehended by us, it is actually impossible for us not to apprehend some or other of its qualities.

As soon as we use our reason, as soon as we ask ourselves what anything is, and try to have any clear and distinct notion about it,

we are compelled to thus ideally separate its qualities by abstraction.

But we cannot, by mere abstraction, form any judgment. In order to do that, there must be a second and reverse process,—a putting ideally together again what has just been ideally separated.

For the mind (which being conscious knows what it does) when it has analyzed the perceived oak into its ideal elements, immediately recognizes the real unity and concrete identity (which, indeed, it has never lost sight of) between the qualities it has ideally abstracted and the object (the actually subsisting oak), whence it has abstracted them. It is the expression of this perception of unity, following on abstraction, which is the judgment, and judgment completes by vision, a synthesis, a process which it began by separation or analysis.

The intellect, by its judgment, "that is an oak," declares that its abstraction has only been ideal, and that the elements which it has ideally separated exist, in fact, united in the really subsisting concrete oak tree.

Thus, for every judgment, expressing even the very simplest affirmation, three intellectual acts are necessary: (1) A perception; (2) a mental analysis, by abstraction, of the object perceived; and, (3) an ideal synthesis of these abstractions with the object. Now the most elementary acts of the human intelligence are judgments. The human intellect, therefore, is essentially a uniting and dividing power, an active principle, proceeding by analysis and synthesis.

This complicated process is necessary, because, in order that we may understand any object it needs to be, as it were, first digested by our mind, in order that it may be assimilated, just as our bodily food cannot be assimilated without first being digested. It is "abstraction" which plays the part of a mental gastric juice, and ideally separates the qualities of every object, and so makes them clear and luminous to us. One can see at a glance how much better such qualities as "solidity," "branching shape," etc., can be apprehended, after they have been thus distinctly noted by abstraction, than when they were first confusedly perceived in the primitive act of perception.

This process, which it takes so long to describe, is performed by the mind with unimaginable rapidity. It is all done while we are saying, "*That is an oak.*"

That we should do all this without being aware of it may seem strange. But how many persons speak, like M. Jourdain, without thinking about or knowing the movements which they have to perform to give utterance to their words!

It may be well here to say a few words to guard against a by

no means impossible error. In perception a variety of elements are united into the conception of a distinct object. In abstraction an object is analyzed into a variety of elements. It might, then, be supposed that the elements into which abstraction dissolves a notion are the very same elements from which it was constructed in the original perception. In other words, it might possibly be supposed that abstraction was some sort of return towards the condition existing the moment before perception. But this would be a great mistake. The *elements which minister to perception* are sensible elements, sensations and imaginations. They are affections of our sensitivity and modifications of our organs of sense. They are essentially individual and subjective. The *elements which are separated by abstraction* are ideal elements, they are abstract general ideas, and are essentially universal and objective.

Moreover, in many instances, the abstract ideas by no means correspond with the sensible signs. Thus, for example, the one abstract idea "motion" may be apprehended through a number of very different sensible signs, such as: (1) By the travelling of the image of an object over our field of vision; (2) by a feeling of anything slipping over the skin; (3) by the muscular feelings and feelings of tension in our eyeballs as we follow with our eyes an object in motion; (4) by sensations of touch which we may receive from a moving object while we grasp it, etc. Yet the resulting idea, "motion," is one and the same idea, however differently it may be called forth. But not only may a multitude of different sensible signs minister to one and the same idea, but also one and the same set of sensible signs may minister to a variety of very different ideas. Thus, the sight of a photograph of the Queen may give rise: (1) to the idea of her Majesty herself; (2) to the idea of royal rank; (3) to the idea of a woman; (4) to the idea of a human being; (5) to the idea of likeness; (6) to the idea of chemical action; (7) to the idea of the sun's actinic power; (8) to the idea of the effect of light and shade; (9) to the idea of the substance paper; (10) to the idea of an inanimate object; and so on, till we come at last to the idea of something, *i. e.*, the idea of being or existence. This radical distinctness between feeling and thought is further shown by the circumstances that the former may be impaired or paralyzed by the very excess of the action of its own faculty, while the latter cannot be so impaired. A dazzling light or a deafening sound may make sensation impossible, but it is impossible for ideas to be too distinct and vivid.

What is the bearing of all these facts and considerations upon the doctrine of evolution? It has a very important bearing on the possibility or impossibility of the evolution of man from the lower animals.

There is one plain and obvious difference between men and all brutes, for men speak, while animals are dumb.

It may be naturally objected, however, by some readers of this paper, that there are such things as dumb men, and that many animals are eloquent with a language of their own. The songs and calls of birds have meanings which are practically understood by their fellows. Some dogs will make certain facts known to their masters by their voice, just as other dogs (pointers and setters) will make known other facts by their gestures; while parrots and jack-daws will learn actually to speak whole sentences.

All this is very true, but it is nothing to the point. As to mutes, that a structural defect should hinder a man from speaking, no more proves that man is not essentially a speaking animal than the fact that a man cannot talk when he is gagged. Moreover, even mutes commonly possess a truly intellectual language of gesture. As to animals, no reasonable person can doubt the expressiveness of their language; but it is fundamentally different in kind from human language. In order to see this clearly, however, it is necessary distinctly to understand what we do when we speak.

Let us suppose a man and a brute to be both standing under an oak tree which begins to fall. The falling tree will produce similar effects on the senses of both. Both will instinctively fly from the danger. Both may utter an inarticulate cry of alarm; and both, by their cries and gestures, may give rise to similar feelings of alarm in other men and brutes. Such language, whether vocal or of gesture, is that emotional language which has already been described as one of our own lower, unintellectual powers, and this power is fully possessed by animals also.

The man, however, may do what the brute cannot do; he may emit vocal sounds: "That oak is falling!"

What is the nature of these sounds?

The words are the embodiment and expression, not of *feelings* of any kind, but of three universal, abstract *ideas*.

(1) The word "*oak*" corresponds with the intellectual conception which has been already considered. It is a universal, common name, or an abstract term applicable, even above the particular oak which is falling, to every other actual or possible oak. It denotes no single, subsisting thing, but a kind or whole class of things.

(2) The word "*is*" denotes the most wonderful and important of all abstract ideas, that of existence or being. It is an idea which we must have in order to perform any intellectual act. It is an idea which, though not at first itself adverted to, makes all other ideas perceptible to the intellect, as light, though itself unseen, renders everything else visible to us.

(3) The word "*falling*" is a term denoting another abstraction,—an abstract quality or state.

When we see a real oak tree actually beginning to fall, we apprehend a single reality, "the oak falling." In so doing we separate, by abstraction, the idea "*falling*"—the idea of anything tumbling from above downwards. This idea, of course, is applicable not only to any falling oak, but to anything whatever it may be which may fall. Yet the idea itself is strictly one idea.

That these various ideas are thus spontaneously abstracted by the human mind, through the sensuous impressions made on our organism by external bodies, is demonstrated by the various differently expressed judgments to which one single fact may give rise. Thus we may say, "that oak is falling," or "that falling oak exists," or "that falling object is an oak." All these judgments are simply different modes of expressing the ideas which the mind has spontaneously abstracted from the external fact observed. A very plain and simple example of human speech has been selected, in order to show that all human language (other than emotional manifestations) necessarily implies and gives expression to a number of abstract ideas.

Abstraction, then, is as universal as language. All our words, except proper names, pronouns and certain determinating adjectives, express abstract ideas.

Expressions denoting abstract ideas, general or universal names, are spontaneously made use of by children as soon as they begin to speak; and "gee-gee," or "quack-quack," are as good and true general or universal abstract terms as are "horse" or "duck."

Children at first give terms very wide, vague meanings, which they subsequently learn to restrict.

This faculty of abstraction must, then, be possessed by every one who speaks, and (as has just been observed) it is also possessed by most human beings who cannot speak.

The difference between human, rational language, and the merely emotional language of animals and of men, does not consist in any difference as to articulation. It consists in the appropriation or non-appropriation of sounds or gestures to denote abstract ideas; above all, the idea of being, and its modifications.

Parrots articulate, but they do not thereby express ideas. Mutes cannot articulate, but by their gestures they do express ideas. The distinguished son of a friend of ours alarmed his parents when a child by the length of time he remained unable to speak. Yet all the time he showed, by an elaborate language of gesture, that he had very distinct intellectual conceptions.

At an institution in Edinburgh the Lord's Prayer is acted in an elaborate manner. The idea "Father" is expressed by an action

indicating old man; the idea "name" by touching the forehead, and indicating the action of spelling on the fingers; the idea "done" by the hands working; the conception, "on earth as it is in heaven," by two signs for "heaven" and "earth," and by putting the two forefingers side by side to express "equality," and so on.

The fulness and accuracy to which gesture language may attain is shown by the recent letters in the newspapers of deaf mutes, who object to the system of teaching the deaf and dumb to read the lips. The expressiveness of gesture language is also exhibited by the performance of plays acted entirely by gesture, and without a single spoken word,<sup>1</sup> and also by the performance of the Anglican church service by gesture, in the church for the deaf, in Oxford Street.

Thus it is abundantly evident that rational conceptions, "abstract ideas," can exist without spoken words, but there is no evidence that they can continue to exist without some embodiment, some form of language, some corporeal expression, either by voice or by gesture.

Language, therefore, is the consequence of thought, and abstract ideas are the indispensable preliminaries of language. We see this in our common experience. When, in the cultivation of any science or art, newly observed facts give rise to new conceptions, new terms are invented to give expression to such conceptions. New words arise as a *consequent* and not as an *antecedent* of such intellectual action. New terms are always fitted to fresh ideas, and not fresh ideas to new terms.

That language is dependent on thought, not thought on language, is demonstrated for us by the lightning-like rapidity—a rapidity far too great for words—with which our minds may detect a fallacy in an argument. This instantaneousness is not the mere mental ejaculation of the word "no," for the mental act is not a blind one, but is due to our instantly seeing the nature of the fallacy. The most rapid cry or gesture of negation is often then the sign of intellectual perceptions which would require more than one sentence fully to express, but which are perceived too rapidly for even the mental repetition of the words of such sentences.

Nevertheless these intellectual perceptions show themselves by bodily signs—sounds or gestures—and even all our silent thought is carried on by the aid of imagined actions of the mind, and without such we cannot think. The mental and bodily sides of language are so intimately united that, though the mental is anterior, it at once seeks, as it were, to incarnate itself, and, under normal

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<sup>1</sup> The elaborate ballet, in several acts, entitled "La jolie fille de Gand," may be especially referred to.

conditions, does incarnate itself in corporeal expression.<sup>1</sup> The latter, however, gives only imperfect expression to the deeper and wider-reaching thought. It is to the fact that thought is anterior to speech, and that mental language has a greater range and perfection than its bodily expression, that the growth and development of language is due.

But if thought cannot continue to exist in us without embodiment, *a fortiori* speech cannot exist without thought and without those complex intellectual actions of abstraction and recomposition of abstract ideas which are its very life.

Every, even the simplest, judgment, then, is really of this lofty intellectual nature, and is thoroughly different in kind from plexuses and amalgamations of feelings. Thought as compared with feeling, is universal instead of singular; objective instead of subjective; abstract instead of concrete; independent of particular sense-organs, instead of dependent on particular sense-organs; independent of particular sense-impressions, instead of being tied down to particular sense-impressions; often reflective, instead of never reflective; not impaired by intensity of its faculty, instead of being possibly so impaired; capable of being associated according to logical relations, instead of being associated by contiguity; and above all instinct with the great and luminous idea of "being" or "existence;" and, lastly, related also to perceptions of unity and truth, instead of being, as feelings are, quite unrelated to such ideas.

We cannot affirm "that is an oak," without having these ideas of truth and unity. For, in saying the oak exists, we must mean that the oak is one concrete, substantial thing; that its qualities and its form are substantial, whole; that it is a thing which really exists, and that the idea of it in our minds really and truly corresponds with the oak as it exists in itself out of our minds. If it could be shown that what we take to be an oak is not really *one* thing but made up of a number of things which happen accidentally to look like an oak, or if the apparent oak turns out to be some cleverly arranged spectral illusion, then, in either case, the object does not respond to our thought, which is thus shown to have contained within it implicitly the ideas unity and truth.

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<sup>1</sup> Dr. W. W. Ireland, in his valuable work on *Idiocy and Imbecility* (Churchill, 1877), gives (p. 276) an instance of a boy "who, although he cannot speak ordinary words, yet has invented a few of his own, to which he attaches fixed meanings. Thus he says 'weep-oo' for night and black, 'burly' for wood or for a carpenter, 'tutteras' for soldiers, 'hubbs' for big or large, and so on."

The same author (chapter xx., p. 368), goes at length into the many tales of children being fostered by wild beasts, but there is not one which proves more (nor does the author consider that more is proved) than that idiots have occasionally been found abandoned by cruel or designing parents. The wonderful case of Laura Bridgman (p. 225), who was blind as well as deaf, amounts to a demonstration of the wonderful innate intellectual capacities of the human mind.

Such being the nature even of the simplest affirmation, it is plain that all descriptions and reviewings, which are made up of various connected series of affirmations, must have a similar intellectual character, and so still more with respect to our acts of induction, deduction, intuition, or of necessary truth and perception of truth, beauty, and goodness as such.

It is, however, enough for our purpose to note the difference of kind between all our lower, merely sensitive powers, and our power of forming abstract ideas. For with this latter power all, even the lowest, are evidently endowed, since they all speak. In saying, then, that men speak while animals are dumb, what was meant was, not that men emit vocal, articulate sounds which animals do not, but that men, either by sounds or gestures, signify universal, objective, abstract ideas, which are poles asunder from all our powers of feeling. They belong to a different category, and a nature which has this power of abstraction is separated from a nature which has not this power by a necessary difference of kind. This difference, therefore, constitutes a naturally impassable *limit to evolution*, because feeling and intellect are themselves different in nature, and progress and develop along different, and, as we have seen, in some respects, diverging roads.

But not a few persons will perhaps reply by saying that certain animals are highly intelligent, and that most of the higher kinds at the least know their friends and enemies, and that dogs show the most disinterested love and affection, also gratitude, and sometimes even a feeling of shame. It may be said, therefore, that animals "know" very much what men "know," and that, though they have not *words* wherewith to express their feelings and their knowledge, they nevertheless possess the corresponding ideas.

Now it would be unjust as well as absurd to deny the admirable and lovable endowments of the animal world. That man must have a very defective nature who feels no affection for his faithful brute companion. But we must not let affection mislead us any more than hatred, and in considering the higher faculties of dogs, monkeys, elephants, and such highly endowed creatures, there are four rules which should be borne carefully in mind.

(1) The first is, not to be misled by affection or its opposite. The owners of pets are frequently tempted to read into the actions of such animals meanings for which there is no real evidence, and to mistake for observations imperfect inferences due to partiality.

(2) The second rule is, to guard against the constant tendency by which we are beset, to judge everything by our own standard, and, without reason, to imagine human qualities in things not human. This is the well-known error spoken of as anthropo-



morphism, against which we are so often warned by the enemies of all religion.

(3) The third rule is, not to suppose the existence of unknown causes, when known causes suffice to explain observed effects. This is the old well-known rule, called Occam's razor: *Entia non sunt multiplicanda præter necessitatem*.

(4) The fourth rule is, to bear in mind that if any cause, did it exist, would produce certain effects, then the absence of such effects argues the non-existence of such cause.

Now, of course, animals have intelligence, understanding, and knowledge, in the loose sense in which these terms are popularly used about them. In a sense they have "memories," "anticipations," "inferences," "a certain power of language," etc. In a way they recognize "classes of objects," seek to follow up and rest on the pleasurable and to avoid the painful, and, in a sense, "take means to attain decided ends." What is the true nature of these powers of theirs?

Of course, we cannot, while remaining men, perfectly appreciate what the mental state of an animal may be, but we can go a long way towards doing so because we are animals ourselves. Man and the higher animals have similar sense organs and similar feelings, imaginations, and emotions; and evidently a similar power exists in both of associating their feelings in groups and groups of groups, and co-ordinating actions in response to such feelings.<sup>1</sup> Now the author does not of a moment hesitate to affirm that there is no known action of any brute animal which cannot be fully explained by its possession of those merely sensitive powers, and the exercise of those co-ordinated actions directed to avoid pain and follow up pleasure, which we ourselves possess and exercise amongst our lower faculties, and which we know may act without the co-operation of the rational intelligence, because they so operate in our own case.

True intellectual intelligence, therefore, is not (according to our third rule) to be asserted of animals, because their actions can be explained without it by the help of that simple sensitivity, which we know, from the study of their anatomy and physiology, they do possess.

But our fourth rule absolutely compels us to deny real intelli-

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<sup>1</sup> The late learned Professor Green, of Oxford, has observed: "We must remember that there is no reason to suppose, because the burnt dog shuns the fire, that he perceives any relation between it and the pain of being burnt. A sequence of one feeling upon another is but a consciousness of relation between them, much less of relation between facts which they represent. The dog's conduct may be accounted for by the simple sequence of an imagination of pain upon a visual sensation, resembling one which actual pain has previously followed. . . . Till dogs can talk, what data have we on which to found another explanation?"

gence to brutes. For if animals had capacities similar to our higher mental powers, they would quickly make us unmistakably aware that such was the case. In order to do this they need not speak. It would be quite enough if they showed us by a language of gesture—similar to that used by the deaf and dumb in reciting the Lord's Prayer, or to that used in certain ballets—that they really conceived abstract ideas. The absence of any such unequivocal sign, in spite of the many needs and the many exciting causes likely to elicit it, eloquently proclaims their essentially un-intellectual condition.

To the assertion, then, that the distinction between men and animals is a difference in the external signs of their internal states, we reply, "That, indeed, is just it!" The difference in the *signs* corresponds with an essential internal difference of kind in the things *signified*. If animals *had* ideas, such ideas would be sure to clothe themselves in the language of gesture, if not in speech. Bodily signs are necessary for the mental activity of even the very highest human intelligence; certainly, then, they would also be necessary for intelligence of a lower kind, did such exist.

Thus the so-called "intelligence, understanding, and knowledge" of animals are not really true intelligence, understanding, and knowledge. They are but sensuous simulations of such intellectual faculties.

The distinctness of the human mind from brute intelligence will be clearly seen if we consider our own perceptions of the *qualities* of objects. A dog may feel fear of another dog which is strong and courageous, but it will have no idea of "courage" or "courageousness" in the abstract. Many animals, even insects, will distinguish clearly between objects differently colored—the white from the blue, and the red from the yellow—but no animal knows "whiteness" or "blueness," and still less does he know the higher abstraction, "color." Yet every savage who rewards a youth of his tribe for an act of courage, or who smears his body with pigments, shows that these abstract ideas are familiar to him. In a word, no animal knows "kinds" or "classes," or "properties," or "qualities," *as such*, but all these are known to every sane human being.

A yet more striking distinction is afforded by that special quality or property we denominate "goodness." To see the meaning of the word "good," let us consider some simple sentence in which it is employed, *e.g.*, such as "gratitude is a good thing." What does the word here mean? Gratitude certainly gives pleasure, promotes happiness, and conduces to prosperity. But our idea of "goodness" is something essentially different from the ideas, "pleasure," "happiness," and "prosperity." The idea of a being

who sacrifices all these excellent things in order to perform what he deems an act of duty, is the idea of a very good being, but not necessarily of a happy one. The idea of "goodness" is generally accompanied by a feeling of complacency, but it needs not be so. Moral feeling is a sort of *rational instinct*, and its existence is necessary to prove a perfect man; but moral truth may be at the same time both clearly perceived and *hated*. Moreover, the goodness of men's actions is estimated, as far as possible, not by their results, but by their *motives*.

But the radical distinctness of the idea of goodness from every other conception may be shown by any analysis of precepts we may choose to make. Let us suppose, for example, that any one is told "he should pay his tailor," and the truth of the saying is disputed; how should we set about trying to convince him of its truth? Obviously, by putting forward some more elementary and general moral precept, which we anticipate will be assented to at once; as that "every man is bound to pay his just debts." And if this is again disputed, we might say, "A man is bound to satisfy obligations he has voluntarily incurred," and so on. In each step of such explanation there must be some declaration as to duty, until we come to some assertion of the kind the truth of which is admitted at once as self-evident. As Mr. Arthur Balfour has said, "*The general propositions which really lie at the root of any ethical system must themselves be ethical.*" In other words, we cannot prove any truths concerning duty by appealing to considerations into which the idea of duty does not enter. Since, then, every inculcation of duty depends, if not self-evident, upon some anterior and more fundamental ethical precept, it is clear that no such perception could ever have been evolved from beings devoid of such perceptions, and incapable of emitting any ethical judgment whatever, as all brute animals are. A power of ethical perception could evidently never have been evolved from any creature which, however it may be affected by feelings of affection, timidity, or even shame, was unable to apprehend self-evident ethical judgments of any kind whatever.

The human mind, and the human mind only, has the power of making an abstract quality a distinct object of thought and of holding that abstraction up opposite the mind for examination.

Thus a most distinct and broad limit, a difference not of degree but of kind, divides men from all, even the highest brutes. There is a limit to evolution between human and merely animal nature, and something altogether new to this planet—a new departure—must have taken place with the first coming of man upon it.

It is this consequence which makes many persons so unwilling to admit the truth of such a distinction of kind, for they feel they

cannot imagine any such origin of man. And of course they cannot imagine it because no one can imagine anything of which he has had no sort of previous experience, and we certainly have never had actual experience of any such new departure. But our inability to *imagine* it is no ground whatever for our not *believing* it, if reason gives us good evidence in its favor. We continually and very reasonably form convictions about things we are quite unable to imagine. Thus no one can imagine his own power or act of sight, or the validity of the argument he logically deduces from true premises, but he would not be exceptionally acute, but exceptionally foolish, if on that account he doubted about such things.

But the essence of humanity is human reason acting as has been here described. Its essence is not man's bodily shape, which is undoubtedly that of a sort of ape. If Swift's tale about the Houyhnhnms and Yahoos was true, it would be horse-shaped Houyhnhnms who would be the true men and the man-shaped Yahoos the real brutes.

We have never seen the origin of any new species, and we cannot therefore imagine the origin of man. But it does not follow that had we witnessed his origin we should have been conscious of any interruption of the orderly course of nature. We should have been aware of a new phenomenon, but not necessarily of anything whatever miraculous. If the twin progeny of some ape-like animal, more human than any the remains of which have yet been found, had infused into it the idea of "being," the power of perceiving objects as of certain classes and of recognizing their qualities, such creatures (though as yet unable to articulate, and only able in the most rudimentary way to give intelligent bodily expression to their incipient ideas) would be at once truly and essentially human.

Those persons, then, are very foolish who refuse to recognize the distinctness of kind which exists between men and brutes through fear that by such recognition they should be committed to certain theological doctrines. That this is an utter mistake is plain from the fact that the greatest of all philosophers—Aristotle—fully recognized this distinction. Yet Aristotle was a Pagan, who cannot confidently be affirmed to have been even a true theist. No one surely, then, from fear of theology need hesitate to accept that view about man which was held by Aristotle.

But if rational beings may have arisen in the world thus unobtrusively, it may well be on the other hand that the Miocene chip-pers of flints, however well endowed with sense-perceptions and practical imaginations of means adapted to ends, were destitute of the idea of "Being," of the powers of analysis and synthesis, and

of the power of recognizing classes as such—in a word, may have been but brutes. Their chipping actions need have been nothing more than a further extension of those sensitive faculties by which brutes pursue an escaping prey, jump on mounds, or climb to reach what is out of reach, prepare stakes for their dam, as does the beaver, or employ a stone to crack a hard nut, as does that common ring-tailed monkey, the sapajou—actions such as those before described as being performed to complete a harmony which the imagination craves.

Man differs from all mere animals by his power of mental abstraction, which constitutes his distinguishing privilege and dignity. The products of this power, then, are by no means, as some persons suppose, matters to be slightly esteemed or even despised as "*mere* abstractions," but they are amongst the loftiest products of the human intellect. Human language is made up of abstractions, nor can the ploughboy any more than the sage refrain from using abstract ideas, though such ideas are of course much fewer and less refined in the ploughboy than they are in the sage. In "abstraction," lies everything in the intellectual order which is essentially human, and everything human which is essentially intellectual is abstract.

This consideration alone may suffice to show what studies are the best suited to develop the higher powers of the human mind and furnish it with fit intellectual food. Evidently it cannot be those studies which are most immersed in the material and concrete—such as are, in varying degrees, the different physical sciences—but those which deal with language and pure abstractions, such as classics and mathematics.

But if our power of intellectual abstraction is thus relatively lofty compared with our lower and animal powers, may there be other powers and another nature higher still?

Certainly we can conceive of a mental nature endowed with a much higher power—a power different from human reason by a difference not of degree nor of kind. It is, in fact, owing to the limitation of our faculties that we are obliged, in order explicitly to recognize the essential nature of any object, to ideally decompose and reconstruct it. But we can conceive of a nature of a higher order, able by one single intellectual act to comprehend that which we can only attain to by the complex process of (1) impressions on our sensitivity; (2) perception; (3); abstraction; and (4) recomposition. A nature endowed with such a power as this, would be higher than human nature, as human nature is higher than mere animal nature. Such a difference as this would contribute yet another limit to evolution—a limit forever rendering the evolution of man into a creature of such a lofty intellectual nature an impossibility.

This limit, however, has little practical interest for us compared with that lower one which has occupied us almost exclusively here,—namely, the limit between men and brutes. This limit is marked by the possession or non-possession of the power of speech, and the power of speech makes a difference not of degree but of kind, because it serves to make known abstract ideas, and not merely to excite feelings sympathetic or otherwise.

If then all that is here urged is not fundamentally mistaken, the doctrine that man is nothing more than an evolved ape—which is the Darwinian doctrine—is a monstrous error. It is moreover an error which carries with it political and social consequences of the most momentous nature. No error can be greater or more fatal than that of supposing that philosophical, speculative views do not carry with them far-reaching and inevitable practical consequences. A generation, itself nurtured in the noble traditions which have descended to us from the days of Athenian culture, has tastes and sympathies due to that nurture, which it is but too apt to suppose must be permanent acquisitions which no subsequent intellectual changes can possibly destroy or degrade, but the history of mankind teaches us a very different lesson. The world is sown broadcast with the traces of civilizations which have passed away, and is scarred over by heroes made through the repeated triumphs of brutality over refinement.

But some of our readers may be inclined to ask, if the doctrine of man's evolution is a mere dream, how is it that so many men, eminent in physical science, well skilled in anatomy and learned geologists, are blind to its absurdity? The answer to this question is that the inquiry as to man's origin is one not of physical science but of philosophy, and that these fields of mental activity are hardly ever cultivated by the same persons with anything like the same care and attention. One or the other is neglected, avowedly or otherwise. Thus it comes about that men may be very distinguished for their knowledge of physical science, and yet be ignorant about the operations of their own minds and the nature of the intellectual acts they daily and hourly perform. Such is conspicuously the case in the present instance. The Darwinian doctrine is supported by men, and only by men, who are victims of the fundamental error which confounds "ideas" with "faint revivals of past feelings," and "association" with "inference." It is owing to this that no Darwinian, and least of all Darwin himself, has ever ventured to really grapple with the essence of the question.

The Darwinian view of man's origin is one due not to knowledge, but to the want of knowledge of what is most important respecting the question. It is not anatomy and zoology which have to decide as to man's place in nature, and no real progress can be made

in the investigation as to man's origin except by those who understand what man is now. The comprehension of this, and especially of the true nature of human language, will, we confidently believe, amply suffice to make plain the existence of at least one necessary and inevitable limit to evolution.

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### SOCIALISM.

**S**Ocialism, in its technical sense, may be defined as that ethical theory which aims at the amelioration of man's social condition through community of goods, and co-operation in labor. It traces nearly all the ills of society to individual ownership, and to isolated individual effort, in the production and the distribution of the fruit of man's toil, and seeks to remedy them, by the removal of these two, as it declares, prolific sources of human misery. It has, thus, a twofold bearing, the one, theoretical, which finds its expression in Communism; the other, practical, which is called Co-operation.

Communism denies the right of private ownership, and places the dominion of external goods exclusively in the community, or in the government, as the representative of the community. A distinguished modern communist has declared ownership—individual ownership—to be theft, theft from the State. Thus, under this system, people might use external goods, but not own them, except in the sense in which a citizen of the United States is said to own the National Park, or the White House, a light-house, a revenue cutter, or a government ambulance. Some communists, from Plato to the Oneida Perfectionists, have extended this community of goods even to wives and children, whom they have regarded as property. The transfer of private property to the State, advanced communists think, should be effected by revolution. The more moderate advocate its purchase by the State, or, its gradual absorption by legislation. Others, recognizing the impracticability of these methods, would vest it in voluntary associations, based on community of goods, and of labor, till the whole property and industrial energy of the nation would be absorbed by them.

Communism is not a thing of recent date. It was defended in theory, and reduced to practice, long before the Christian era. It was advocated by Plato in his *Republic*, and incorporated by Lycurgus into his system of laws. In *The Republic* it is provided that children be taken away from their parents, and nurtured under the supervision of the State, lest their tender minds be biased by "the blasphemous nonsense with which mothers fool the manhood out of them." Education, marriage, the number of births, the occupations of the citizens, were, according to this philosopher, to be controlled by the State. The most perfect equality of conditions and careers was to be preserved. Women were to have similar training with the men. The inequalities and rivalries between rich and poor were to cease, for all were to be provided for by the State. (Book iv., p. 249, Joweth's translation.)

The Essenes, a Jewish sect that lasted from the second century before Christ, till the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, were practical communists, and we can trace a communistic tradition from the Manicheans of the third century, through different sects, to the Cathari, in the thirteenth, and the Anabaptists, in the sixteenth. Doctrinal errors, false theories of asceticism, the love of plunder, the oppression of the poor by the rich, combined in each succeeding age to make it more or less popular, and, sometimes, dangerous. "Brethren," said Muntzer, the prophet and leader of the Anabaptists, "we are all children of Adam; God is our father. And see what the great have done! They have, the wretches, remade the work of God, and created titles, privileges, and distinctions. They eat white bread, we have rough labor; they have fine clothing, we have rags. Does not the earth belong to all?—is it not our common inheritance? And they have taken it from us! When did we renounce the inheritance of our Father? Let them show us the deed of resignation. It does not exist. You rich ones of the time, who keep us in bondage, who have pillaged, oppressed, and mutilated us, restore to us our freedom, give us back our bread. It is not as men only that we now demand back what you have stolen from us, but as Christians. In the infancy of the Gospel, the Apostles divided with their brethren in Jesus Christ the money which was laid at their feet; give us back the Apostles' means, which you unjustly detain. Unhappy flock of Christ, how long will you groan in oppression, under the rod of government?" (Audin's *Luther*, vol. i., p. 417.) On another occasion he told his hearers: "Under God's heaven, every creature ought to be free, all property common,—air and water, fish and fowl, herbs and rocks." (Ibid., vol. ii., p. 137.)

During the two years in which he sought to enforce these doctrines by the sword, a hundred thousand men fell in battle, seven



cities were dismantled, a thousand religious houses razed to the ground, three hundred churches burnt, and immense treasures of paintings, sculpture, stained glass, and engravings destroyed. (Ibid.) But, every one knows how that war ended; how the unhappy peasants were slaughtered like sheep by the allied nobles of Germany, at Frankenhäusen, and their leader beheaded. Luther, who had encouraged them to revolt, abandoned them, called on the nobles to crush them, and boasted of having done so. "For it is I," said he, "who have shed it (their blood) by God's commands, and whoever has fallen in this war, has lost body and soul, and is the prey of Satan." "I have done right," he adds, in another place, "in recommending against such caitiffs ruin, extermination, and death." "At the day of judgment," says Cochlous, "Muntzer and his peasants will cry before God and his angels, 'Vengeance on Luther!'"

About the middle of the last century, J. J. Rousseau, whilst living as a Sybarite, bewailed the miseries the division of the soil had entailed on humanity. During the Revolution, Babeuf and others taught, that all men had equal rights in all property, and in the enjoyment of it; that every exclusive appropriation of the soil, or of a branch of industry, was a crime; that all persons should receive the same kind and degree of education; that the functions of the government should be, to superintend the division of labor, the collecting of the produce in public stores, and the distribution of it to communities and individuals. (*Cyclop. Amer.*) Babeuf's later followers abrogated marriage, and wished all towns destroyed as the natural hot-beds of tyranny. Fourier, Louis Blanc, Proudhon, and other recent socialistic writers, have but elaborated most of these theses, with, however, some important modifications.

There are, at present, in the United States, eight communistic societies, divided into seventy-two separate communities, with about 5000 members, including children. The Shakers, established here in 1780, have fifty-eight of these communities. The Oneida Perfectionists, established in 1848, are the only society of strictly American origin. The others are English, French, or German.

The fundamental error of socialism, and the chief reason why it has been condemned by the Church, is, its denial of private dominion, or ownership. One would suppose that the belief and practice of all ages and nations would have made this right clear to all men. But we live in a time when the most obvious truths have lost their hold on the minds of thousands, not only among the ignorant, but even among those who are called educated. And this must be our excuse for undertaking to prove, before proceeding farther, that our farms, our houses, our furniture, our money,

our securities, and even the clothes we wear, belong to us individually, and not to the States of our Federal Union, nor to the government of the United States.

Dominion is generally defined, "the right to have, and to hold, and dispose of a thing as one's own, in any way not forbidden by law, or compact."

Now, how did individuals acquire this right in regard to external goods? Did they get it from the State? Certainly not. They had it before any State was formed. Was it derived from the compacts made between individuals, families, and classes of men, before civil society was organized? No, for these compacts suppose this right in those who made them. The very first man knew and felt that he had a right to live, and, therefore, a right to the means of living. His innate desire, too, of happiness, made him see and feel that he had a right, not only to the absolute necessities of life, but to its rational enjoyments, also. But, how could he have enjoyed, or even supported life, without the right to own external goods? This, indeed, proves, directly, his right to the use only of these goods, but, indirectly, it proves his exclusive right to them, when he thinks this necessary to insure their proper use. He had the right to own a home, and the movable goods that belong to it, and a portion of the soil, if he deemed its occupation necessary, to secure for himself and his family the necessities, or the comforts of life, and this, not only because "his right there was none to dispute," but because having occupied these things for the reasons and with the purpose just mentioned no one *could* have disputed it, even had there been any one to attempt to do so. Thus, he would have occupied and improved the soil, at the expense of his time and his labor, without interfering with the right of others to do as he had done, and reason dictates that a man has a right to the fruit of his own toil. Whether our first parent actually occupied a farm or not, is uncertain, though it may be safely presumed that he did, since we read in Genesis that "the Lord God sent him out of the paradise of pleasure, to till the earth from which he was taken."

For a long time, men's possessions were limited chiefly to flocks and herds and movable goods generally. To hold them in the peace and security necessary to insure their proper use, certain compacts were entered into by the owners, similar to those existing between the ranchmen on our western plains. Abraham and Lot, though just men, could not dwell together in peace. "Abraham, therefore, said to Lot: Let there be no quarrel, I beseech thee, between me and thee, and between my herdsmen and thy herdsmen; for we are brethren. Behold, the whole land is before thee; depart from me, I pray thee; if thou wilt go to the left hand, I will take the

right ; if thou choose the right hand, I will pass to the left." (Gen. 13 : 8-9.) But as families multiplied, and as particular districts became more thickly settled, farms succeeded to ranges ; villages, towns and cities sprang up ; mining, manufacturing, and commercial centres were created ; different kinds of proprietorship were established, and, *pari passu*, local, municipal, and state governments were organized, and laws enacted to protect and foster them, and the conditions determined under which property could be held, conveyed, and bequeathed. The people did not transfer to those governments their individual possessions. On the contrary, the governments were organized chiefly to protect and regulate private property by the authority and sanction of civil laws, or, in other words, the power of the communities was invoked to protect each individual member in what he had justly acquired. Individual ownership was thus established in accordance with reason and the law of nature, and it has been sanctioned, regulated and protected by the civil law of every nation, down to the present time.

The divine law, too, everywhere recognizes it. Cain was a husbandman, and Abel a shepherd, and the latter offered to the Lord "of the firstlings of his flock, and of their fat. And the Lord had respect to Abel, and to his offering." Would this offering have been acceptable, if ownership were theft ? The Patriarchs, and many other eminent personages mentioned in the Old Testament, were distinguished for their wealth as well as for their piety. Abraham paid Ephron four hundred sicles of silver for the field in which he buried Tara (Gen. 23). Joseph, too, we read, bought all the land of Egypt, every man selling his possessions. The Decalogue forbade men to steal, or even covet their neighbors' goods. These prohibitions were reiterated and emphasized under the new dispensation. Salvation came to the house of Zacheus, though he did not renounce his wealth. "But Zacheus standing said to the Lord : Behold, Lord, the half of my goods I give to the poor ; and, if I have wronged any man of anything, I restore him fourfold." Jesus said to him, "This day is salvation come to this house." (Luke 19, v. 8-9.)

God, it is true, did not make the division of goods, such as has existed from the beginning, imperative on the human family. "The earth he hath given unto the children of men," but he did not say how it was to be held or enjoyed by them, whether individually, or in common. This he left to their own reason to determine. And they did determine it, in the manner already described.

When society was organized, it had nothing to determine respecting this matter. It had been already settled. All society, or governments, could do, was to recognize what individuals or individual families had done ; to regulate, protect, and develop it. This,

and no more, they have continued to do, up to the present time. They did not introduce individual ownership; they could not and cannot destroy it.

An institution that had its origin in the needs of human nature, that has been sanctioned, upheld, and defended in all times, in all places, by every class of men, by the individual conscience, by public opinion, by legislatures, by courts of law, by the Church, by the State, in a word by every recognized judge of human acts and of human conduct, must be founded in natural justice, must be indispensable to the well-being of society, and the rights acquired under it should be held sacred by all men. No doubt these rights have been much abused in the lapse of ages. They are abused still in many places. But this abuse is no proof that they have ceased to exist, or that, though existing, they should be set aside. What earthly good, what gift of God is there that has not been abused? Do not the great majority of men abuse their natural freedom? Do they not employ health, talents, and life to offend, instead of to serve their Maker? Do not thousands in every land abuse the civil liberty they enjoy, not only by neglecting their civic duties, but by positive offences against law? The common sense of mankind dictates that the remedy for this abuse is not to deprive men of liberty, but to prevent the misuse of it by the ordinary means of reform, or where this cannot be done to punish it.

Community of goods is a thing not evil in itself and under all circumstances. Some writers think that if man had continued in the state of original innocence, individual ownership would not have been established. It existed among the first Christians at Jerusalem, and it has been practiced from the earliest times by the Religious Orders of the Church. This could not have been the case if it were in itself wrong.

From these two facts, however, no argument can be deduced in favor of Communism. It is not to be wondered at that community of goods should have existed among a people who had seen our Saviour, who had witnessed His poverty and heard the woes He had pronounced on the rich. They adopted it, however, not as of necessity or of precept, but voluntarily, and as a free exercise of detachment from the things of this world, which are the occasion of much temptation and of many sins to all classes of persons. This is evident from St. Peter's question to Ananias: "Ananias, why hath Satan tempted thy heart that thou shouldst lie to the Holy Ghost, and by fraud keep part of the price of the land? Whilst it remained did it not remain to thee, and after it was sold was it not in thy power?" (Acts 5 c.) It was not then like Communism, intended to become the basis of a political system; it did

not extend beyond Jerusalem, and even there it soon ceased altogether.

Religious Orders, too, are voluntary associations, whose members seek first their own spiritual perfection, and next, the spiritual and temporal good of their neighbors. Their aim is not to remodel but aid society as it is, and they do so by ways that are in perfect harmony with existing institutions. They instruct the ignorant, they minister to the poor and sick, they preach the Gospel in Christian and in Pagan lands. And that they may be able to discharge these duties with all the perfection possible in our weak nature, their members give up all personal claims to property, hold all things in common and obey a common rule, the wisdom of which has been tested by the experience of ages and approved by the most enlightened tribunal on earth, that of the Roman Pontiff. They must be persons of exceptional virtue, a virtue not to be looked for, and in point of fact never found, in the large number of men necessary to administer the civil affairs of a nation, much less in the majority of its people. They are admitted to membership only after long and mature deliberation on their own part, and when their superiors are satisfied beyond reasonable doubt of their fitness for the kind of life they are to lead and the works in which they are to be engaged. They practice community of goods without injury to others; they do it not for any material profit to be derived from it, but from the highest spiritual motives that can influence mortals. Its advantages, then, in the Religious Orders can give no assurance whatever of its success on a national scale and under widely different circumstances.

Community of goods is wrong only when made the basis of a political system as explained and defended by communists. Thus understood, there is nothing to recommend and every reason to condemn it. It denies the right of private property sanctioned by the law of nature, and recognized and protected by the laws and customs of all nations. It aims not merely at the relief of the poor and needy, but would take from the well-to-do what they have justly inherited, and the fruit of their toil and their savings, for the benefit of those who have no claim to either that has ever yet been recognized by any civilized people. The poor, indeed, have claims on individuals and on society that cannot be disregarded with impunity, but is it not repugnant to common sense to say that those who are not in need have a right to be made better off at the expense of others more industrious or more fortunate than they?

Then, such a system is utterly impracticable. If compensation were to be made to individual owners for what would be taken from them, where could the means of doing so be found? What government could pay for all the possessions of its citizens. To

attempt to do so by taxation would simply be to steal what they have by little and little.

And were the levelling process called for by Communism attempted by force and without compensation, is it to be supposed that any people would submit to it without rebellion and bloodshed? Would, for instance, the property-holders of this country, its farmers, merchants, manufacturers, bankers, storekeepers, and well-to-do mechanics and laborers, hand over their accumulated savings to a state or federal commune without a struggle, and do so for the benefit of men to whom they hold themselves under no obligations, and very many of whom are as great strangers to honest labor as the lilies of the field, and for a theory which, when reduced to practice in private corporations, has, thus far, almost always proved fallacious? They would perish first in their defence.

Nor would their experience of the administration of our public affairs be calculated to alter or modify their determination in this respect. Look at our city, state, and federal governments! If they are not greatly belied they are about the most corrupt in the world. In these bodies poor men grow rich, and the rich become richer, and everything is for sale but public virtue. No legislation, however just or necessary, can be obtained from them without paying for it in proportion to its importance, and they hardly give bread to the orphan without first taking a slice of it for themselves. Their schemes to enrich themselves by "jobs" and appropriations and blackmailing laws and ordinances, are so numerous and ingenious that men who have anything to be taxed look forward to their meeting with apprehension and experience a sense of relief when they separate and the members return to their homes. And what is said of the legislative is charged in no slight measure against nearly every other department of government in this country.

Now, if to these bodies were given control of the *entire* property, capital, and industry of the country, what would be the result? This much only I would venture to predict. They would gracefully accept the responsibility. They would administer their trust to the great relief of the former owners, and allow them and others the inestimable privilege of adding to it at pleasure. Politics would become the most popular of all pursuits, and the number of men anxious to serve their country in public offices would be greater than ever.

And yet these men have no ordinary incentives to fair dealing and fidelity in the positions they occupy. They are the chosen representatives of a free, intelligent, virtuous, and generous people. They have been called to serve a country the noblest the sun shines upon, and to uphold a Constitution which more than any other

framed by men recognizes the dignity of human nature. They live in what the down-trodden of other lands are accustomed to consider a political paradise, opened by the mercy of God and the merits of its founders to the oppressed of all nations. But, more than all this, they are Christians. They were nursed by Christian mothers? In youth they were instructed in the principles of right and wrong, read their Bible, and went to Sunday-school. They grew up under the influence of Christian teaching, and whether they will it or no, are still more or less under its influence, and obliged to respect the public sentiment of a people deeply penetrated by Christian ideas. But were they atheists, recognizing no moral law, without fear of hell or hope of heaven, men, in a word, such as modern Communism would bring to the management of public affairs, is it not safe to presume that their official debasement would be tenfold greater than it is?

And were Communism forced on a nation by a successful revolution, it could not last. It would make all equal, for a time, in the possession of external goods, but they would hold them only at the pleasure of the government. It would require all to work, but it would not allow each one to choose the trade or business to which he felt most inclined, and for which he thought himself best fitted. All this would be settled by the Commune, as would also the time to be devoted to work and the amount to be performed. It would, in a word, claim to regulate all the details of the public and private life of the citizen, for, as Mr. Nordoff says: "The fundamental principle of Communal life is the subordination of the individual's will to the general interest or the general will; practically this takes the shape of unquestioning obedience by the members towards the elders or chiefs of their society." "In some of these societies," says the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, "individual liberty is entirely suspended, the smallest minutiae of the daily life of their members is regulated from headquarters. A government which decides at what hour its subjects shall go to bed at night and rise in the morning, which prescribes the color, shape, and material of the dresses worn, the time of meals, the quality of the food consumed, the daily task apportioned to each member, which enforces a rule that each of its subjects shall leave every morning a notice stating at what exact spot he or she will be found during each hour of the day—a government which can do all these things will find no great difficulty in controlling the number of marriages and births. . . . If, however, Communism were adopted throughout a whole nation, the minute despotism which distinguishes the government of existing Communistic societies . . . would cease to be possible, or if, indeed, it should ever become possible, it would be through the careful suppression of individual liberty and through

the strenuous encouragement of everything which tended to destroy self-reliance on the part of the people, and to build up the absolute power of the State. A people who purchased material prosperity at the price of their liberty would strike a bad bargain." Clearly, the only supporters of such a system would be the politicians whom it would enrich, a few theorists and dreamers who might honestly believe in it, and the poor whose condition it had bettered. All others, those whom it had brought down to the common level, and those who had hoped to rise above it would work and pray for its overthrow. Their feelings towards the government would be such as men might cherish for the band of brigands that had despoiled them, and then condemned them to menial service within their camp. But they would be controlled. The agencies that had achieved the revolution would uphold it for a time. The public revenue would flow into the treasury to be applied and absorbed by the new *regime*. Vast sums would be placed "where they would do most good," an army of placemen and dependants would be organized, and all the machinery with which usurped authority knows how to protect itself would be called into play to defend the new order of things. But in vain; government officials and dependants are in the minority in every nation, and the majority in no nation could long tolerate the unmitigated despotism of a Commune. Even those whom it had lifted up from poverty would soon be made to see that the loss of liberty, political, social, domestic, and personal, and of even the power to rise above the condition of well-fed slaves, was too much to have paid for mere bread and butter. They would tire of toiling for a public good that gave them but food and shelter, whilst it enriched their rulers and would unite with those whom the Commune had despoiled to destroy it, even if obliged to accept in its stead, the less ignoble bondage of a military dictator or a Russian Czar.

The rights of property have varied in extent at different times and in different places. According to Sir Henry Maine, in his work on Ancient Law, says J. S. Mill, "the primitive idea of property was that it belonged to the family, not to the individual." The head of the family had the management, and was the person who really exercised the proprietary rights. As in other respects, so in this, he governed the family with nearly despotic power. But he was not free so to exercise his power as to defeat the co-proprietors of the other portions; he could not so dispose of the property as to deprive them of the joint enjoyment or of the succession. By the laws and customs of some nations, the property could not be alienated without the consent of the male children; in other cases the child could by law demand a division of the property and the assignment to him of his share, as in the parable



of the prodigal son. By the Jewish law, property in immovables was only a temporary concession; in the Sabbatical year it returned to the common stock to be redistributed. . . . In many countries of Asia the ownership was broken up among several distinct parties whose rights were determined rather by custom than by law. The government was part owner, having the right to a heavy rent. . . . The actual cultivators, or such of them as had been long settled on the land, had a right to retain possession; it was held unlawful to evict them while they paid the rent—a rent not in general fixed by agreement, but by the custom of the neighborhood. . . . There were also, in many cases, village communities consisting of the reputed descendants of the first settlers, who shared among themselves either the land or its produce. . . . In Mediæval Europe almost all land was held from the sovereign on tenure of service, either military or agricultural; and in Great Britain, even now, where the services, as well as the reserved rights of the sovereign, have long since fallen into disuse or been commuted for taxation, the theory of the law does not acknowledge absolute right of property in land in any individual. The fullest landed proprietor known to the law, the free-holder, is but a 'tenant' of the crown." "It is a fundamental principle of English law," says Chancellor Kent (*Amer. Law*, vol. iii., p. 501), "derived from the maxims of feudal times; that the king was the original proprietor or lord paramount of all the land in the kingdom, and the true and only source of title. In this country we have adopted the same principle and applied it to our republican government; and it is a settled and fundamental doctrine with us that all valid individual title to land within the United States is derived either from the grant of our own local governments or from that of the United States, or from the crown, or royal chartered governments established here prior to the revolution." But though the crown in England, and in this country the government, are the original sources of title, the individual owner, in both countries, it is needless to say, has exclusive right to what he possesses. From all this it is manifest that, whilst the right to private property has been recognized everywhere and always, war and conquest, and the usages of particular countries have at times more or less limited or extended, and sometimes destroyed it. Modifications of this kind will continue to be made, for, apart from what war may do, it is the duty of governments to introduce them when demanded by the general good.

The case of a people that had been "educated up" to a voluntary acceptance of the Commune, I do not stop to consider here, as no such case has ever arisen, or ever can arise, till men shall have changed their nature. A people may be talked out of their

liberties, out of their virtue, out of their faith, out of the kingdom of heaven; but the one thing out of which they cannot be talked is their property. It is said that the best way to tell whether a Yankee is really dead or not, when there is any doubt on the subject, is to try to pick his pocket. I am of opinion that the experiment would be equally successful in the case of a man of any other nationality. It is not alone the selfish or the greedy that refuse to "sell what they have and give to the poor," but those who have kept the commandments from their youth. This sacrifice is only for the few who desire to be perfect. Others are not required or expected to make it, and we may rest assured they will not make it, even to "have treasure in heaven."

The chief claim put forward by Communists in support of their system is that it would at once remove the evil of poverty, so widespread under the present order of things. Poverty, no doubt, is an evil, and to those who live without God in the world it must appear one of the greatest of evils. Nevertheless, it is a physical, not a moral evil, and less to be dreaded and deplored than the slightest moral evil existing in society. One venial sin, a lie, for instance, is a greater evil than all the poverty that has ever afflicted and ever will afflict the children of men. Frequently poverty is the consequence of moral evil, of sloth, culpable indiscretion, imprudence, or helplessness caused by guilty excess. In too many cases, however, it is incurred without blame, as far as men can know, on the part of those who suffer from it. But whatever may have occasioned it, it is in the power of society, as at present constituted, aided by religion, to prevent or relieve it. I say aided by religion, for no society not aided by the principles of Christian charity has ever been able, or ever will be able, to prevent or assuage the sufferings of the poor. Christian society did both, in the ages of faith, before the Reformation, and after the Reformation, the Revolution, had appropriated and squandered the treasures which Christian society had amassed, and destroyed the institutions it had founded to relieve, to console, to educate, and elevate the poor. And society would do so still were it not divorced from religion and from all the tender influences of the charity it inspires.

The poor provided for, as a truly Christian society knows how to provide for them, poverty is no longer unbearable; it is even consistent with true happiness. Thus viewed, it must be regarded as simply an inequality of condition, which, like other inequalities of the same kind, cannot be remedied in this life. Nor will they cease even with life: "For star differeth from star in glory; so, also, in the resurrection of the dead." All are not equally endowed with mental gifts. Some are talented, others are dull of

comprehension; some have genius, others are idiots; some are strong, others are weak of body; some enjoy vigorous health, others are sickly; some have "the fatal gift of beauty," others are ugly and deformed; to some is given length of days, the majority are taken before they reach mature manhood; the lot of many is cast on a sterile soil and in an inhospitable climate, others live in lands that "flow with milk and honey."

These inequalities are irremediable in our present condition. Why should there not also be inequality in the possession of money and other material goods? Communism, indeed, professes to be able to remove it, but it could not do so save at the expense of liberty and of justice. No evil, physical or moral, can be remedied by a wrong, for "a house divided against itself cannot stand." The Commune would give bread to the poor for a time, but would make them slaves. It would prevent the return of the idle and vicious poor to the state from which it had rescued them by the prison and the lash, and whilst it would give the rest little more of material goods than they could obtain under any well-ordered Christian government, it would condemn them to toil at the pleasure of a task-master, and deprive them of all the higher and sweeter enjoyments that make life worth living in any condition. "Not by bread alone doth man live."

But poverty, it should be borne in mind, is but a temporal evil. It is often hard to endure, but its shadow does not fall beyond the grave. After death it will have its compensation. "Blessed are they that mourn, for they shall be comforted." "Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of God." It is this thought that cheers and consoles God's poor under their privations, and gives them a peace of soul seldom experienced by the rich. The scientist, the agnostic, and the communist reject this view of poverty, but this is their fault or their misfortune. There are social problems, and poverty is one of them, that cannot be satisfactorily solved without the light of revelation, and all who seek so to solve them will have but their labor for their pains. The unbelieving poor can see no remedy for poverty but the fallacious one of Communism. "If I must have my heaven on earth," said one of them to M. Minghetti, "if I have no hope in another life, why should I be poor and leave to the rich all the happiness of life?" "You have taken from us the heavens with their joys and compensations," says the organ of the German Socialists to the Liberals of Berlin, "your science has destroyed the ancient faith. You have deprived us of the hope of hereafter, but we are determined at least to have the earth." Infidel statesmen and philanthropists will find it hard to refute this terrible logic. But this is not the logic of the Christian poor.

As to the other evils, moral or economic, charged by socialists against the present order of things, it must be said that they arise not from the system itself, but from the vices and defects of individuals, and that they would not be diminished, but aggravated, under the system which communists would inaugurate. It thus appears, says Mr. Mill—no unfriendly critic of Communism—that, as far as concerns the motives to exertion in the general body, communism has no advantage that cannot be reached under private property, while, as respects the managing heads, it is at a considerable disadvantage. It has also some disadvantages which seem to be inherent in it, through the necessity under which it lies of deciding, in a more or less arbitrary manner, questions which, on the present system, decide themselves, often badly enough, but spontaneously. It is a simple rule, and under certain respects a just one, to give equal payment to all who share in the work. But this is a very imperfect justice, unless the work is also apportioned equally. Now, the many different kinds of work required in every society are very unequal in hardness and unpleasantness. To measure these against one another, so as to make quality equivalent to quantity, is so difficult, that communists generally propose that all should work by turns at every kind of labor. But this involves an almost complete sacrifice of the economic advantages of the division of employments, advantages which are, indeed, frequently overestimated (or rather the counter-considerations are underestimated) by political economists, but which are, nevertheless, in the point of view of the productiveness of labor, very considerable, for the double reason that the co-operation of employment enables the work to distribute itself with some regard to the special capacities and qualifications of the worker, and also that every worker acquires greater skill and rapidity in one kind of work, by confining himself to it. The arrangement, therefore, which is deemed indispensable to a just distribution, would probably be a very considerable disadvantage in respect of production. But, further, it is a very imperfect standard of justice, to demand the same amount of work from every one. People have unequal capacities of work, both mentally and bodily, and what is a light task for one, is an insupportable burden to another. It is necessary, therefore, that there should be a dispensing power, an authority competent to grant exemptions from the ordinary amount of work, and to proportion tasks in some measure to capabilities. As long as there are lazy or selfish persons, who like better to be worked for by others than to work, there will be frequent attempts to obtain exemptions, by favor or fraud, and the frustration of these attempts will be an affair of considerable difficulty, and will, by no means, be always successful.

These inconveniences would be little felt, for some time, at least, in communities composed of select persons, earnestly desirous of the success of the experiment; but plans for the regeneration of society must consider average human beings, and not only them, but the large residuum of persons greatly below the average, in the personal and social virtues.

The squabbles and ill blood which could not fail to be engendered by the distribution of work, whenever such persons have to be dealt with, would be a great abatement from the harmony and unanimity which Communists hope would be found among the members of their association. That concord would, even in most fortunate circumstances, be much more liable to disturbance than Communists suppose. The institution provides that there shall be no quarrelling about material interests; individualism is excluded from that department of affairs. But there are other departments from which no institution can exclude it; there will still be rivalry for reputation, and for personal power. When selfish ambition is excluded from the field in which, with most men, it chiefly exercises itself, that of riches and pecuniary interest, it would betake itself with greater intensity to the domain still open to it, and we may expect that the struggles for pre-eminence, and for influence, in the management, would be of great bitterness, when the personal passions, diverted from their ordinary channel, are driven to seek their principal gratification in that other direction. For these various reasons, it is probable that a Communistic association would frequently fail to exhibit the attractive picture of mutual love, and unity of will and feeling, which we are often told by communists to expect, but would often be torn by dissension, and not unfrequently broken up.

It is needless to specify a number of other important questions, affecting the mode of employing the productive resources of the association, the conditions of social life, the relations of the body with other associations, etc., on which differences of opinion, often irreconcilable, would be likely to arise. But even the dissensions which might be expected, would be a far less evil to the prospects of humanity, than a delusive unanimity, produced by the prostration of all individual opinions and wishes, before the decree of the majority. The obstacles to human progression are always great, and require a concurrence of favorable circumstances to overcome them, but an indispensable condition of their being overcome is, that human nature should have freedom to expand spontaneously in various directions, both in thought and practice; that people should both think for themselves, and should not resign into the hands of rulers, whether acting in the name of a few or the majority, the business of thinking for them, and of prescribing how

they shall act. But, in communistic associations, private life would be brought, in a most unexampled degree, within the dominion of public authority, and there would be less scope for the development of individual character, and of individual preferences, than has hitherto existed among the citizens of any state belonging to the progressive branches of the human family. Already, in all societies, the compression of individuality, by the majority, is a great and growing evil; it would probably be much greater under Communism, except so far as might be in the power of individuals to set bounds to it, by selecting to belong to a community of persons like-minded to themselves. . . .

Apart from all considerations of justice to the present possessors—says the same writer—the very idea of conducting the whole industry of a country, by direction from a single centre, is so obviously chimerical, that nobody ventures to propose any mode in which it should be done; and it can hardly be doubted that, if the revolutionary socialists attained their immediate object, and actually had the whole property of the country at their disposal, they would find no other practicable mode of exercising their power over it, than that of dividing it into portions, each to be made over to the administration of a small socialist community. The problem of management, which we have seen to be so difficult even to a select population, well prepared beforehand, would be thrown down to be solved, as best it could, by aggregations united only by localities, or taken indiscriminately from the population, including all the malefactors, all the idlest and most vicious, the most incapable of steady industry, forethought, or self-control, and a majority who, though not equally degraded, are yet, in the opinion of socialists themselves, as far as regards the qualities essential for the success of socialism, profoundly demoralized by the existing state of society. It is saying but little to say that the introduction of socialism, under such conditions, could have no effect but disastrous failure, and its apostles could have only the consolation that the order of society, as it now exists, would have perished first, and all who benefit by it would be involved in the common ruin—a consolation which, to some of them, would probably be real, for, if appearances can be trusted, the animating principle of too many of the revolutionary socialists is hate, a very excusable hatred of existing evils, which would vent itself by putting an end to the present system at all costs, even to those who suffer by it, in the hope that out of chaos would arise a better Kosmos, and in the impatience of desperation respecting any more gradual improvement. They are unaware that chaos is the very most unfavorable position for setting out in the construction of a Kosmos, and that many ages of conflict, violence and tyrannical oppression of the weak by the strong must intervene. They know not that

they would plunge mankind into the state of nature so forcibly described by Hobbes (*Leviathan*, part i., c. 13), where every man is enemy to every man. "In such a condition," says Hobbes, "there is no place for industry, because the fruit thereof is uncertain, and, consequently, no culture of the earth, no navigation, no use of the commodities that may be imported by sea, no commodious building, no instruments of moving and removing such things as require much force, no knowledge of the face of the earth, no account of time, no arts, no letters, no society, and, which is worst of all, continual fear and danger of violent death; and the life of man solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short."

"If the poorest and most wretched members of a so-called civilized society are in as bad condition as every one would be in that worst form of barbarism produced by the dissolution of civilized life, it does not follow that the way to raise them would be to reduce all others to the same miserable state. On the contrary, it is only by the aid of the first who have risen, that so many others have escaped from the general lot, and it is only by the better organization of the same process that it may be hoped, in time, to succeed in raising the remainder." (*Fortnightly Review*.)

And here, it may be remarked, that whilst all the leaders of communism are agreed as to the necessity of destroying the present order of things, they differ widely as to what should be put in its place. In the *Democratic Social Review*, of February 17, 1879, Pauliat writes: "All socialists, we repeat, are at one in regard to the object of their organization, but there is no slight difference amongst them as to the means of attaining it. In this regard the systems proposed are almost innumerable, and there are as many schools as systems. If the leaders had their way, some of them would turn France into a vast convent, others would make it a barracks, and others still, ignoring the natural dispositions of men, would organize an impossible society from which working-men would be the first to escape."

The other division or variety of socialism is, as I have said, Cooperation, or, the association of a number of individuals or societies for mutual profit, whether in the purchase and distribution of commodities for consumption, or in the production of commodities, or in the borrowing or lending of capital, or for mutual defence or protection in commercial interests or trades. The societies founded on this idea in Europe and America may be divided into the following classes: 1. Societies of consumption, the object of which is to buy and sell to members alone, or to members and non-members, under differing conditions, the necessities of life or the raw materials of their industry. 2. Societies of production, the object of which is to sell the collective or individual work of the members. 3. Societies of credit, or banking, the object of which is to open

accounts of credit with their members, and advance to them loans for industrial purposes. 4. Societies of workmen, to protect the interests of the particular trades to which they belong. (*Encyc. Brit.*)

The principle of co-operation is also applied to many other societies, such as friendly societies, burial and building societies, and industrial partnership, or the admission of the whole body of laborers to a participation in the profits, by distributing among all who share in the work, in the form of a percentage on their earnings, the whole, or a fixed portion of the gains after a certain remuneration has been allowed to the capitalist.

To discuss the merits or demerits of these societies as business associations, would be foreign to my present purpose. I shall consider them in their moral bearing only. Thus viewed, they are, like all other societies, good or bad, according to the objects at which they aim, the means they make use of, and the character of the persons that compose them. The object of a particular society may be excellent, yet, if the means it employs to accomplish that object be unlawful, the society is to be condemned. And, even though the object be good, and the means used to attain it lawful, the bad character of the members would make it necessary for others to avoid it. For evil communications corrupt good morals. Christian men should not put themselves in intimate corporate relations with infidels and revolutionists, for any purpose whatever. Any and all of the above-mentioned societies, if organized by Communists, or in the interest of Communism, would be worthy of condemnation, because of the evil system of which they would be at once the outcome and the support. But if, recognizing the present order of things, they aimed only at the mutual profit of the members, they might be very meritorious organizations.

Workmen may associate to promote the interests of the trades to which they belong, but they cannot interfere with the natural or civil rights of others who do not belong to their associations. They may, for instance, as a rule, and where no undue advantage is taken of the actual necessities of employers, determine the rate of wages under which they will not work, but they cannot hinder others who are willing to work at lower rates. Every man has the right to hire his time and his labor on whatever terms he pleases, or even to give them for nothing, and he can be restricted in the exercise of this right only by public authority. But employers are not free to introduce bodies of cheap laborers into localities where usage has established the equity of certain rates of compensation. They can do so only when the demands of workmen have become extortionate or unreasonable, and even then they should pay the established rates to the new-comers. When bodies of men have chosen certain callings, they become, as a rule, unfitted for



others, and it is not just nor proper that the men whose interests they have promoted, should deprive them and their families of the means of a decent support. The wrong of such a proceeding would be greatly intensified if done in a place where workmen would be far removed from other fields of labor, and from which they could not move without considerable loss and expense.

Workmen can combine against the unjust encroachments of capitalists, but not against capitalists, as such. This would be absurd, as well as unjust. For, after all, what is capital? It is simply accumulated savings. It is the savings of men who have toiled at trades, in business, and in the professions, and which savings are now enjoyed by them, or by their heirs. The capitalist, then, has the same right to these savings that the day-laborer has to his hire. Then, how very little could the laborer accomplish without the aid of capital! It is capital that gives him land to till, mines to work, factories, workshops, mills, machinery, and so many other things that make it possible for him to find remunerative employment. And even when invested in banks or bonds, capital is of, at least, indirect advantage to him; for banks are now almost indispensable to trade and commerce; and governments and private corporations would find it very difficult to meet their obligations, and provide for necessary outlays without bonds. Capital, then, may be truly said to be the laborer's best friend. The relation between capital and labor is so intimate that employer and employed must necessarily stand or fall together. They should, then, cherish for each other, not distrust, but mutual forbearance and esteem. Workmen should care for the interests of their employers as for their own, and not take advantage of circumstances that may arise to enable them to enforce, by strikes and combinations, extortionate demands for wages. Employers, on the other hand, should not adopt a close and exacting policy towards workmen. They should not only not defraud them, in whole, or in part, of their hire, which is one of the sins that cry to heaven for vengeance; they should deal generously with them. They should give them such compensation for their labor as will enable them to live comfortably, in their station of life, to educate their children, and, with economy, to provide against such contingencies as sickness, accidents, or enforced idleness. They might establish for their benefit, reading rooms, libraries, gymnasiums, building associations, and insurance companies, of which they could avail themselves on easy terms. The larger corporations could do this, each for its own employ  s; the less powerful could combine for the same objects. Employers, in a word, should make all under them feel that they have their welfare at heart; they should study their wants, do all in their power to lighten their burdens, and give attentive consideration to every plan for improving the organization of labor,

that would be likely to better the condition of their employ es without injuriously affecting their own.

Were employers and workmen animated by these sentiments, the trade of socialistic demagogues would soon be gone, and the unnatural struggle between capital and labor, that now threatens the peace of all civilized nations and the stability of most of them, would soon come to an end. Christian society is based on justice and charity. Where these are respected, it will endure. Where they are disregarded, it must perish. "Unless the Lord keep the city, they labor in vain that keep it."

There is no danger, at least for long years to come, that Communism will become generally popular in this country, much less that it will change or seriously affect its institutions. The American people, it is true, have scant reverence for the past and its precedents. They have given Mormonism, Millerism, and Perfectionism a trial; and there is hardly a conceivable social or theological theory for which they are not prepared to do the same, on a small scale. But neither of two things can they ever, as a nation, be induced to do: they will become neither monks nor soldiers; or, as Mr. Pauliat would say, they will not suffer this country to be changed, either into "a vast convent," or "a vast barracks." Nor can such a change be forced upon them, for, those whose best interests depend on the present order of things, whose material condition Communism could not improve, and who have sense enough to see the intrinsic wickedness and folly of this system, will always be sufficiently numerous to prevent it. Their misapprehension of the real nature of Communism and the European Revolution generally, has led many of them to sympathize with both—a thing very much to be regretted—but, beyond this, Communism cannot influence them to any serious extent.

Nevertheless, there are very grave dangers to be apprehended from Communism in the United States. In nearly all our great commercial and manufacturing centres, there are societies, either avowedly communistic or largely under the influence of communistic ideas. They are thoroughly organized, and, in some instances, drilled and armed for the struggle they predict, and which, their leaders say, they are determined to precipitate, between capital and labor, in this country. All the elements of disorder amongst us are in sympathy with them. Our great and ever growing army of tramps would rally to their support, in any crisis that might arise. Property-owners and law-abiding citizens generally, regard them with ever-increasing alarm. To withdraw their workmen from their influence, and prevent their gaining absolute political control of our cities, large firms and railroad companies are dis-

tributing their factories and shops over the country districts of every State. But the influence these organizations wield at the polls, makes them courted or feared by our politicians, who cannot be induced to favor the legislation necessary to avert the evils they may cause at any moment. The destruction of even one of our large cities would be a fearful calamity, yet who will say that it may not be brought about any day by these societies, some of which seem to be animated by the very spirit of the Paris Commune? It is but a few years since Chicago seemed, for a time, to be at their mercy, and when, in all probability, it would have been laid in ashes but for the determination of the Irish regiment that had been called out to defend it. The danger for that and other cities is not over. It becomes every day more threatening; and, unless proper precautionary measures are taken to avert it, the consequences may be deplorable. Should the injury to life and property to be apprehended from these societies actually ensue, in a single instance, their suppression all over the country would follow as a matter of course. But prevention is better than cure. They should be permitted to meet and organize and theorize as much as they please, but they should not be permitted to arm and drill for the avowed purpose of forcing their theories on others at the point of the bayonet. Men so ignorant or so foolish as to dream of attempting anything of the kind here can be no better than lunatics, and lunatics should not be allowed the use of deadly weapons. Good citizens of the nationalities to which the members of these societies belong, should try to make them understand, that in this country liberty does not mean license, but the protection of every man in his rights, under the Constitution and the laws. The representatives of the press should keep the public informed of their proceedings, and remind them, from time to time, of what they must expect, should they proceed to acts of violence against property or persons. The municipal authorities in the cities where these organizations exist, should keep a close watch on their movements, especially in times of public excitement, so as to be prepared, if necessary, to meet force with force, should they attempt a disturbance of the peace. There is, in all our great cities, much inflammable material, moral as well as physical, and dangerous popular commotions may arise there, at any moment, from unforeseen and insignificant causes. In a country where we may be said to have, practically, no standing army, even a small body of thoroughly organized desperadoes can, at such times, do infinite mischief before they are put down, unless the authorities are prepared beforehand to repress them. What occurred so recently in Pittsburg and Chicago should be a warning to these and other cities to prepare for like contingencies in the future.

THE CHAPELLE DES MARTYRS, AND THE  
SEPTEMBER MASSACRE.

A RELIC OF THE REVOLUTION.

*Le Convent des Carmes et le Séminaire de Saint Sulpice pendant la Terreur.* Par Alexandre Sarel. Librairie Académique de Didier et Cie. Paris, 1863.

AN ancient building is one of the most effective means of keeping alive the memory of historical facts. Without some such tangible aids the most important events of the past are apt to become dim and unrealizable. Any one who has visited Rome will understand this. And every nation has places hallowed by some stirring association in its history which right-minded persons will do their utmost to maintain. The opposite disposition has been characterized by an opprobrious epithet which is current in every European language—*vandalism*. Unhappily, with all their taste in other things, the French have very frequently been guilty of vandalism. They entirely fail to see that the location of an edifice upon French soil does not morally constitute it French property, if in such edifice events have transpired in which the world at large takes an interest. The destruction of the library of the Louvre by "a mob that could not read," of the Hôtel de Ville, and the Tuileries, proves this iconoclastic spirit, a sort of frenzied desire to erase every record of the past. And it is certainly a sure way of doing so. If we recollect how difficult it is to recall events that transpired a millennium ago, even by these aids, what would it be if we had only imagination to trust to? If Battle Abbey were destroyed, how few would realize the Conqueror and his memorable landing. The Black Prince would be as misty as King Arthur but for his tomb, his sword, and his armor in Canterbury Cathedral. And in this country the Pilgrim fathers get more indistinct as time advances, requiring the Plymouth Rock and other relics to keep their memory green.

But the reverence which all Americans show for the ancient buildings of Europe is proof that they need no argument to convince them of the expediency of preserving them.

When, however, the mason and the builder are bent on demolishing such, there is a duty devolving upon the historian to gather, as it were, the green mosses from their hoary walls, to relate their story, and allow these "sermons in stones" once more to claim

attention. Especially, when their record is that of *martyrs*, not such as are enrolled in the scroll of fame, but the mightier multitude whose sufferings are unrecorded, "martyrs by the pang without the palm."

A very ancient edifice of this sort at Paris is now in process of demolition. In a year or two trim streets and brand new houses will completely obliterate it, and it will be fortunate if even its site is preserved by the name of a street. This is the Chapelle des Martyrs. It is not difficult to understand why this building has always been such an eyesore to the ultra-republicans of Paris. It was doomed to destruction by the Commune of 1871, and the successors of those fierce anarchists have clamored for its destruction ever since. They have a very strong argument in their favor in the increased value of the site for commercial purposes.

An excellent friend of ours, whose delight is in rescuing the records of such places from oblivion, a modern "Old Mortality," invited us to visit the partly demolished edifice. As we paced its gloomy corridors and its silent garden, and stood on the very spot made so memorable by an awful crime, we felt an irresistible desire to relate its story—the bare facts, which need no embellishment—a story of heroism in confronting death worthy of "the brave days of old."

One thing that struck us was the *utter untrustworthiness* of the brilliant account of the chamber in which the Girondists were confined, so well known to the reader of Lamartine's *Histoire des Girondins*. Soon the walls where Vergniaud and his companions traced their names and dying thoughts will be as utterly vanished as their own political dream. But let not any one credit Lamartine's narrative, for others besides ourselves, notably the late Monseigneur Cruice, Bishop of Marseilles, have detected his intentional errors.

The Chapelle des Martyrs is, as probably most persons know, the scene of the September massacre. It is situated within the inclosure of an edifice that played a most distinguished part in the first Revolution, the Carmelite Convent in the Rue de Vaugirard. The prison of the Abbaye and the Temple, around which Sir Archibald Alison has thrown so much interest, have entirely disappeared. But up to the spring of last year, when we saw it, the Carmelite Convent remained almost as perfect as it was in 1792. It had been in turn a monastery, a barrack, a public ball room, and a prison. Our friend, at the suggestion of the late eminent antiquary, M. Dupon, has devoted three years to investigating its true story, supported by historical documents. The bare narrative of the principal event which has made the place famous needs no embellishment, and completely refutes many unfounded

slanders with which some would-be historians have defamed the illustrious dead.

The monks of Mount Carmel first appeared in France in 1254. They had been persecuted in their Syrian rocks and followed St. Louis to Paris, where they took up their abode in a mean habitation. In 1309 Philip the Fair gave them a large house situated near the Place Maubert. Later on, in the reign of Philip the Tall, they purchased the buildings of Dace College, contiguous to their own. They reconstructed the monastery and added a church on the Rue St. Hilaire. Things went on unchanged until the end of the 16th century, when certain monks of the order reformed certain abuses that had crept into it. They changed the dress to white and brown, and wore sandals, which gave them the name of *Discalced Carmelites*. Two of the reformers were sent by Pope Paul V. with special recommendations to the Court of France. Marie de Medicis was Queen-Regent, and on the 23d September, 1610, a royal decree was issued, authorizing the Carmelites to establish themselves in Paris and Lyons. After some hesitation this decree was ratified by the Parliament.

A gentleman of great wealth, named Vivyan, bought a large house and garden for them, and the foundation of their church was laid by the Queen-Regent on the 20th July, 1615, with great pomp and ceremony. The edifice was consecrated seven years later.

The Carmelites greatly increased in numbers, and continued to build and acquire property, so that a few years after their installation we find their buildings covering a very large area. It was bounded on the east side by the Rue Cassette, on the west by the Rue du Renard, on the north by the Rue Cherche-Midi, and on the south by the Rue de Vaugirard. The rents accruing from their house property in the Rue du Renard amounted, in 1790, to 66,176 livres.

This large area included spacious gardens, which were *useful* as well as ornamental. The monks, in imitation of those of Chartreuse, employed their chemical skill in extracting from herbs and flowers a cunningly concocted liquor, known as *Eau des Carmes*, or *Eau de Melisse*. It is still to be had, though some people say it is but a ghost of its former self. The sale of this beverage was highly remunerative. One account in the archives of the Paris Hôtel de Ville sets the sum down at 3000 livres a month. They got a patent from the King to protect it. The monks bore an excellent reputation for charity and piety. They were renowned preachers, and had published many useful works. These details will enable the reader to appreciate sundry allusions in what follows.

We come now to the beginning of 1789 and the convocation of

the States General. The people of Paris had been invited to elect their own deputies, and, to facilitate matters, the city was divided into sixty districts. One of these was called the *District des Carmes*. The meeting of the electors was held in one of the halls of the monastery.

The famous *séance* of the *Jeu de Paume*, the dismissal of Necker, the speeches of Camille Desmoulins, the mistakes of the Prince de Lambese and his regiments, had stirred Paris into a violent frenzy. In various quarters the people rose and demanded the immediate reassembly of the electors. The result was the formation of the citizen guard of thirty thousand men, into whose hands the safety of the city was committed. This meeting took place July 13th, 1789. Next day the Bastile was destroyed.

At first the relations existing between the public politicians of the Quarter and the Carmelites were most amicable. On the 17th July, the Prior had been requested to act as treasurer of the contributions of the citizens. The church was placed at the service of the committee, and all the meetings were opened by the recitation of the "*Veni Creator*." Later on, September 17th, 1792, the monks offered a portion of their premises as a barrack. They were reconstructed at the cost of the community itself, who expended 32,260 livres, 21 sols.

But the monarchy was hastening to its fall, and while these events were transpiring the well-known discussion of February 13th, 1790, had taken place in the National Assembly. The following bill had passed in consequence.

"ART. I. The constitutional law of the kingdom *no longer recognizes the solemn monastic vows of persons of either sex*. In consequence all orders and congregations in which such vows are made and exist, *are, and shall remain, suppressed in France without power of being re-established in the future*.

"ART. II. All persons of either sex residing in monasteries and religious houses may leave them upon making declaration before the local municipality, and they will be provided with a suitable pension. Note shall be taken of all such houses where such persons as decline to profit by this present disposition still remain."

On the 5th May, the city was divided into *sections*, and from this period the *District des Carmes* is lost in the *Section du Luxembourg*, destined to such sinister notoriety. A new decree was passed October 8th, 1790, which regulated the future status of all monks and nuns.

The Carmelite Convent contained at this period sixty-four members, of whom forty-two were priests and the remainder laymen. They were invited to answer the query whether they would continue to be monks or not. Eight priests accepted their liberty and

the convent was then placed under the care of the municipality, which elected its own Superior. The utensils required to fabricate the *Eau de Melisse* were confiscated, and the monks were compelled to buy them back for sixty thousand livres.

On the 27th May, the Assembly, pressed by the Paris sections, passed a decree deporting all ecclesiastics who refused to take the oath of allegiance to the government. The refusal of the King to sanction this decree hastened his overthrow. It was but a month later, June 20th, when the Faubourgs assembled *en masse* at the Tuileries, and compelled Louis to put on the cap of liberty. The throne had in reality already fallen, and with it the Church which he had vainly striven to uphold.

The President of the National Assembly, Gensonne, was authorized to nominate commissioners, charged to invite the people "to take such measures as would insure the punishment of crime by the law." The Council General of the Commune of Paris issued a proclamation on August 11th, containing these words: "Sovereign People! Suspend your vengeance! Justice, which slumbered, to-day resumes her rights. All the guilty will perish on the scaffold."

Instructions were at once issued to arrest large numbers of priests and nobles, who were incarcerated in the Carmelite church. The *Section du Luxembourg* was particularly active, and unhappily this Section comprised by far the largest number of religious houses. The air was rife with threats of blood. On the 11th August fifty priests were arrested and imprisoned in the convent. One of their number, the Abbé de Barbôt, thus describes the scene:

"Having heard that some national guards had called at my house to conduct me to my Section, I at once repaired to Legendre,<sup>1</sup> to ascertain what he wanted. He ordered me to go into an adjoining room, where three persons approached me and asked if I was a priest. I replied, yes; and they sent me into another room, where I was soon joined by the Archbishop of Arles. This was about two, and we remained until nine o'clock, when we were called, searched, and added to sixty other ecclesiastics, the whole of us being marched off under guard to the Carmelite church. On our arrival a soldier was placed over each one of us, and we were forbidden to speak. We had bread and water given us, and, up to the sixth day, we slept on the pavement of the church. Those who had the means were then allowed to procure mattresses; but we could not obtain permission either to say or to hear Mass. Our prison continued to fill every day."<sup>2</sup>

Besides the Archbishop of Arles, two other prelates of the illus-

<sup>1</sup> The famous butcher, nominated President of the Section du Luxembourg, June 30th, 1792.

<sup>2</sup> *Les Martyrs de la Foi*, par l'Abbé Guillon, vol. i., p. 163.



trious house of De la Rochefoucauld were arrested—the Bishops of Beauvais and Saintes. They were brothers, and inseparable companions, always sharing the same room. When the Bishop of Beauvais was arrested, his brother, the Bishop of Saintes, came forward and said: “Gentlemen, I have always been united to my brother by the ties of the tenderest friendship. Since, then, his love for religion and his horror of perjury constitute all his crime, I am just as guilty, and therefore beg to go with him to prison.” Their crime was set forth as being “*servants of a person whom they call God.*”

One of the prisoners records a touching act of charity on the part of a lady “who would not allow her name to be mentioned.” She supplied twenty priests with food all the time of their imprisonment. “Imagine,” says the Abbé Barruel, “a medium-sized church, whose floor is crowded with mattresses up to the very altar steps. We slept better than our persecutors, although we never knew but that the executioner might come during the night. When we got up in the morning all knelt for secret prayer, begging that we might have courage to confess the name of God to the last. At mealtime every piece of food was examined to see that it did not contain letters or instruments of death. The physician requested permission for us to walk in the garden, as there was danger of contagious diseases breaking out. Two hours per day were allowed us, one in the morning and the other in the evening. Sometimes we were all allowed to go out together, sometimes only a part. An oratory at the bottom of the garden was a very pleasant meeting-place. It contained an image of the Blessed Virgin.”<sup>1</sup>

On the 23d August, according to Pétion, one of the Sections sent a deputation to the Council of the Commune, threatening to force the doors of the prisons and immolate the prisoners. The petition, couched in the wildest terms, was received with loud expressions of approval.<sup>2</sup> Next day, Tallien, in the name of the Commune, thus expressed himself before the Assembly:

“We have arrested conspirators, who have been placed in charge of the tribunals for their own safety and that of the state. We have arrested the perturbing priests, who are confined in a special place, and in a few days the soil of liberty will be purged of their presence.”<sup>3</sup>

No one, however, suspected a massacre. Robespierre, Danton, Fabre d'Eglantine, and Tallien tried to procure the release of certain of the prisoners, but in vain. The better to conceal the hor-

<sup>1</sup> Histoire du Clergé pendant la Revolution Française.

<sup>2</sup> Moniteur, November 10th, 1792.

<sup>3</sup> Moniteur, September 2d, 1792.

rible project, the unhappy prisoners were buoyed up with hopes of a speedy liberation. The Procureur of the Commune called several times, assuring them of their safety, inquiring where they would go on their release, and in every way deceiving them. Finally, on the 31st August, he came and informed them that the Prussians were at Verdun, and that it was decreed to send all the priests out of France. He bade them prepare for their journey, and promised that they should be allowed to remain a few hours at their respective dwellings for the purpose. At midnight a *commissaire*, accompanied by gendarmes, called them together, and read the decree of exile, which was fixed up in the sanctuary of the church. The poor prisoners collected all the money they could in view of their prospective journey. They were about a hundred and twenty in number.<sup>1</sup>

Despite these promises, a presentiment of coming evil seems to have weighed upon their minds. Those who deny the immortality of the soul ought to explain how it is that the coming evil is apprehended by the mind or soul, or, whatever you call it, long before it is felt and tangibly realized by the body. We know how the delicate Mimosa feels the vibration of the horsehoop long before the rider is in sight. And, what Shakespeare calls "the mind's eye" is capable of foreseeing "things invisible to mortal sight." This case of the doomed clergy seems singularly apropos.

No remarkable incident occurred during the 1st September. One of their number declared, "we shall never leave this place." His views began to be shared by the rest, and each prepared for a last confession. A meeting was held to discuss the question, whether they should take the oath proposed. A large majority decided to refuse it. And in this steadfast spirit they saw the morning of Sunday, the 2d of September dawn.

The investment of Verdun by the King of Prussia and the Duke of Brunswick called forth a vigorous proclamation, ordering the erection of barricades and the general rising of the population. The situation in the Carmelite church grew worse every hour, as the popular excitement increased. The surveillance redoubled, and the prisoners were carefully searched. The friends of some of their number called, and, by their melancholy manner, their tears, and affecting partings, it was easy to see that they foresaw some proximate disaster.

After dinner, a *commissaire* of the Section came to call the muster-roll. This ceremony always took place before and after the promenade. An old servant of the Archbishop of Arles usually called the roll, and the presence of the *commissaire* was excep-

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<sup>1</sup> Recitedit de l'Abbé Montfleury.

tional and significant. The promenade was deferred until later. Directly the *commissaire* had gone, the guard was changed. It was composed of men without uniform, armed with pikes, and wearing the red cap. At four o'clock the order was given to go into the garden, and even the sick and infirm were obliged to obey. The way from the church was through the chapel of the Blessed Virgin, and a small sacristy adjoining it, on the left-hand side of the choir. These led into a corridor, at the end of which was a staircase, leading into the garden. This part of the garden, destined to become so memorable in history, is almost the same to-day as it was then. It was a morning in early March when we visited it. The weather was mild, despite the late severe frost and snow, and some of the shrubs were putting forth coy buds and shoots. But no amount of sunshine could dissipate that "strange depression all around," which we struggled against in vain. The garden consists of four large parterres, divided by gravelled walks. It had been laid out apparently with small regard to effect, and, where flowers once grew, the grass was growing feebly. In the centre is a large circular fountain of huge stones, coated with moss, and choked up. On one side of this garden rose the bleak old walls of the convent, and to the north a house occupied by some nuns, Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament. The Rue Cassette ran along the eastern side, and on the west were other gardens and dependencies of the Carmelites. The boundary walls are still adorned by fine trees and ornamental shrubs of great age. It is easy to picture the terrible tragedy that here occurred. The most conspicuous object is a small stone oratory at the bottom of the garden, whose only decoration is a wooden image of the Blessed Virgin. It is a poor, rude effort, very much worm-eaten and defaced. But upon what awful scenes has its expressionless eyes looked down! The only furniture of the oratory are two wooden benches.

The prisoners, having entered the garden, separated into groups, and dispersed about the alleys. One only, the Abbé Geraült, stayed beside the fountain, and began to read his Breviary. Meanwhile, the "General Assembly of the Luxembourg Section" was holding a stormy meeting in the Church of Saint Sulpice, under the presidency of Joachim Ceyrât, to "deliberate upon what measures should be adopted in the general interest." In the meeting were numerous Marseillais, who had come by invitation. When the meeting had been opened, a tavern-keeper named Louis Priere got into the pulpit, and declaimed vehemently on the gravity of the situation. The enemy was at Chalons, and, they must march at once upon him; but, for his part, he would not move a step until those shut up in the prisons were got rid of,

especially the priests detained in the Carmelite convent. His speech produced a deep excitement, but his proposition was received with repugnance. Profiting by this feeling, a watchmaker named Carcel took the floor, and remarked that, doubtless there were guilty persons in prison, but among them were many innocent and well-disposed citizens. Certainly no honest citizen would wish to imbrue his hands in the blood of the innocent. He proposed to nominate a commission composed of six members, elected from the meeting, in order to ascertain those who had crimes alleged against them, and deliver them up to justice. This motion was received with approval, but the chairman, Ceyrât, opposed it, exclaiming, "All the prisoners in the Carmelite convent are guilty, and it is time that the people execute justice." This speech revived the energies of Priere and his partisans, and the first motion was put, and carried by a large majority. Three commissioners, Lohier, Lemoine, and Richard, were sent to the Commune to communicate this resolution, "*afin de pouvoir agir d'une manière uniforme.*"<sup>1</sup> It was supposed that all official record of this meeting had perished, but M. Alex. Sorel, the eminent antiquary, discovered in the archives of the Palais de Justice the following document, which is of the greatest value to history :

"SECOND SEPTEMBER, 1792.

"Fourth Year of Liberty. First of Equality.

"Upon the motion of a member to purge the prisons, by causing the blood of all the prisoners in Paris to flow before the departure; the vote being taken, the motion was adopted. Three commissioners were named, MM. Lohier, Lemoine, and Richard, to proceed to the City, and communicate in order to act in a uniform manner. A true extract.

(Signed) "HuÉ, Secretary of the General Assembly."<sup>2</sup>

As these commissioners received this document of authorization, one of them, Lohier, asked the assembly, how they proposed to get rid of the prisoners "*in a uniform manner.*" The president and several others exclaimed, "*By death!*" "What do you mean by the *removal* of Cassio?" "Knocking out his brains."<sup>3</sup> No sooner were the words pronounced, than all those who had supported Priere's motion, with the Marseillais, rushed out of the church in the direction of the Carmelite convent. M. Carcel repaired at once to the commandant of the National Guard, *Tanché*,

<sup>1</sup> The Register of the deliberation of the Section du Luxembourg during the month of September, 1792, has disappeared. But M. Granier de Cassagnac has copied verbatim the extract from the *procès-verbal* of that day's sittings, September 2, from the *Histoire particulière des Evénements*, etc., by Mathon de la Varenne,—an eye-witness.

<sup>2</sup> Archives of the Palais de Justice. Dossier des Septembrisations. Deposition of M. Lemaitre.

<sup>3</sup> Othello.

and begged him to protect the prisoners. He refused. The blood-thirsty rabble soon reached the convent, and spread themselves about the corridors and the cells overlooking the garden. There they awaited the signal to commence their deadly work, meanwhile thrusting their pikes through the grated windows, and uttering the most ferocious cries. To escape from them, the prisoners retreated to the little oratory at the bottom of the garden, where certain of their number were reciting the vespers for the day. Fresh cries and shouts became audible from the Rue Cassette, where a most fearful tragedy was transpiring.

At one o'clock, four vehicles, filled with priests, left the Mayor's Bureau, in the Rue de Jerusalem, and proceeded towards the Abbaye Saint Germain. Among the prisoners was the Abbé Sicard, instructor of the deaf and dumb, who gives the following account of this terrible episode. "The signal to go forward was given, with a recommendation to the drivers to proceed very slowly, under penalty of being killed in their seats. We were overwhelmed with every species of insult. The soldiers who accompanied us informed us that we should never reach the Abbaye, for, the people, to whom they were about to deliver us, were at length going to take vengeance on their enemies, and would stop us on the way. These threatening words were accompanied by thrusts from pikes, and blows from sabres. The vehicles started, and the populace commenced to crowd around, shouting all kinds of blasphemy and abuse. 'Yes,' said the soldiers, 'these men are your enemies, the accomplices of those who have surrendered Verdun; they are only waiting your departure to kill your wives and children. Here are our sabres and pikes! Kill! kill these monsters!' It is easily imagined how this language, with the news from Verdun, was calculated to excite the naturally irascible populace. The multitude increased every minute until we reached the Abbaye, where our assassins awaited us. The court-yard was filled with an immense crowd, which surrounded our carriages. One of our comrades opened the door and dashed into the crowd, trying to escape. He was almost torn to pieces and his body trampled under foot. A second repeated the attempt, but a woman thrust him through the neck with a pike. A third was slaughtered in like manner. The vehicle advanced towards the room where the *comité* was sitting, when a fourth person got out. He was struck on the head with a sabre, but escaped alive. The assassins, thinking there was no one else in this carriage, passed on to the second."<sup>1</sup>

Twenty-one prisoners perished in this way in the court-yard of the Abbaye. The carnage was accomplished by a mere handful

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<sup>1</sup> Relation de M. l'Abbé Sicard, p. 102.

of men, led by an ex-convict named Maillard. When the last victim had expired, Maillard exclaimed, "There is nothing more to do here; *let us go to the Carmelite convent!*"

Inebriated and delirious with blood and wine, the miserable wretches took up the cry and rushed away, shouting, "*Mort aux réfractaires!*" These were the cries caught by the unhappy prisoners in the garden of the Carmes.

The moment that the ruffians at the cell windows heard them, and, as if waiting for this signal, they hastened away, forcing in the door of the garden, where they divided themselves into two parties. The first group passed down the central walk, and met the Abbé Girault still reading his Breviary, and so absorbed in its study that he seemed to be ignorant of what was passing. With one blow from a sabre his head was cleft in two, and he was dispatched with pikes. When the first victim had fallen, the Abbé Salins hastened toward the assassins, hoping to wean them from their dreadful purpose. A shot from a pistol struck him dead in the midst of his speech.

The second group passed down an alley to the left, at the end of which was the oratory previously described. They had not gone far ere they encountered a number of ecclesiastics, among whom was the Archbishop of Arles and the Abbé de la Pannonie. They took hold of the latter and demanded if he was the Archbishop. Hoping to save the life of Monseigneur Duleau, he merely joined his hands together and made no reply. But one of the assassins detected the real prelate and exclaimed:

"You scoundrel! You are the Archbishop of Arles?"

"I am," replied the prelate.

"Villain!" rejoined the leader of the band, "it's you that have shed so much blood of the patriots in Arles."

"I never did harm to anyone," was the reply.

"Well! I am going to do harm to you," he said, at the same time striking the Archbishop on the head with his cutlass.

He received the blow without wincing or taking any notice. A second blow opened his skull. He raised his two hands to his head and *one was hacked off*; then a thrust from a pike stretched him on the ground lifeless. One of the wretches thrust his pike into the Archbishop's chest with such violence that the iron-head could not be withdrawn. Then, taking up the severed hand of the victim, he carried it off as a trophy.<sup>1</sup>

The death of the Archbishop caused the liveliest joy to this band of murderers, which was shown in the most ferocious shouts. While they were mangling his remains the other priests took refuge in the oratory. "We cannot be in any place so fitting," said one

<sup>1</sup> Histoire du Clergé pendant la Revolution Française, par M. l'Abbé Barruel.

of them; "there let us offer up our lives to God." They all knelt down in silence to pray, and it was thus that their assassins found them. No one knows what passed. The number of the corpses and the quantity of blood and brains scattered on the walls showed the rage with which these defenceless victims were assailed. Nearly all those who had taken refuge in the oratory were slain. The Bishop of Beauvais was struck by a bullet which fractured his thigh. On seeing him fall they thought him dead, but his agony was destined to endure much longer.

Other scenes not less terrible were going on in other parts of the garden. Two priests in trying to escape were shot, and yet these events only occupied *a quarter of an hour*. The assassins were suddenly brought to a stand-still by a commanding voice, bidding every person in the garden to enter the church. This was the captain of the guard, accompanied by a *commissaire* named Violette, deputed by the Luxembourg Section to arrest the massacre. From another quarter a voice exclaimed, "Stop! Stop! That is not how you are going to do things." This was the band of Maillard, which had just arrived.

The unhappy priests who had escaped death tried to obey the captain of the guard. But the pikemen presented their weapons, and they were saved with difficulty at his most urgent solicitations. The greater part of the ecclesiastics had fled to the sanctuary and were huddled together behind the altar. There were only a few in the choir. Three were hidden in a recess leading to the pulpit, and two others in a small lateral chapel, while the Abbé Dubray concealed himself between two mattresses. When the Bishop of Saintes reached the choir he asked for his brother, who a few minutes later was brought in and laid on the floor. Two other clergymen, the chaplain of the Genoese Embassy and the Abbé de Keravenier, took refuge in the commodity, where they overheard all the murders, but declared that the victims never uttered a cry. They were afraid of discovery and climbed up through a small window in the wall on to the roof. Here they remained, barely sheltered by a tree, from half-past five in the evening until half-past seven next morning.

The sans-culottes poured into the church and ranged themselves in a line across the chancel to prevent any escape. The *commissaire* Violette ordered a table to be placed at the head of the staircase leading to the garden. He seated himself, and with the register of the prison in his hands, summoned the priests before him two by two to assure their identity. They were then ordered to descend by the staircase to the garden. The murderers were awaiting them there, but the attitude of each victim was heroically calm and even joyous.

When the Abbé Galais was called he handed over to the *commissaire* a purse of three hundred and twenty-five livres to pay the *traiteur* who had supplied food to the prisoners. It appears from official documents that the functionary put it into his pocket and forgot the trust. The priest in addition offered his own watch and chain and begged him to give them to the poor.

When the name of the Bishop of Saintes was called he tenderly embraced his brother in silence, hoping that his terrible wounds would arouse some pity and save him from death. But no sooner had he passed the fatal door than the murderers rushed into the church and called for the Bishop of Beauvais. They had to carry him to his doom, as he was unable to walk, and at the foot of the staircase his soul joined that of the brother he had loved so well. "In death they were not divided."

In less than two hours *one hundred and twenty priests* had been massacred. The number would have been still larger but for some most providential escapes.

After the death of the Bishop of Beauvais the general slaughter ceased. A part of the band left for the prison of the Abbaye, singing "*Ça ira*," and brandishing their pikes still dripping with gore. The remainder stayed in the church or the halls of the convent drinking and gambling.

About nine o'clock, those that were in the church heard a slight noise in one of the chapels. They seized a light and proceeded to investigate. It was the Abbé Dubray, who had concealed himself between two mattresses, and was absolutely compelled to move in order to breathe. They dragged him to the sanctuary and hacked him to death with sabres. This was the last victim of that terrible day of which we may well say :

*"Excidat illa dies ævo nec postera credant  
Sæcula !"*

A few hours later the public were admitted "*au spectacle*." So deeply had the appetite for revenge been aroused in the people that not one person expressed the least pity for the innocent victims. A great many kicked and mutilated the corpses, while all pillaged them. Passing themselves off as *commissaires*, several of these ruffians visited the houses lately occupied by the priests and carried off everything they could find.

So large a number of corpses scattered about was by no means convenient, and became dangerous to the salubrity of the neighborhood. Consequently, the secretary of the Luxembourg Section, Daubanel, was instructed to bury them as soon as possible. He went to the convent on the morning of September 3d, collected all the bodies and ordered them to be unclad. The vultures began to quarrel over the spoils, and it was necessary to decree that "each



shall have one garment, and the surplus be sold for the good of the poor." A few hours later two large wagons were brought into the convent garden, into which the corpses were thrown pell-mell.

*Three days previously*, that is, on the *first* of September, the gravedigger of the Cimetière de Vaugirard had received orders to dig a large pit, for which he received three hundred francs. To this grave the martyred dead were carried, the wagons "shooting in" the ghastly load. Lime was plentifully scattered over the bodies and the grave was filled in. The cemetery was at the foot of the Rue de Vaugirard, and is still to be seen inclosed by walls. The sainted remains of the priests were exhumed a few years since and received fitting burial.

Some writers have tried to make out that this massacre was an unpremeditated act of vengeance—the outburst of popular rage, as unreflecting as it is violent. This argument seems disposed of by the fact that *the grave of the victims had been prepared the day before*. Much doubt as to the exact locality of this tomb has been set at rest by the discovery of the following document in the archives of the Prefecture of the Seine.

"M. Daubanel, Secretary, nominated to superintend the inhumation of persons who yesterday suffered the just vengeance of the people, has made report of his mission, and informs us that one hundred and twenty persons were interred this morning in the Cemetery of Vaugirard."

The spoils of the dead amounted to 30,845 livres, 6 sols, 6 deniers; besides a further sum of 2444 livres, forty gold watches (one enriched with diamonds), fourteen silver watches, and one in pinchbeck. No account is given of the after disposal of these things.

The few escapes from the savage fury of the Septembriseurs are more exciting than any romance. They can only be described in one phrase, *Providential*.

The following is the narrative of the Abbé Berthelet de Barbôt:

"The number of prisoners had been reduced to twenty, and we were ordered to take our turn. As I was about to descend the staircase, at the foot of which were the murderers, I was recognized by several persons who lived near my house. They begged my life of the commissary, and I was ordered to be placed apart. The captain of the guard contrived to thrust me and six other priests under some benches. All the rest were massacred. It was only by the greatest labor and effort that our guards managed to pass through the immense crowd that surrounded us, and who clamored for our blood.

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<sup>1</sup> Dossier des Septembriseurs, *Procès-verbal* of the sittings of the Luxembourg Section, September 3, 1792.

"At length we reached the Church of Saint-Sulpice, where the Section was sitting. The commissaire presented us to the Bureau, to be dealt with as the Section determined. A man rose, and proposed to deliver us to the people, who were waiting to destroy us. This motion was first approved, then rejected. It was finally agreed to keep us separated, with two guards to each, until we could be examined. The examination lasted until midnight, when the commissaries adjourned. A hall of the seminary, which had been converted into a prison, was appointed for our resting-place. We had only been there an hour, when one of the murderers came to complain, in the name of his comrades, that they had been deceived. They were promised *three* louis, whereas they had only received *one*. The commissaries replied, that there were still enough persons in the prisons of Saint Firman and the Conciergerie to last two days longer, and, besides, there were the clothes. To which the man replied, that, not knowing that they were to have the clothes, the prisoners were hacked so much with sabres, that their garments would be valueless. He, the speaker, would see if we had on new clothes, and he came to us, and rudely examined our clothing. Mine was old, and in many places threadbare, and my companions were in the same condition, and the terrible wretch, smelling of human blood, seemed dissatisfied, but soon left with the commissary. Next day we were set at liberty."

The Abbé Saurin owed his safety to an equally strange circumstance. He was waiting his turn to be killed, when he heard one of the murderers speak in the Provençal accent. He went up to him and said, "My friend, you are from Provence?" "Yes," replied he, "I am from Marseilles." "And I, too," said the abbé. "What is your name?" "Saurin." "Oh, your brother is a relation of mine." "Then," rejoined the abbé, "you ought to get me out of this, since there is no charge against me but being a priest." The Marseillais turned to his companions, and said, "This man is my relation, and ought not to perish but by the law." "He is as guilty as the others, and must die like them!" cried the mob. "Citizens!" rejoined the Provençal with vehemence, "I was at the Bastille, on the 5th and 6th of October at Versailles, and at the Tuileries on the 20th of June. Look at my wounds!" and he opened his vest, where not the slightest scratch was perceptible. The public was moved, and allowed him to conduct M. Saurin to the Section. When they had reached the neighboring street, the man demanded a new overcoat that the priest wore. M. Saurin was glad to exchange it for the fellow's uniform coat. He asked

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<sup>1</sup> *Martyrs de la Foi*, p. 200.

some recompense for his services, and was promptly rewarded with 200 livres. He then walked off in silence, leaving the prisoner free.

The Abbé de la Pannonie came even nearer to death. He was talking to the Archbishop of Arles when the murderers entered the garden. When that prelate had fallen he fled, and found himself in the shrubbery. The order was given to enter the church. "Seeing," says he, "that they were bent on our destruction, I murmured one last prayer and went forward to meet them. I passed through the chapel of the Blessed Virgin, when a national guard whom I did not know seized me by the arm and said, 'Save yourself, friend.' He pointed to the corridor, but there I met several men who attacked me with bayonets, and I received nine severe wounds. I tried to ward off the bayonets with my hands, for the space was very narrow and the brigands could not use their weapons freely. I rushed away into the garden, and another national guard tried to save me from my pursuers. His entreaties prevailed on the captain of the guard to order me to be set aside. The benevolent guard concealed me behind a door, but several of the assailants tried to reach me even there. I asked my friend if he hoped to save me, and he replied affirmatively. I took out my purse containing six hundred livres, and begged him to accept it. He refused, declaring that he would be sufficiently recompensed if he saved my life. The loss of blood from my wounds was very great, and I was growing weaker and weaker. When the mob poured in to see the dead bodies, I was advised to pass through it and take my chance. This I did, and the people were too much engaged in pillaging the dead to notice me." He found himself in the Rue de Vaugirard, where he recollected a shop kept by an acquaintance. The good woman dressed his wounds, and concealed him inside her counter during the domiciliary visits. He subsequently got a passport to England. Relating his adventures to an English gentleman, he showed him a vest thrust through with bayonets. He begged for it as a relic, and ordered the priest a complete suit of velvet in exchange.

Some contrived to escape otherwise, though, as it were, "by the skin of their teeth;" among them the Abbé Vialar. He was on the left side of the garden when the murderers entered. His first impulse was to commend his soul to God. Then his eye caught the boundary wall, and he resolved to climb it. He succeeded, and called to the Bishop of Saintes, who was near, to follow him. "I cannot leave my brother," was the reply. Having surmounted the wall, M. Vialar found himself in a small inclosed court, bounded by another wall still higher. One corner of this inclosure was the rear wall of the oratory before mentioned. He

could hear the dying groans of the victims just murdered, and the howling of their assailants. With the greatest difficulty he managed to scale the other wall, and found himself on the roof of an empty house. In one room was a mattress, upon which he fell, exhausted, and slept several hours. At night he climbed through a window and escaped into the city.<sup>1</sup>

Another priest, M. de Montfleury, got over two walls unperceived and dropped into the garden of the Marquis de Bréze. In his fall he broke the skylight of a small conservatory, and two ladies in an adjoining apartment, imagining him to be a burglar, tried to give an alarm. He begged them to desist, explained who he was, and was allowed to depart. Being without a hat, and very wild in his appearance, he was recognized in the street as fleeing from the convent. Fearful of being suspected themselves, several persons gave chase. The Abbé Montfleury saw a vehicle ahead, raced toward it, and, by large bribes, succeeded in winning the driver.

M. de Rest climbed up by a vine just as a bullet knocked the hat from his head. He managed to reach the top of the wall. In the garden below stood a ferocious ruffian armed with a sharp pitchfork, who rushed at him furiously. He was on the alert for any prisoner who might try to escape that way. The gardener's wife interposed, holding her infant between the infuriated sans-culotte and the priest. The weapon was finally wrested from his hands. M. de Rest departed, carrying it with him as a further protection.

In the *Description Historique des Prisons de Paris*, M. Saint-Edme tells the following remarkable story: "On the day of the massacre a pious woman, learning that her confessor was among the slain, conceived the desire to give the body Christian burial. Hearing the dead cart going by, she ran to the window, and saw among the bodies that of her confessor. Her doctor was at the house, and she entreated him to get the wagoner to sell the body. The man consented to let her have her choice for twenty crowns. The body was taken into the cellar preparatory to burial, and the surgeon went down to inspect it. *He found it living.*" The Abbé Tessier thus accounted for his deliverance: "When I saw them killing my unfortunate companions, I threw myself among the corpses, and escaped with only a few wounds given by the wretches who tore off my clothes. I was unconscious a good deal of the time from loss of blood, and might have been buried alive had you not interfered." All there fell on their knees and thanked God.<sup>2</sup>

Forty-four ecclesiastics in all escaped the massacre.

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<sup>1</sup> *Martyrs de la Foi*, vol. ii., p. 195.

<sup>2</sup> *Description Historique des Prisons de Paris*, p. 161.

Although this appalling crime was evidently premeditated, the manner of its accomplishment was determined on by a few demagogues in the greatest haste. It is presumable, however, that they acted under superior direction. Pétion declared that the deed "was necessary to purge the empire of dangerous men, and to strike terror into the souls of conspirators, and that these crimes, though *morally* odious, were *politically* useful." When Tallien was assailed with the epithet "*massacreur de Septembre*," he replied, "I did my duty on that occasion, and I shall still do it in unmasking the instigators of that terrible day who sit in your midst."

Out of fifty persons arrested for the September crime *three* only were sentenced to twenty years in chains. The rest were acquitted. Joachim Ceyrât, one of its prime movers, escaped scathless.

Those who regard this act as the outcome of pent-up wrath, produced by centuries of bad government and social wrongs without end, as something belonging to the bad old times, the half barbarous past, must have been startled by its repetition on May 24th, 1871.

The facts connected with this crime may be timely repeated, when so loud an outcry is raised against the French clergy. They furnish, moreover, a striking historical parallel.

On the 5th May, 1871, the Archbishop of Paris and the other hostages were transferred from the prison of Mazas. They were huddled by couples in the compartments of the prison van, in which one person alone would have been inconvenienced. The drive across Paris was torture. At the meetings of the Commune, in the most violent journals and clubs, the death of the hostages was demanded. The victims asked in vain for a trial. The invariable answer was, "*La Commune ne fait pas de la justice; elle fait de la Révolution.*" Deputations from the people called at the prison to assure themselves that none of the hostages were absent. On the 12th May they were transferred to the prison of the Roquette. The Archbishop, the President (Chief Justice) Bonjean, the Abbé Deguerry, curé of the Madeleine, the famous Jesuit electrician, Père Clerc, the Abbés Ducoudray and Allard, with Monseigneur Serra, Coadjutor-Archbishop of Paris, were crowded in an open cart, *used to transport manure*. The delirious populace heaped upon them every species of blasphemy and insult. Their guards were selected from the worst battalions of the quarter, commanded by a wretched drunkard named Verig, chosen expressly by Ravier to aid in the premeditated murder. Not relying on his adherents, he sought additional volunteers from Genton. The latter declared that, in order to restore confidence to the Communists, it was necessary to strike a heavy blow. This would prove that they were not afraid of their responsibility or of death on the barri-

cares. A court-martial was instituted, and he was named President. He is described as "a dirty old man, who rarely washed. His beard was clotted with tobacco juice, and he emitted a fetid odor. The habit of incessantly scratching himself proved that his garments were thickly inhabited, and that the vermin liked him better than his friends, who never adhered to him at all." He refused to allow the accused to be heard either personally or by counsel. The whole trial lasted but half an hour, and Genton himself wrote out the sentence.

Between four and five o'clock Genton had collected men from the Sixty-sixth Battalion in sufficient numbers to form the firing party, and sent them to the prison of the Roquette. While following them he met a woman named Prevost, concubine of one La Chaise, whom he informed of the projected deed. The woman entered the prison with him. She was the *vivandière* of the Sixty-sixth, and insisted that the party should not be exclusively composed of men belonging to that battalion. By disputing with Verig, who had command of the executioners, she succeeded in withdrawing a considerable number, and departed with them. A large group of national guards had collected near the prison gates. There was indescribable confusion. Pay had been distributed to most of the soldiers, and the women took part in the distribution. Everybody drank, and soon the crowd was drunk and riotous.

At seven o'clock fifty armed men arrived with three delegates of the Commune, distinguished by their red scarfs. One of the commanding officers was Piquerre, commandant of the Thirty-fifth. This was the real firing party. They entered the prison, and Piquerre, brandishing his sword at Romain, the chief turnkey, sent him to fetch the prisoners.

Romain proceeded to call the roll, and the six victims left their cells. M. Bonjean wished to re-enter his, but Romain prevented him with brutality, saying, "What do they want to do with you? You are well enough as you are." Another came out slowly, and this ruffian exclaimed, "Shall I come and fetch you out?"

When the six victims were mustered, Romain conducted them by a small staircase to an open space near the infirmary. This was intended as the place of execution, but they could not open the door. While Jeannard and Verig tried to open it, Romain disputed with them, and recommended them to change the place, remarking that they would be too much in sight. The firing party assailed the victims with the most obscene insults, and brutally pushed them about. The Archbishop attempted to speak, but was prevented by blows and insults to such an extent that one of the Communists interfered, remarking, "You do not know what may happen to yourselves to-morrow."

This terrible scene at last ended. The Archbishop knelt down and prayed in silence. He then rose and pronounced a last benediction on his friends kneeling around him. These six Christians rose more confident and resigned to meet a terrible death, and the funeral procession continued its march. The Abbé Allard led the way, chanting in a subdued voice the "*De Profundis*." He was preceded by Romain, who marched with both hands in his pockets, and with a careless air, as if performing some ordinary duty. The Archbishop walked after the Abbé Allard, accompanied by M. Bónjean. Then the Abbé Deguerri and the Fathers Clerc and Ducoudray. The Communists surrounded them, marching in disorder. A fresh halt was occasioned by finding a gate locked, of which the key was wanting. While a turnkey went to fetch it the Archbishop attempted to pronounce a few words, but was silenced by insults. The key was found, and they passed on. After that we have no direct evidence of what followed. Six minutes later a prolonged subdivision fire was heard with two short intervals, and then some isolated shots. This was at four minutes before eight o'clock. The victims fell exactly where their bodies were found, for the wounds corresponded to the pools of blood on the ground. They were ranged on their backs nearly parallel. The Archbishop to the right hand, then M. Bonjean, the Abbé Deguerri, and Fathers Clerc, Ducoudray, and Allard. The heads of the latter rested on the body of Père Ducoudray.

After the murder the soldiers retired by the court-yard. Verig, when leaving, showed a pistol to Periet, the turnkey, and said: "You see it is still smoking; I have just used it to give the last stroke to the famous Archbishop."

Another remarked, "That old canaille would not die; he rose three times, and I began to be afraid of him."

Outside they boasted that they had gained fifty francs, and Romain and François proceeded to search the cells. In that of Père Allard they found nothing. There was a discussion in that of the Archbishop over his pastoral ring, and they nearly came to blows over the division of the spoil.

At two o'clock in the morning, Verig, Romain, and several others, lighted by lanterns, proceeded to the place where the crime had been committed. They searched the bodies, tearing the clothes, snatching off buttons, etc., in their haste. Then Latour threw the bodies of the Archbishop and the Abbé Deguerri into a small hand-cart, and, escorted by Communists, they left for the cemetery of Père la Chaise. Latour dragged the cart and the rest pushed it. At the cemetery the bodies were placed in a common grave already prepared. The party returned for the other corpses,

but Garrard was too drunk to go the second time. Verig paid the men sixty centimes each.<sup>1</sup>

This is sufficient to prove that there exists an inextinguishable animosity, on the part of the dangerous class, against religion and its ministers. The clergy represent that order and obedience to law which this class almost instinctively detests. They delight, when opportunity serves, to visit their hatred of religion upon its votaries. Everything indicates that, if this element in French and Belgian society preponderate to-morrow, similar atrocities would be perpetrated. The clergy themselves, very naturally, but very illogically, associate these tendencies with republicanism. But they are as opposed to it as to monarchy. We do not call the semi-anarchical specimen of republicanism seen in Europe the genuine article. The fact is, under every form of government, there exists a distinctive class, generally too much repressed by law to be largely dangerous. It is only when the law is withdrawn that we see the unbridled display of passions which are only restrained by FEAR, as the wild beast is by the lash. The hell in their souls runs riot as soon as their cowardly natures feel that they have no fear of penalties. The only safeguard of society against the preponderance of this ever-aggressive element is that "righteousness" which "exalteth a nation," erecting, in its honest and peaceable citizens, impregnable bulwarks against every *form of wrong*.

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<sup>1</sup> Evidence at the trial of the Communists at Versailles, January 27th, 1872.



THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND POPULAR  
EDUCATION.

THE work the Catholic Church is doing in our day and country in the effort to foster and promote Christian education is plain to the world. In spite of obstacles and difficulties—in the face of legislation that everywhere operates unfairly against her, and of a public opinion that is either hostile or indifferent, the Catholic Church steadily demonstrates her zeal for education by establishing and multiplying schools and institutions of learning, in order to afford in every parish and to every community the blessed advantages of a system of education from which *God* will not be excluded, and where Catholic youth shall receive a thoroughly Christian training.

In this beneficent and heroic work the Church shows that she is faithful to the traditions of her venerable past.

Her zeal for schools and generous patronage of science and learning is not a new manifestation. The fact is as old as the Church itself, and shines out in glorious prominence on every page of Catholic history in every land; during the earliest ages, as in later times, down even to the present day.

It may not be regarded as a useless task to devote a few pages to the duty of showing precisely what has been the attitude of the Catholic Church regarding this question of common schools and popular education; and it may be not altogether in vain to seek to demonstrate that, far from opposing the wide dissemination of knowledge, the Church has been the steady and consistent friend and patron of science and learning. And not, as is sometimes asserted, in favor of the few,—seeking to confine its advantages to a special class, or classes,—but rather has labored from the beginning to extend and enlarge the opportunities of education so as to bring its blessings and advantages within reach of *all* her children, even to the humblest degree and the lowliest condition.

The unjust outcry raised against the Church on this head proceeds, it is true, from the shallow-minded and the ignorant, the weak partisan and the intolerant bigot; but this class, unhappily, are too often the sonorous oracles of Protestant pulpits, glib declaimers in the popular lyceum, and, more dangerous opportunity still, are to be found in the highest places, as in all the gradations of popular journalism.

Indeed it is scarcely extravagant to assert that no charge and reproach against the Catholic Church is more familiar to the public ear, and no other is pressed with greater vigor and pertinacity than

this ridiculous and unfounded charge, that she is, or at all events *has been* hostile to popular education, unfriendly to common schools, and opposed to the enlightenment of the masses of the people. "Wherever that Church has been able to wield power and to employ her resources unfettered," say these hostile critics, "she has shown herself hostile to education; has everywhere sought to cramp and fetter the mental powers and the intellectual activity of her subjects—in a word has been a bar and an obstacle to the mental as well as to the social and political advancement of peoples and nations."

Nor is this language confined to avowed enemies of the Church; it is the familiar burden of the so-called philosophies and popular histories and text-books; it is repeated *ad nauseam* in well-known educational organs, and it is the favorite and fruitful theme for the essayist and the encyclopædist. How often do we not see quoted, as in triumphant and conclusive testimony of the justice of these allegations, "priest-ridden Italy," "benighted, retrograding Spain," and "poor, ignorant, Catholic Ireland?"

We shall now proceed to examine these inculpatory charges, and endeavor to show how altogether shallow and unsubstantial is the basis they rest on.

It will be shown that, from the earliest period in the history of Christianity down through every succeeding age, the Catholic Church has been unceasingly solicitous to foster and promote education. It will be made manifest in the countless schools established by her authority and under her patronage; and by her constant and unremitting efforts to encourage and propagate a general zeal in the cause of science and knowledge; and this zeal moreover was not merely in favor of schools for the wealthy, for ecclesiastics, but specially and notably shown in providing schools for the poor, *free schools*.

There is a more or less generally widespread impression and belief that the existing system of free schools is of comparatively modern origin, and the claim has been put forward that New England is entitled to the glory and credit of having first instituted the system, which has since been so widely disseminated.

We shall see that free schools existed far back in what are ignorantly stigmatized as the "dark ages," and that traces of their existence will be found even in the first ages of Christianity. Facts are not wanting to show that Ireland may justly lay claim to the honor of having been almost the first among the nations of Europe in zeal for education and learning.

Historians now acknowledge that the schools of Ireland were not only *free*, that is, education was given *gratis* in the Irish schools to all, but even books, food and lodging were supplied to students

who sought her shores from the neighboring islands, and the continent, but, Ireland went a step further—and here is a shining fact which, we may venture to assert, is unexampled in the laws or history of any nation,—*the masters of Irish ships were bound to give free passage to those who sought to find in the schools of that island masters in the sciences and sources of knowledge which could nowhere else in that age be found in Europe!*

This is a subject and period, however, which more naturally will present itself in illustration at a subsequent page of this sketch.

In the earliest ages of Christianity, that is to say, between the first and second centuries, we read of the *Catechetical schools* founded by the bishops in Alexandria (the same that was lately the focus of public attention), Cæsarea, Antioch, and Rome. The letters and epistles of the first Popes and Bishops abound in exhortations and instructions to the heads of churches and to the faithful to promote in every way the establishment of schools for the education of Christian youth.

In one respect at least there is a curious and suggestive affinity between the pagan system of education in the time of the Cæsars, and the modern State methods—instance the design of *Julian the Apostate*, who endeavored by means of “unfriendly legislation” to suppress in the schools all Christian teaching. He forbade the Christians to have schools of their own. “If the Christians fancy,” said the Emperor in one of his outbursts of fury, “that the sentiments of the pagan authors are derogatory to the majesty of their Gods, then let these Galileans be content to explain Matthew and Luke in their churches.” A declaration like this does not sound altogether strange and unfamiliar to the modern ear. Have we not somewhere and sometimes heard that “six days in the week should be given in the schools to secular knowledge—one day is enough for God!” Six days for the science of the world, the multiplication table, and only one day for the Commandments, for God, and Eternity! The writings of the early Fathers, and the annals of the primitive Church abundantly testify to the zeal for education shown in those early ages; the proofs would cumber these pages with quotations; indeed, as to the early Church our proposition would not be seriously controverted.

It would be admitted by some that the zeal for schools grew naturally out of the development from Roman and Grecian civilization, and the already existing enthusiasm for knowledge; while others would acknowledge it as due to the influence of the “purer Christianity” of the Church of the first ages. We shall see.

The wonderful civilizing and educational mission of the Church

was never more conspicuous than when that same Roman civilization and power was tottering to its ruin, when barbarian hordes thundered at the gates of the imperial city, and the empire and even civilization itself, as then existing, seemed doomed to destruction—utter and complete. Europe was then one vast camp of aroused and vindictive barbarians bent on a destroying, desolating career. The imperial legions had failed to stay their march, the walls of proud Rome could not withstand their assault.

It was this awful power that the Church was to confront, to awe, to conquer, and, more difficult task still, to *civilize*, to *educate*. These barbarous hordes had shown themselves intractable to every humanizing influence. The material grandeur of the world's famous capital moved them not; its majestic monuments excited no wonder; its magnificent architecture inspired no awe; its exquisite creations of art stirred no sensibility. All these would have perished by their destructive arm and pitiless torch, but for the intervention of the benignant power of religion. The Popes saved Rome from the terrible wrath of the *Hun* and the vengeance of the Vandal and the Goth. They rescued society; they preserved civilization. "But for that intervention," says a writer in the *Dublin Review*, "Rome at this moment would be numbered with Nineveh and Sidon, the foxes would bark upon the Aventine as when Belisarius rode through the deserted forum, and shepherds would fold their flocks upon the hills where St. Peter's and St. John Lateran now dazzle the eye with splendor."

This may seem to be a digression from the subject, but it serves to bring out and emphasize the great, nay the stupendous task subsequently undertaken by the Church in setting herself to the duty of moulding and directing the new civilization.

If, at the present day, we may point to the restraining and civilizing power of the school and the influence of educational training and methods, surely we may be permitted to refer to the mighty task undertaken by the Catholic Church, when a Pope awed by his majesty and turned back by his entreaties and threats, a barbarian army from the gates of the imperial city; and still more the wonderful and striking change which was wrought over these same savages and their successors under the benign power and the educating influence of the Roman Pontiff.

One after another the Popes eagerly entered into the work of establishing schools and providing for the education and the moral improvement of the people. Gregory the Great was conspicuously the patron of schools. He founded and endowed a great number of schools for the instruction of the poor, and recommended to the Bishops in distant countries to provide similar institutions in their respective dioceses. He was also the originator of *singing schools*,

and we owe to his influence and good taste the ecclesiastical music known as the "Gregorian," which remains to this day the standard sacred music of the Church.

Spain, in the sixth century, had its Cathedral schools in every diocese; and it was provided in the Council of Toledo in that century, that "all children offered by their parents should be brought together under one roof and be instructed under the superintendence of the Bishop." So likewise in France. Thus, in the year 800, the Council of Orleans urged on the parish priests the duty of "establishing schools in every town and village, *and of giving gratuitous instruction to all children.*" Surely these were essentially *free schools*? In 813 the Council of Mayence directed the clergy to "admonish their parishioners to send their children to the monastic and parochial schools;" and like injunctions were issued by Councils held in Rheims, Tours, and other episcopal centres at nearly the same period.

That of Romain, 826, enforced on Bishops the obligation to "found episcopal seminaries in the cities, and parochial schools in all towns and villages where the necessity existed." Leo IV. in the ninth century commanded the Bishops to provide for the erection of schools, and required that they should give a statement of their quality and efficiency in the provincial synods. The third Council of Lateran laid down, in one of its decrees, that "since the Church of God is bound as a pious mother to provide that every opportunity for learning should be afforded to the poor, who are without help from patrimonial riches, in every Cathedral there should be masters to teach both clerks and poor scholars *gratis.*" This injunction was extended to other churches by Innocent III., who required that "each should be provided with the means to furnish gratuitous instruction." Thus we again stumble across "free schools," and in the "dark ages" too!

The memorable reign of Charlemagne abounds in proofs and illustrations demonstrating the zeal of this great Catholic monarch for schools and the promotion of learning. We may read in the *Capitularies* his commands and advice to the Bishops throughout the empire urging them to establish schools for the poor, and to second his efforts to promote the spread of knowledge and learning. Guizot and other historians relate how Charlemagne sought in Ireland and brought from that country masters of science and philosophy to adorn his court and teach in his colleges.

In A. D. 823, Lotharius, the grandson of Charlemagne, published an edict for the creation of schools, and in the preface to it says: "Let the masters appointed by us to teach, take care that their scholars attend to their instructions and make that proficiency which the times demand."

"With this view," he adds, "and in order that neither distance of place, nor distance of circumstances be an excuse to any, we have fixed on such cities as will be found most generally convenient."

He then proceeds to name the cities, which are nine (in Italy), and at the same time specified the subordinate towns in the vicinity of each, the youth of which are to repair to the above schools. At the head of the list stands Pavia, afterwards famous for its great University.

Pope Eugenius II., in a decree published the same year, commands that "care be taken that wherever necessity shall appear teachers shall be appointed, who shall assiduously give instructions on the study of letters and the liberal arts, as also on the holy doctrines of religion."

Referring to an earlier period, Mosheim, the ecclesiastical historian, observes:

"From this time, the Christians applied themselves with more zeal and diligence to the study of philosophy and the liberal arts. The Emperors encouraged this taste for learning and left no means unemployed to excite and maintain a spirit of literary emulation among the professors of Christianity. For this purpose schools were established in many cities. Libraries were also erected and men of learning and genius were nobly recompensed by the honors and advantages that were attached to the culture of the sciences and arts." Another writer, Berington, in his "*Literary History of the Middle Ages*," remarks: "When we turn back to the studies of these men and view the schools which they frequented, the cities which they illustrated by their lectures, the countries through which they travelled in quest of science, the numerous works which proceeded from their pens, the general ardor by which all their pursuits were animated, and which seemed only to relax as the current of life ceased to flow, we shall learn that the Christians of this period were not negligent of the various branches of science; that literature was indebted to their exertions."

The missionaries who accompanied St. Augustine to England, as well as those who had preceded them from Ireland, were the first to diffuse a taste for learning and literature in that country. It is related that "Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, in 668 founded and endowed many schools in England, from which a great number of classical scholars came forth in succeeding ages."

Dr. Collier, a Protestant writer, in his *ecclesiastical history*, acknowledges that "when the monks were established in England they promoted a general improvement and were very industrious in restoring learning." The great eagerness for the establishment of

schools and for the general education of his people shown by King Alfred the Great, is a subject familiar to every school-boy.

In 1138, the Council of Westminster prohibited the scholastics from exacting payment for the licenses granted to schoolmasters in the towns and villages.

The tenor and spirit of ecclesiastical law and counsel in these ages may be embodied in two significant words and commands, "*Preach*" and "*Teach*."

"From the earliest centuries," says a writer in the *Contemporary Review*, "it had been a practice with the Christian Church in newly converted countries to erect schools by the side of cathedrals."

The personal history and career of the Popes afford interesting testimony to the educational advantages placed by the Church within the reach of all her children. Many of the most illustrious of the rulers of the Church rose to the Pontifical chair from the humblest ranks and the lowliest employments. The royal road was that of piety and learning.

Sylvester II. was the son of a poor peasant who dwelt in the mountains of Auvergne. Adrian IV., the only English Pope, was the son of a menial employed in the Abbey of St. Albans. Urban IV. was the son of a shoemaker. Nicholas IV. was of an obscure family, and like those already named owed his education to the Benedictines. Benedict XI. was the son of a notary. John XXII. of a shoemaker. Benedict XII. of a miller. Nicholas V., of whom Macaulay said: "Every friend of science should name him with respect," was the son of a physician. "Should I ever possess riches," Nicholas V. had often repeated when he was indigent, "I would expend them in building and in the purchase of books."

Sixtus V. was the son of a peasant of Montalto. The list might be largely extended, but these instances are sufficient for the purpose. "Not one of the august dynasty," testifies a writer in the *Dublin Review*, "has lost sight of the interests of society and the prerogatives of mind; and even in the few instances where they failed in good personally, they encouraged in their official capacity whatsoever things are true and of good name."

The universities founded by the Church constitute a magnificent testimony to her generous patronage of learning. The pages of Hallam, Guizot, Gibbon, Sismondi, Macaulay, Milman, and of many other leading historians, furnish copious and striking admissions and tributes to the number and grandeur of these institutions.

Spain was scarcely emancipated from the Moorish dominion and thralldom when she could boast of possessing *twenty-seven* universities. To name the cities of Salamanca, Valladolid, and Alcala, is to recall the great universities to which these cities chiefly owe

their fame. The celebrity attained by the Universities of Paris, Bologna, Prague, and Padua, and the learning and renown of their professors and scholars, have been the theme of many an eloquent tribute from the pens of historians and essayists.

The origin of the famous English Universities of Oxford and Cambridge is well known, and affords another striking example of the zeal of the Catholic Church to promote higher education. In a speech delivered in the British Parliament bearing on the question of a proposed grant in aid of the Irish College of Maynooth, Macaulay, who warmly supported the grant, thus eloquently acknowledges the Catholic origin and splendid munificence with which these famous universities were endowed in Catholic ages by Catholic kings, queens and bishops :

“When I consider with what magnificence religion and science are endowed in our universities, when I call to mind their long streets of palaces, their trim gardens, their chapels with organs, altar-pieces, and stained windows ; when I remember their schools, libraries and galleries of art ; when I remember, too, all the solid comforts provided in those places both for instructors and pupils, the stately dwellings of the principals, the commodious apartments of the fellows and scholars ; when I remember that the very sizers and servitors are lodged far better than you propose to lodge those priests who are to teach the whole people of Ireland ; when I think of the halls, the common rooms, the bowling greens, even the stabling of Oxford and Cambridge—the display of old plate on the tables, the good cheer of the kitchen, the oceans of excellent ale in the buttery, and when I remember from whom all this splendor and plenty are derived ; when I remember the faith of Edward III. and Henry VI., of Margaret of Anjou, and Margaret of Richmond, of William of Wykeham, of Archbishop Chichely and Cardinal Wolsey ; when I remember what we have taken from the Roman Catholic religion, King’s College, New College, my own Trinity College and Christ’s Church—and when I look at the miserable Dotheboys Hall we have given them in return—I ask myself if we, and if the Protestant religion, are not disgraced by the comparison ?”

These universities are justly the pride of England and the boast and glory of Englishmen ; but England may thank and ought forever to hold in enduring remembrance the Catholic founders and benefactors who established and endowed these institutions of learning with a munificence so splendid and enduring.

The attendance or muster roll of students at the English and Continental Universities is another stumbling-block to those who arraign the Church as having been “hostile to education,” and demonstrates, moreover, the malicious wantonness of the sneers



and gibes at the "dark ages." In the University of Prague, at the commencement of the 15th century, there were no less than 40,000 students in attendance. The University of Paris is said to have included, during the 12th century, fully one-half the population of the city. In the 13th century Bologna educated 10,000 students in her University, and in the next century the number had increased to 13,000. The figures given as to other European Universities are equally great and amazing. Oxford, in the 14th century, contained no less than 300 colleges and halls, and the number of students is estimated by several writers at no less than 30,000! Though we cannot for obvious reasons go back to the middle ages to show what the Catholic Church did in America for education, we can at all events go back 250 years and point with just pride to the fact that the Catholic Church *founded the first College and established the first University on the American Continent!* It will not be disputed that the *Lavalle University* founded by the Jesuits in Quebec, still in flourishing existence, though under other auspices and management, can claim priority by several years over Cambridge, the oldest college in the United States.

Irish writers refer with justifiable exultation to the Irish schools that flourished in the island during the period immediately following the conversion of the Irish by St. Patrick down to, say, the 11th century, and even English and Continental writers who have studied the subject are scarcely less enthusiastic in alluding to it. "Within a century after the death of St. Patrick," writes Bishop Nicholson, a Protestant authority, "the Irish Seminaries had so increased that most parts of Europe sent their children to be educated there, and drew thence their bishops and teachers."

The *Venerable Bede* testifies to the remarkable and distinguished position held by the Irish in the fifth century, and refers to the multitude of churches and monasteries which existed in the island, and the fame which the Irish schools had even then acquired. Alluding to the ninth century Bede says: "No less than seven thousand students frequented the schools of Armagh alone." The English historian, Camden, remarks how common a thing it is to read in the lives of the English saints that they were "sent to study in Ireland."

Even as late as the eleventh century, Sulgenus, Bishop of St. Davids, is said to have spent ten years studying in the Irish schools, which were then as famous as ever.

Another English writer says: "Whatever exaggeration may have been committed by the national annalists, when they speak of the foreign students who resorted to the Irish schools, it is impossible to doubt that they were eagerly sought by people of

the most distant lands, who, in an age when the rest of Europe was sunk in illiterate barbarism, found in the cloisters of Armagh, Lismore, Clonard, and Clonmacnois, masters of philosophy and sacred science, whose learning had passed into a proverb." Thebaud, in his learned and philosophic work on the *Irish Race*, gives a remarkable enumeration of the monasteries established by the Irish missionaries all over the continent of Europe; and Professor Lecky pays a tribute to the ancient renown of Ireland as the nursery of Christian faith and the focus of European civilization. "I leave it," he says, "to professed antiquarians to discover how far the measure of civilization, which had undoubtedly been attained in Ireland before the English invasion, extended beyond the walls of the monasteries. That civilization enabled Ireland to bear a great and noble part in the conversion of Europe to Christianity. It made it, in one of the darkest periods of the dark ages, a refuge of piety and learning. England owed a great part of her Christianity to the Irish monks who labored among her people before the arrival of Augustine; and Scotland, according to the best authorities, owed her name, her language, and a large part of her population to the long succession of Irish immigrations and conquests between the close of the fifth and the ninth centuries."

The resources in further illustration of this glorious period of Irish history are abundant and readily accessible, and especially as demonstrating the high rank and extended fame of the Irish schools and scholars; but the limit assigned to a single article will not admit of more extended quotations in confirmation.

There is, however, one writer, whose eloquent and enthusiastic testimony to the Irish monks and scholars it would scarcely be pardonable to omit in treating of this subject, the brilliant and erudite Montalembert. "It has been said, and cannot be sufficiently repeated," he says, in a remarkable chapter in his *Monks of the West*, "that Ireland was then regarded by all Christian Europe as the principal centre of knowledge and piety. In the shelter of her numberless monasteries a crowd of missionaries, doctors, and preachers were educated for the service of the Church and the propagation of the faith in all Christian countries. A vast and continuous development of literary and religious effort is there apparent superior to anything that could be seen in any other country in Europe. Certain arts were successfully cultivated. The classic languages, not only Latin, but Greek, were cultivated, spoken, and written, with a sort of passionate pedantry which shows at least how powerful was the sway of intellectual influence over these ardent souls. Their mania for Greek was carried so far that they wrote the Latin of the Church in Hellenic characters.

"And in Ireland, more than anywhere else, each monastery was

a school, and each school a workshop of transcription, from which day by day issued new copies of the Holy Scriptures and the Fathers of the primitive Church, copies which were dispersed through all Europe, and which are still to be found in the Continental libraries. They may easily be recognized by the original and elegant character of their Irish writing, as also by the use of the alphabet common to all the Celtic races, and afterwards employed by the Anglo-Saxons, but to which in our own day the Irish alone have remained faithful.

"Columbkille had given an example of this unwearied labor to the monastic scribes. His example was continually followed in the Irish cloisters, where the monks did not merely limit themselves to the transcription of the Holy Scriptures, but reproduced also Greek and Latin authors, sometimes in Celtic character, with gloss and commentary in Irish, like that *Horace* which modern learning has discovered in the library of Berne. These marvellous MSS., illuminated with incomparable ability and patience, excited five hundred years later the declamatory enthusiasm of the great enemy of Ireland, the Anglo-Norman, Gerald De Barry, and still attracts the attention of archæologists and philologists of the highest fame."

In another chapter in the same work the eloquent Frenchman says:

"Still more striking than the intellectual development of which the Irish monasteries were at the time the centre, is the prodigious activity displayed by the Irish monks in extending and multiplying themselves over all the countries of Europe;—here to create new schools and sanctuaries among nations already evangelized,—there to carry the light of the gospel at the peril of their lives to countries that were still pagan.

"The monasteries which gradually covered the soil of Ireland were the hostleries of a foreign emigration. Unlike the ancient Druidical colleges they were open to all, the poor and the rich, the slave as well as the freeman, the child and the old man had free access and paid nothing. It was not then only to the natives of Ireland that the Irish monasteries confined the benefit of their knowledge, and of literary and religious education.

"They opened their doors with admirable generosity to strangers of every country and of every condition; above all to those who came from the neighboring island, England, some to end their lives in an Irish cloister, some to go from house to house in search of books, and masters capable of explaining those books.

"The Irish monks received with kindness guests so greedy of instruction, and gave them both books and masters—the food of the body and the food of the soul without demanding any recom-

pense. The Anglo-Saxons, who were afterwards to repay this teaching with ingratitude so cruel, were of all nations the one which derived the most profit from it.

"From the seventh to the eleventh centuries English students flocked into Ireland, and for four hundred years the monastic schools of the island maintained the great reputation which brought so many successive generations to dip deeply there into the living waters of knowledge and faith."

Here then we have the irrefutable testimony to the fact that when Ireland was most devotedly Catholic, she was at the same time the most renowned as an educational centre. Ireland then possessed great schools, and scholars worthy of her schools.

Learning perished in Ireland only when civil wars had scourged and foreign invasions had ravaged and desolated the island.

It was the destructive sword and the devastating torch of the *Northmen* in repeated raids that swept away and ravaged in ruthless succession church, monastery, and school, and paralyzed the energies which would have restored them; and the vandalism and iron rule of the English invader completed their extinction. Since then we know how effectually penal laws and proscriptive measures supplemented the wrathful work commenced by the destroying Dane, and continued and completed by their Norman and English successors.

When we come to the period of the important discovery of the art of printing we are again reminded how unworthily a false outcry against the Church obtains credit and currency before the public. It might be inferred from all that has been said and written on the subject—nay, it is sometimes boldly charged that the Catholic Church contrived in some occult way or manner to prevent and retard this valuable discovery. It is true, though the fact is conveniently ignored or skipped over, that the art of printing was discovered and in use nearly one hundred years before the period of the so-called "Reformation;" and the Catholic Church was prompt to utilize its services and to encourage and promote its use.

It was the Popes who assisted the first printers, the workmen of Faust and Schaeffer, on their removal to Rome. The first printing press set up in Paris was at the *Sorbonne*. The first to patronize printing in England was Thomas Milling, Archbishop of Westminster, in which Abbey Caxton established his printing office.

The earliest printing done in Italy was at the monastery of St. Scholastica Subiaco, the productions of which are sought after by biblioplists and antiquarians on account of the remarkable beauty of the printing.

In 1474 the Augustinian monks printed books at their monas-

tery in Rhingau. In 1480 a printing press was set up in the English Abbey of St. Albans, and another in the Abbey of Tavistock.

The dates of the early printed editions of the Bible demonstrate the absurdity of the claim put forward by Protestant writers that the "Reformers" were the first to translate the Sacred Scriptures and render them accessible to Christian readers.

Lying books, coarse cartoons and vulgar pictures are made the convenient medium to slander and calumniate the monks of the middle ages, whose lives have been maliciously distorted, and whose works are almost uniformly belittled and ridiculed.

Lazy monks, forsooth! We are indebted to the Catholic Church and to the zeal and industry of the monks of the middle ages for all that we possess of ancient and classic literature, and, of course, also for the preservation and multiplication of the Holy Scriptures. These greatly maligned men were the teachers and schoolmasters of their time; they were the artists, authors, architects, agriculturists, builders, colonizers, scientists, and inventors in every age and country. "These monks," says Frederic Ozanam, "who spent six hours in the choir, transcribed in their cells the histories and even the poets of Greece and Rome, and bequeathed to the middle ages the most valuable writings of antiquity."

Trace most of the famous discoveries and inventions of the middle ages, and even in the later times, and we shall most likely find that they were due to the genius and the industry of the "lazy monk." The monks were pioneers even in the principles that lie at the foundation of our modern popular free governments.

The essential and vital doctrines and maxims in the American Constitution and "Declaration of Independence," may be found embodied in the Constitution of the Benedictine and other religious orders.

The vaunted rights and liberties which have been transmitted through the English Common Law, if traced back to the source from which they emanated, will be found almost invariably to have been inspired or placed there by the forgotten monks.

The palladium of English liberty, the vaunted *Magna Charta*, was the achievement and work of a Catholic bishop.

"But for the monks of the middle ages," says Mrs. Jameson, "the light of liberty, literature, and science had been forever extinguished; and for six centuries there existed for the thoughtful, the gentle, the inquiring, the devout spirit, no peace, no security, no home, but the cloister.

"There learning trimmed her lamp; there contemplation 'preened her wings;' there the traditions of art, preserved from age to age by lonely, studious men, kept alive in form and color the idea of a beauty beyond that of earth—of a might beyond that of the spear

and shield, of a divine sympathy with suffering humanity. To this we may add another and a stronger claim to our respect and moral sympathy,—the protection and the better education given to woman in those early communities; the venerable and distinguished rank assigned to them, when as governesses of orders they became in a manner dignitaries of the Church; the introduction of their beautiful and saintly effigies, clothed with all the insignia of sanctity and authority, into the decoration of places of worship and books of devotion, did more, perhaps, for the general cause of womanhood than all the boasted institutions of chivalry."

"Every monastery," says Mr. Lecky in his *History of European Rationalism*, "became a centre from which charity radiated. By the monks the nobles were overawed, the poor protected, the sick tended, travellers sheltered, prisoners ransomed, the remotest spheres of suffering explored." "The Catholic Church," writes Mr. Emerson, "had been for centuries the democratic principle in Europe," and "Christianity lived by the love of the people."

An English writer, O'Dell T. Hill, in a notable work, *English Monasticism*, pp. 514-15, pays the following tribute to the monks:

"But far away from the Castle there arose another building; massive, solid, and strong, not frowning with battlemented towers, nor isolated by broad moats, but with open gates and a hearty welcome to all comers, stood the Monastery, where lay the hope of humanity as in a safe asylum. Behind its walls was the church, and clustered around it the dwelling-places of those who had left the world, and devoted their lives to the service of that Church, and the salvation of their souls.

"Far and near in its vicinity the land bore witness to assiduous culture and diligent care, bearing on its fertile bosom the harvest hope of those who had labored, which the heavens watered, the sun smiled upon, and the winds played over, until the heart of man rejoiced, and all nature was big with promise of increase.

"This was the refuge to which religion and art had fled. In the quiet seclusion of its cloisters, science labored at its problems and perpetuated its results, uncheered by applause, and stimulated only by the pure love of the pursuit. Art toiled in the Church, and whole generations of busy fingers worked patiently at the decoration of the temple of the Most High.

"The pale, thoughtful monk, upon whose brow genius had set her mark, wandered into the calm retirement of the library, threw back his cowl, buried himself in the study of philosophy, history, or divinity, and transferred his thoughts to vellum, which was to moulder and waste in darkness and obscurity, like himself in his lonely monk's grave, and be read only when the spot where he

labored should be a heap of ruins, and his very name a controversy amongst scholars.

"We should never lose sight of the truth, that in this building, when the world was given up to violence and darkness, was garnered the hope of humanity; and these men who dwelt there in contemplation and obscurity were its faithful guardians; and this was more particularly the case with that great Order to which Glastonbury belonged.

"The Benedictines were the depositaries of learning and the arts; they gathered books together, and reproduced them in the silence of their cells, and they preserved in this way not only the volumes of Sacred Writ, but many of the works of classic lore. They started Gothic architecture—that matchless union of nature with art; they alone had the secrets of chemistry and medical science; they invented many colors; they were the first architects, artists, glass-stainers, carvers and mosaic workers in mediæval times. They were the original illuminators of manuscripts, and the first transcribers of books; in fine, they were the writers, thinkers, and workers of a dark age, who wrote for no applause, thought with no encouragement, and worked for no reward.

"Their power, too, waxed mighty; kings trembled before their denunciations of tyranny, and in the hour of danger fled to their altars for safety; and it was an English king who made a pilgrimage to their shrines, and prostrate at the feet of five Benedictine monks, bared his back, and submitted himself to be scourged as a panacea for his crimes."

As in the case of the public schools, we have seen it more than once gravely stated that "Public Libraries" originated in the United States, and it has been seriously asserted that the first free circulating library was established in New England within this century?

Public libraries were in existence prior to the discovery of America by Columbus, long before the *Pilgrim Fathers* landed at Plymouth, and flourished centuries before the invention of printing!

The innumerable monastic libraries of the middle ages, and the general use made of them, may be cited as satisfactory, if not conclusive testimony on this point.

Students and scholars were not only given free access to the books, they were likewise permitted to carry the books away for use and study at home.

When in several abbeys in France the practice of loaning books had been discontinued, probably on account of the abuse made of the privilege, the Council of Paris, held in 1212, ordered the resumption of what was declared to be an "ancient custom," adding

that, "the lending of books may be regarded as among the most eminent works of mercy."

Modern critics remark that the great number of books published in the middle ages establishes the assurance of a great multitude of readers, and Schlegel asserts that "from the time of Charlemagne, MSS. were multiplied in Europe with more profusion than they had been in the most polished times of antiquity, so that the writings of Greece and Rome were studied in remote and desolate regions, to which, if it had not been for the efforts of the Church to promote learning, their fame would have never reached."

When we consider how tedious was the task involved in transcribing and copying, and the labor and industry involved in the multiplication of books and manuscripts, as well as the extraordinary patience and ingenuity required to produce even a single book; and when we take into account the prodigious number that were thus produced for the use of the churches, monasteries, universities, and the libraries of Europe, we cannot but marvel at the extent and magnitude of the labor performed by the patient and intelligent scribes of the middle ages—the "lazy monks." In spite of all the causes and agencies that have conspired to promote the destruction of these fragile and perishable treasures, how vast is the accumulation of ancient books and writings still preserved to us in their original form and beauty!

There are upwards of 80,000 MSS. in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris; 100,000 in the library of the British Museum; 20,000 in the Royal Library, Munich; 30,000 in the Bodleian Library, Oxford; 25,000 in the Vatican Library; besides the innumerable great collections in the various monasteries and the public and private libraries in Italy and throughout the continent. An account lately appeared in the public journals, of the discovery of an extensive collection of valuable Irish MSS. brought to light in the Royal Library, Copenhagen, not improbably part of the spoil carried away from Ireland by the Danish invaders! The ravages and destruction caused by civil wars and invasions during which, unhappily, the monastery and the school were too often the special objects of destructive vengeance, would account in part for the loss of many valuable collections of books; and when to this cause we add the losses by fire, natural decay, and other like agencies, we may well marvel that so many of these literary treasures are preserved to our day. The most fatal and destructive agency of all, undoubtedly, was the suppression of the religious orders and the confiscation of the monasteries and convents, where these literary treasures of the middle ages were chiefly collected and preserved.



An incredible number of MSS. and books were destroyed in England.

"Whole libraries," says a writer, "were made waste paper of, or consumed for the vilest uses."

The splendid Abbey of Malmesbury, which possessed some of the finest MSS. in the kingdom, was "ransacked, and its treasures either burnt or sold to serve the commonest purposes of life."

"One, among the misfortunes consequent upon the suppression of the monasteries," says Dr. Collier, "was an ignorant destruction of many valuable books; many noble libraries were destroyed, to a great public scandal, and an irreparable loss to learning." Bale, Bishop of Ossory, although an enemy to the monks, lamented with the sorrow of a scholar the destruction of the English libraries caused by the wanton ignorance of the "Reformed" Commissioners. There would have been less occasion for reproach, he says, in his quaint old English, "*if only there had been in every shrine of England but one Solemne lybrary to the preservacyon of those noble works . . . but to destroye all without consideracyon is and wyll be unto England for ever a most horrible infamy among the grave senyors of other nations.*"

Another writer mourns that the rarest books and the most precious MSS. were often turned to the vilest uses; the jewels and clasps torn off, whilst the books themselves were sold for waste paper; servants employed them to scour candlesticks, and even to rub their boots, and we are told of a tradesman who bought the contents of two noble libraries for "40 shillings," and had been using them for nearly two years for waste paper, and "had enough yet left to last him many years more."

The number and variety of the religious orders and congregations in the Catholic Church devoted to the duty of teaching in colleges, seminaries, and schools in every part of the world, constitutes, perhaps, the most striking evidence of the zeal and solicitude of the Church to promote and foster education, and to provide in the most effective manner for the training of her children. The efficiency and superior qualifications of these *religious* are universally acknowledged.

No parallel can be found for the self-devotedness of the members of these innumerable communities of men and women who consecrate their lives and their talents to this exalted mission. They supply learned Jesuits as professors for universities and colleges in the domain of higher studies; pious and talented Christian brothers for the parochial schools; and accomplished and elegantly trained nuns for the academies and female schools.

This subject alone would afford abundant material for an independent sketch, and cannot without injustice be considered in the

course of the present notice. We may be permitted to thus scantily refer to it in passing as suggesting and illustrating the resources of the Church, and her deep appreciation of the importance of providing for the educational wants of the young.

The Catholic Church has been from the beginning the earnest, constant and devoted foster mother of education; the patron of schools and colleges; the creator of libraries, the consistent friend of science and learning. These facts may be traced in her early history, they appear in the lives of her Pontiffs and Bishops; in the decrees of Councils and Synods; in the laws and enactments of Catholic kings and parliaments; in the zeal and services of the religious orders, and by the concurring testimony of truthful history. They are demonstrated in the schools established through her encouragement, and in the colleges and universities founded and maintained by her bounty and munificent patronage. The facts are triumphantly supported and vindicated by her Catholic children throughout all ages and in every land, who have given abounding proofs and shining testimony in the talents nourished by her teaching, and the genius which developed and matured under her stimulus and generous encouragement.

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## HOW CHURCH HISTORY IS WRITTEN.

*History of the Christian Church.* By Philip Schaff. A new edition, thoroughly revised and enlarged. Vol. I. Apostolic Christianity, A. D. 1-100. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1882. Large octavo, pp. 871.

**I**T must strike not only the Catholic, but even an impartial outsider, that there is something unreasonable, if not approaching the ludicrous, in the modern fashion of writing church history, as proposed in theory and carried out in practice by not a few of those who outside of the Catholic Church yet retain the Christian name. The writer of English or other profane history, no matter how strong his adherence to Protestantism, will never lose sight of the fact that he is writing the history of a commonwealth or state, one in its government, fundamental laws and institutions, one, too, in its people, no matter from what coalescence of races that unity may have arisen. It may be his duty to mention periods of domestic strife, transient outbreaks of rebellion or usurpation, just as he would not omit foreign wars, crimes, great calamities, or changes of legislation brought about by changed times; but he never forgets his main purpose, which is to write the history of one state, one people. It never occurs to him to identify rebels, usurpers, or other disturbers of the public peace with legitimate authority. But what he would not venture to do when writing the profane annals of an earthly state, he will do boldly, without any seeming consciousness of wrong, when sitting down to unfold the history of Christ's Church, God's kingdom upon earth.

The earliest and most venerable record of this kingdom is to be found in the inspired scriptures of the New Testament. And common propriety would suggest that they should be taken as model and guide by any one who sets about writing the history of God's kingdom. He might at least take the pains of learning from them what is the constitution and fundamental law of that Christian Church whose history and vicissitudes he undertakes to describe.

If there be any point of doctrine laid down with unmistakable clearness in the New Testament, it is the unity of the Church as to her belief, government, and the visible communion of her members in the profession of the same faith and the enjoyment of the same worship and sacraments. As there is but one Shepherd, there can be but one fold; as there is but one Lord, there can be but one faith, one baptism (Jo. x. 16; Eph. iv. 5). Nor is this

unity of belief and communion to be something vague, intangible, or invisible. Christ's people must form one body as well as one spirit. In one spirit we are baptized into one body. The one life-giving bread of the Eucharist, of which we all partake, makes us one body, though we be many (Eph. iv. 4 ; Coloss. iii. 15 ; 1 Cor. xii. 13, x. 17). All Christians must be "of one mind," "of one accord," not only in the bond of charity, but also in outward profession of the same faith, so that "all speak the same thing" (Phil. ii. 2 ; 1 Cor. i. 10). Heretics, that is those who presume to set themselves up against the teaching of Christ's Church, are to be warned, and if they remain obstinate are to be avoided, for they sin deliberately and so stand self-condemned. They are not to be allowed into Christian houses nor receive from us friendly greeting, lest we become partakers of their wickedness (Tit. iii. 10 ; 2 Jo. 10, 11).

But why should we quote further from the king's counsellors, and heralds, when we have the express words of the Divine Founder of this kingdom? In His prayer (Jo. xvii. 20-23), uttered on the eve of shedding His precious blood, that was to be the seal of the New Covenant, He beseeches His Father that not only the princes and rulers of His Church, but all who are hereafter to believe in Him may be one in faith as He and the Father are one. And he prays further, that this unity of belief may be to the world a standing proof of His divine mission and the divine origin of the kingdom He was to establish. "That the world may know that Thou hast sent Me" (*ibid.*). Our Lord, therefore, prayed for two things, first, that unity of faith might be the perpetual prerogative of His Church, and secondly, that this unity of faith should be an unfailing mark to distinguish true from false Christianity, in other words to know Christ's work from that of Anti-christ, who would one day seek its ruin under pretence of reforming and improving it.<sup>1</sup> Who that has a spark of Christian reverence can endure the thought that these last words of earnest supplication were doomed to fall away from the loving Father's ears unheard or unheeded, and that unity of faith, instead of becoming the glorious prerogative of His Church forever, was destined one day to become the shameful token of unenlightened, effete Christianity? Such a thought, disguise it as one will, is simply rank blasphemy. And if right-minded men, who profess to read and study their Bible, but alas! do not, would only read and ponder these words of Christ, they would shudder at the thought of thus dishonoring Him who bought them. And if they read a little further in the

<sup>1</sup> This is the way in which Our Lord's Prayer is explained by all Protestant commentators, who yet retain reverence for the Christianity taught in the Gospel. See Westcott's Notes on St. John's Gospel in Canon Cook's "Holy Bible." New York (Scribner's Sons), 1880, pp. 246-47.

same Gospel they would discover that Our Lord knew full well that He would be heard by His Father. "Father, I give Thee thanks that Thou hast heard me, and I know that Thou hearest me always" (Jo. xi. 41, 42).

The earlier Protestant historians—those say, who lived for nearly two centuries after the Reformation—exhibited in their writings far more of the principle and spirit, without which Christianity becomes inconceivable or absurd. Knowing well that Christ had founded a Church and spread it through the world by means of His apostles, they did their best to identify Protestantism with the Church that He had built, and that His chosen Twelve had preached to the Jewish and Gentile world. To do this was no easy task, but they labored at it in spite of all difficulties, and we may well suppose with not a few misgivings. Again, when they had to speak of those early heresies that rejected or sought to undermine the chief mysteries of revealed teaching, they would denounce such blasphemies with a hearty vehemence that sufficiently attested the reverence they had retained for what they deemed the most important truths of the Bible. The spirit of private judgment, however, proved always and necessarily some drawback, for this is a hidden magical link that unites all heresies, no matter how different, by bonds of sympathy. And in the case of such heretics as Aerius, Helvidius, and Vigilantius, it would be hard to expect that a Protestant historian should denounce them as freely as he would Manes, Arius, or Macedonius, or condemn his own errors in the person of any heresiarch however ancient.

But the spirit of doubt and denial that lay at the bottom of the sixteenth century revolt against Church authority had to run its logical course. And more than a century and a half has passed since the seeds of rationalism, scattered more or less covertly through the many works of the Reformer of Wittemberg, seem to have been suddenly developed in the German mind. They had been ripening all the while, as our Catholic theologians had foretold long before. Yet, when they burst out into full growth and vigorous life, Protestant orthodoxy appeared shocked and pained as if by some unforeseen catastrophe. But the shock, real or affected, was not of long duration. It soon subsided into indifference. And this ere long was followed by acquiescence and adhesion. Rationalism became not only the fashion, but the recognized badge, as it were, of culture and science, while orthodoxy of the old pattern was derided and decried as another name for ignorance or blind adherence to superstitions that had had their day, but could never return to enchain the enlightened human mind.

It was not only the doctrines of the sacred books that were

denied, but the books themselves and their divine origin. Then was fully justified the warning voice that had been uttered centuries before by our Catholic forefathers in the faith. They had said to those who in the sixteenth century had raised the false cry of Gospel freedom, "You have taken to yourselves the liberty of picking and choosing (as your very name *dipsonic* implies) whatever doctrines you prefer out of the inspired books and rejecting the rest. Your children will follow in your footsteps and do yet worse. They will pick and choose out of the sacred volume what books they like and discard the rest." And the children have done and continue to do it. Having first declared that the volume has no sacred character, they condescend to allow the genuineness of such books as will stand the test of their critical investigation (so they call it); the others they reject in whole or part as the coinage of some Pseudo-Isaias, Pseudo-Paul, Pseudo-Peter, and the like. And it is with the aid of these arbitrary methods they consider themselves best qualified to discuss and decide on any and every Biblical question, theological doctrine, and the history of the early Church.

And to speak more particularly of the last-mentioned subject, their usual style of dealing with it would be amusing were it not so wicked and too often blasphemous. The history of the Church in its earliest period has for its principal sources the writings of the Apostles themselves, and of those who are called "Apostolic Fathers," viz., Clement, Ignatius, Polycarp, and others. It is simply astonishing to see how rationalistic "critics" handle these writers; with what bold presumption they decide on their thoughts and motives as well as their words; how they retain or reject whatever they please, guided seemingly by no law but their own caprice. Self-conceited, boastful blunderers, who could mistake Meinhold's fiction,<sup>1</sup> composed in our own day, for an historical

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<sup>1</sup> Rev. Dr. Meinhold, an orthodox Lutheran minister of Pomerania, was a "hearty hater" of all the Rationalism of our day. He had a thorough contempt for the lofty criticism of the Tübingen school, believing it to be no scholarship at all, but windy pretence based on a love of novelty, rather than hatred of Christianity. He determined to puncture these wind-bags, and to do so, offered them as a bait his charming novel "*die Bernsteinhexe*" (the Amber Witch), remarkably well translated into English some forty years ago by Lady Duff Gordon. He pretended that it was an old chronicle which he had discovered in some Pomeranian archives. And the perfect way in which he imitated the German style and language of these centuries ago, lent color to his innocent artifice. The Tübingen school, for whom he had laid the trap, examined his book. Men who could tell every spurious or genuine verse in Matthew, Mark, Peter, Paul and John, applied their critical lens to the "*Amber Witch*," and after erudite examination decided that it was a genuine chronicle of the fifteenth century. The journalists and reviewers, who were only ordinary mortals, all suspected that he had only had recourse to the common artifice of romancers, like Walter Scott, Manzoni, and others. Meinhold himself kept quiet, laughing in secret over the stupidity and self-conceit of the Tübingen critics. It was only when he was formally questioned by

chronicle of three hundred years ago, can, *stantes pede in uno*, point out to you, if you will only take their word for it, every chapter, page, paragraph, and even single verse that is genuine, spurious, or interpolated in the writings of St. Paul, St. Peter, St. Clement, St. Ignatius, and the other sources on which depends the history of primitive Christianity.

By these remarks, which we have prefixed to an examination of Dr. Schaff's Church History, we do not intend to prejudge his book nor hold it up for the condemnation of our readers as the work of a professed rationalist. Dr. Schaff would be the last man to acknowledge himself such. But a rationalist he certainly is, if we are to judge him not by detached passages (written in a Christian sense), but by the whole tenor of his book. His rationalism may be more timid, more cautious, more refined than that of the Baur and the Tübingen school. But there is nothing to prevent rationalism from having its degrees, its less or more advanced stages, than positivism or any other system that is outside of Christianity. The drift of his book is eminently rationalistic, and any one of his disciples, any one who intends to learn from it as from a text-book—who does not skim it over superficially, but studies or even reads it with some degree of careful attention and accepts its teachings as truth—will soon find himself in a wretched state of doubt or, worse still, of dogmatism, which, whatever name it may assume, cannot honestly pretend to be called Christian. Unfortunately, the Protestant mind of the whole country is slowly but surely finding its way to the abyss of German rationalism, and many are closer to it than they would care to acknowledge. This happens principally in what are called our "seats of learning," colleges, theological seminaries, and the like. Some few even in the ministry speak out quite freely, and their frankness does them some credit. Others are more cautious,<sup>1</sup> and with good reason. There yet lingers a good deal of old-fashioned Protestantism in this country which cannot be insulted with impunity. It retains reverence for God, His only begotten Son, His Apostles and their inspired writings. It shudders, as just Christian feeling demands,

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a letter from King John of Saxony, that he came out and acknowledged that every line and word of the romance was his from beginning to end. What did the infallible professors of Tübingen do? They came out with a proclamation declaring that they were right in their decision, and that Meinhold must have deceived the public.

<sup>1</sup> It is not more than a year since an Episcopal minister of New York declared publicly that many Protestant ministers did not hold the religious opinions which they habitually gave out from the pulpit, but lacked the courage to speak out what they thought. He referred, evidently, to those who spoke like Christians, while believing like rationalists. This candid acknowledgment (for, doubtless, he included himself in the number) raised a storm of indignant denial in many parts of the country, especially from the religious press, whose editors must have known the truth of the assertion.

at the thought of allowing the Holy Books of the Old or New Law to be treated as the work of ignorant or designing men, the outcome of a rude, imperfect religion, and only a little better, if at all, than the writings of Buddha or Confucius.

This class of Protestants must be gently dealt with. Their prejudices, as these Neologists consider them (and would so call them if they dared), must not be abruptly shocked, but must be delicately handled. The false teachers even seek to propitiate the unthinking crowd by occasional outbursts of sturdy Protestantism. And we all know how efficacious are a few timely tirades against Popery in lulling to unsuspecting repose the minds of most hearers and readers, and giving the safest assurance of the orthodoxy of the preacher or writer.

We regret that Dr. Schaff—in what all must acknowledge to be a learned and important work—should have laid himself open to the suspicion of having stooped to this petty artifice. It will be hard for any enlightened, impartial reader to resist the suggestion that his foul, reckless and (for an historian) undignified abuse of everything Catholic is only a shabby device to maintain his own character for orthodoxy and turn away attention from the rationalistic poison of his book. Or, to be more charitable, perhaps it is the intensity of his hatred to Rome that impels him unconsciously to break out into abuse of Rome and all that belongs to her, to vilify—and we are ashamed to say it—to falsify her creed. Others perhaps may suspect another motive. They will remember that years ago Dr. Schaff was accused of Romanizing tendencies. There was not a particle of ground for the accusation, unless perhaps that in waging war with the Catholic Church he abstained from the fierce, coarse language current amongst the sects. Time has shown that there never was any danger of his leaving the Protestant fold. But the memory of the charge haunts him still. It is a sore yet rankling within him; and he unwisely *vulnera cruda retractat*, by letting slip no occasion of flinging off this hated reproach. And how does he do it? By stooping to imitate the very men who accused him of being a Crypto-Papist in the use of ugly language against Rome! It is a pity that a man of his scholarly attainments and well-established reputation could find no better, more dignified way of repelling this or any other charge.

Forgetting, however, for the moment Dr. Schaff's anti-Catholic and Rationalistic bias, it is but fair to state that he has here and there passages breathing a truly Christian spirit, to which no Catholic can take exception, but must on the contrary award them his unqualified sympathy and admiration. There are other passages, too, which no Protestant can read without accepting him as a thorough exponent of most orthodox, old-fashioned, evangelical



Protestantism. But such detached passages are calculated to do harm and have done it. They have caught the eye and blinded the mental vision of his reviewers. For in them all we have found no word of condemnation, not even of warning, but one universal chorus of rapturous praise. The only exception was a Lutheran periodical, which ventured faintly to blame the author's lack of due reverence for Luther. But it had no eyes to detect his want of reverence for the Apostles and the Holy Ghost who inspired them.

Apart from all religious considerations, and viewing the work merely from a literary standpoint, it is simple justice to say that Dr. Schaff's history is well written. Though he was born in Germany and spent his youth there, his correct and judicious use of our language would prevent any reader from suspecting that English was not his native tongue. His book is, besides, replete with erudition, some of which will be new to most American readers. And the number of authors whom he quotes is sufficient proof of the patient, toilsome research that he has brought to the composition of his work.

By the very motto the author has chosen for his book and inscribed on its title-page, he sufficiently shows what is his conception of Christ's Christian Church. His reason for adopting it is this: "The secular historian should be filled with universal human sympathy, the church historian with universal Christian sympathy. The motto of the former is: *Homo sum; nihil humani a me alienum puto*;<sup>1</sup> the motto of the latter: *Christianus sum; nihil Christiani a me alienum puto*" (p. 25). This frame of mind in the Church historian he describes in the same paragraph as "a sound moral and religious, that is, a truly Christian spirit." He explains himself more openly on p. 26: "There is a common Christianity in the Church as well as a common humanity in the world which no Christian can disregard with impunity. Christ is the divine harmony of all the discordant human creeds and sects. It is the duty and the privilege of the historian to trace the image of Christ in the various physiognomies of His disciples and to act as a mediator between the different sections of His Kingdom." Christ's Church, therefore, is to be considered as made up of all those who justly or unjustly call themselves Christians. And all who call Him Master, no matter how discordant or contradictory the lessons they have learned from Him, are His disciples. This would only prove (*sit venia verbo*), that He is not a competent Teacher. Is not

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<sup>1</sup> This is the celebrated line of Terence, praised by Cicero, Seneca, Saints Ambrose and Augustine, and other Holy Fathers and mediæval writers, and which, when first uttered, is said to have elicited applause from the whole theatre. We think Dr. S. should have let the famous line remain just as the poet wrote it:

*Homo sum: humani nihil a me alienum puto.*

this horrible to Christian ears? Yet it is the logical sequence of the author's theory. And if, as He promised, He is forever to abide with His Church, made up of jarring creeds and discordant sects, then He can only abide with her as a patron and encourager, if not an actual teacher of error. But is this the Bible conception of the Church in the Old or New Covenant? Was the old Church at any time made up of Jews, Jeroboamites, and Samaritans? or did our Saviour deceive the Samaritan woman when He told her (Jo. iv. 22) that salvation, and therefore the true way of worshipping God, as taught by Himself, belonged exclusively to the Jews: *Salus ex Judæis est?* The very fact that the Jews would not hold social, much less religious, communion with the Samaritans (ib. v. 8), shows plainly that the latter were considered to be outside of the Jewish Church. In the Church of the New Testament the lines are yet more strictly drawn. Heretics, as we have seen from St. Paul and St. John, are to be shut out by true Christians from religious communion, and even from social intercourse, where this may endanger faith. According to the beloved Apostle, heretics are not in the Church; and their going out of it is the best proof that in heart and soul they never belonged to it. "They went out from us, but they were not of us. For if they had been of us they would, no doubt, have continued with us" (I. John ii. 19). And we have seen before that, according to our Saviour's prayer (Jo. xvii.), unity of faith was to be the distinctive mark, not only of the Apostles and disciples, whom the Father gave immediately into His hands, but of all who were to believe in Him down to the end of the world.

The Church historian has no more right to ignore or pervert this New Testament characteristic of Christ's earthly kingdom than has the Church theologian. And what is true of her faith must also be true of her government. If she is an organized body—and the wisdom and power of her Divine Founder call for nothing else—she must be one and unchanging in her government. Nor can the historian lose sight of this without being unfaithful to his duty, and insinuating dogmatic error under cover of historical development. Yet Dr. Schaff gives this advice (p. 9), and has no objection to allow his readers to suppose that Papal, Presbyterial, and Congregational governments are mere outward forms of Church polity, either simply adiaphorous or nothing more than the outgrowth of human caprice or human ambition. Elsewhere, indeed (p. 486), he makes no secret of his own opinion, which is that in the Apostolic times there was no distinction between clergy and laity. And with that lofty superciliousness, which is the distinguishing trait of all Rationalists, even of the milder type, as if he alone possessed the key of Scriptural knowledge, he boldly de-

cides (p. 263) against all commentators, Catholic and non-Catholic, of the last eighteen centuries, that by the word *κληρων* (clergy, I. Pet. v. 3), St. Peter meant not *clergy*, but *laity*, viz., "the Christian people." The New Testament cannot be expected to furnish its own commentary, but a sufficient help to its meaning (apart from Church authority) may be found in the words and actions of those Apostolic Fathers who were educated in the school of the Apostles, and who represented and perpetuated their teaching. St. Ignatius, a disciple of St. John, speaks clearly enough of the difference between bishops, priests, and laity. And St. Clement, a Roman disciple of St. Peter, in a solemn document, written on behalf of the Church of Rome to the Church of Corinth, says plainly that the chief priest (bishop or *αρχιερεως*) has his duties assigned him; as to the priests (*τοις ιερευσιν*) is also allotted their proper place, and to the Levites (deacons) their own ministry; while the layman (*ο λαικος*) is bound by the precepts that regard the laity.<sup>1</sup> St. Polycarp, too, in his letter to the Philippians (cap. v.), mentions deacons and priests as distinct from the laity.<sup>2</sup>

If there be any doctrine that has come down from Apostolic times to our own consecrated by the belief and reverence of all Christians, and holding its own unimpaired by quarrels over other doctrines, it is the inspiration of the books of the Old and New Testament. The New Testament cannot be supposed to vouch directly<sup>3</sup> for its own inspiration. But this has been sufficiently established by the teaching of the Apostles and the tradition of the Church. St. Paul calls all Scripture divinely inspired (*θεόπνευστος*, II. Tim. iii. 16); and St. Peter adds, that its authors were holy men of God, who spoke inspired or moved by the Holy Ghost (*ἐκ τοῦ Πνεύματος ἁγίου φερόμενοι*, II. Pet. i. 21). Catholic and Protestant alike acknowledge this truth, and to deny it is virtually to overthrow Christianity. Dr. Schaff amuses his readers by talking in general terms of inspiration, as if he held the orthodox view of it. He speaks (p. 571) of the New Testament books as "written under the special influence and direction of the Holy Spirit;" but when he comes to speak in detail of the "holy men of God," whom Catholics and orthodox Protestants believe to have been the chosen

<sup>1</sup> See *Patrum Apostolicorum Opera* (by Gebhart and Harnack), Lipsiae, 1876, vol. i., pp. 65, 66. The boastful arrogance of these two rationalistic editors is only matched by their contempt for Latin grammar and syntax. They make *perlustratus* a deponent participle (p. lxxvi.), and *regnatus* the equivalent of the passive participle "governed." "Ecclesia cui adscriptus erat auctor nondum *per unum Episcopum regnata* esse videtur." And these are the men who bow down before Theodore Mommson, and join him in casting discredit on the classical scholars of Italy.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., vol. ii., p. 120. If he does not mention the bishop, it may be easily explained by the possibility that the see was then vacant. Zahn's supposition that no bishops yet existed is quite gratuitous. The main point is the distinction between clergy and laity.

<sup>3</sup> Indirectly St. Paul's Epistles are vouched for as Scripture by St. Peter (II. Pet. iii. 16).

channels of God's revelation, he shows the cloven foot of Rationalism. He hints, when he gets the chance (p. 608), that inspiration, in its true sense, is incompatible with "the personal agency and individual peculiarities of the sacred authors, and the exercise of their natural faculties in writing." He seems inclined to fasten on Catholics and orthodox Protestant Christians a belief in this incompatibility, and regards it as an attempt on their part "to cut the Gordian knot," which is wholly of his own making. As far as the Catholic Church is concerned, we can only say that no such idea was ever entertained by her divines. From the great St. Jerome, who, centuries ago, studiously noted the difference in style between the rustic Amos and the courtly Isaias, down to the humblest theological plodder of our day, every one acknowledges, without hesitation, that difference of style or mental peculiarities, diligence, and skill in the searching out and making use of records, written or unwritten, are by no means incompatible with the Catholic theory of inspiration. Does Dr. Schaff imagine that no Catholic Father or theologian has ever read St. Luke's prologue to his Gospel, and that his able pen was needed to bring out its true significance?

We insist that with or notwithstanding a man's peculiarities of style, temperament, accurate research, and preparation, he may be chosen to be the channel of communication between God and man; and, when he is so chosen, he becomes the mouthpiece of God, revealing the truth to His creatures. Though his natural qualities be left intact, nothing in them that is vicious, sinful, testy, or capricious, nothing that can impair or disfigure the truth will be allowed to appear on the pages of God's revelation. Paul, right or wrong, may disagree with Barnabas on his journey, or may fall out with Cephas about disciplinary matters. But the Holy Ghost does not intend to consecrate by His inspiration these personal feelings, whether well or ill-founded. And, whoever insinuates the contrary, can only mean—we will not say to dishonor the Holy Spirit—but most assuredly to overthrow the whole Christian theory of inspiration. This is what Dr. Schaff does throughout his book. He represents the Apostles as narrow-minded partisans, divided into factions, standing on their dignity, if not huffishly inclined, differing from one another in their views of Christian doctrine. And all this he has discovered, not from independent historical sources, but from their *inspired* writings. What his notion of inspiration is may be easily guessed from this. It is one which any Rationalist or Infidel will readily allow. Lest we be suspected of exaggeration we quote a few passages to show the irreverent, contemptuous tone in which he speaks of Peter, Paul, James, John, and the rest, after praising them with words which are often in themselves offensive. It is the *Ave Rabbi* of the Passion offered once more to Christ our Lord in the person of His Apostles.

ST. JAMES.—“James appears as the most conservative of the Jewish converts, at the head of the extreme right wing, yet recognizing Paul as the Apostle of the Gentiles. . . . He must, therefore, not be classed with the heretical Judaizers” (p. 267). “He was an honest (!), conscientious (!), eminently practical, conciliatory Jewish Christian saint,—the right man in the right place, and at the right time, although contracted in his mental vision” (ibid.). “He represented, as it were, the extreme right wing of the Jewish Church, bordering close on the Judaizing faction” (p. 344). “He had more the spirit of an ancient prophet, or of John the Baptist, than the spirit of Jesus (in whom he did not believe till after the resurrection); but for this very reason he had most authority over the Jewish Christians, and could reconcile the majority of them to the progressive (!) spirit of Paul” (p. 345). “He undoubtedly differs widely from Paul. . . . There are multitudes of sincere, earnest, and faithful Christian workers, who never rise above the level of James, to the sublime height of Paul or John” (p. 271).

THE COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM.—Though the Apostles proclaim that the decrees of this Council were the work of the Holy Ghost (*visum est SPIRITUI SANCTO et nobis*), and the whole Christian world has ever so believed, yet Dr. Schaff has no more respect for it than he would have for an act of Congress, or of one of our legislatures. It was a “compromise” (p. 346) between conflicting parties, and, like all compromises, unsatisfactory. “It was liable to a double construction, and had in it the seed of future troubles. It was an armistice, rather than a final settlement” (p. 351). “The decree was deficient (!). It went far enough for the temporary emergency, and as far as the Jewish Church was willing to go, but not far enough for the cause of Christian union and Christian liberty in its legitimate development” (p. 349). He intimates that its illiberal character made it offensive to St. Paul, and that consequently he would not condescend to mention it in any of his Epistles. “Why does Paul never refer to this synodical decree? Because he could take a knowledge of it for granted; or more probably because he did not like altogether its restrictions, which were used by the illiberal constructionists against him and against Peter at Antioch” (p. 346). These illiberal constructionists, we are subsequently told (pp. 352 and 354), are the strict constructionists of the school of St. James.

ST. JOHN.—“In the first stadium of Apostolic Christianity, John figures as one of the three pillars of the Church of the circumcision, together with Peter and James, the brother of the Lord; while Paul and Barnabas represented the Gentile Church. This seems to imply that at that time he had not yet risen to the full apprehension of the universalism and freedom of the Gospel. But he was the most liberal (!) of the three, standing between James

and Peter on the one hand, and Paul on the other, and looking already towards a reconciliation of Jewish and Gentile Christianity. The Judaizers never appealed to him as they did to James or to Peter. There is no trace of a Johannean party, as there is of a Cephas party, and a party of James. He stood above strife and division" (p. 423). "The theology of the second and third centuries evidently presupposes the writings of John, and starts from his Christology, rather than from Paul's anthropology and soteriology, which were almost buried out of sight (!) until Augustin in Africa revived them" (p. 426).

ST. PETER.—"Peter stands between James and Paul, and forms the transition from the extreme conservatism of the one to the progressive liberalism of the other" (p. 522). "His knowledge gradually widened and deepened with the expansion of Christianity and the conversion of Cornelius" (p. 523).

ST. MARK.—"Mark has no distinct doctrinal type, but is catholic, irenic, unsectarian, and neutral, as regards the party questions within the Apostolic Church" (p. 635). On the very next page, in Rationalistic fashion, he contradicts all this, and quotes approvingly the remark of Dr. Morison: "There is not so much as a straw of evidence that the Gospel of Mark occupied a position of mediation or irenic neutrality in relation to the two other synoptic Gospels" (p. 636). Therefore Mark was and was not "irenic and neutral," and probably did not know his own mind. On the same page Dr. S. kindly concedes that Matthew and Luke "made their (historical) selections without altering or coloring the facts."

ST. LUKE.—"An irenic spirit, such as we may freely admit in the writings of Luke, does not imply an alteration or invention of facts. On the contrary, it is simply an unsectarian, catholic spirit, which aims at the truth, and nothing but the truth, and which is the first duty of the historian" (p. 669).

We could quote a great deal more, but what has been quoted shows the author's utter contempt for the Christian idea of inspiration. These "holy men of God," who "spoke inspired by the Holy Ghost," as St. Peter says, were narrow-minded partisans, who founded separate schools, and, when they did their best, only aimed at doctrinal compromises. We would rather see them openly denounced as demagogues and impostors by men of the stripe of Paulus and Renan, than hear them "damned with faint praise" by Dr. Schaff as catholic, irenic, unsectarian, honest, etc. These epithets to any Christian ear are more offensive than downright abuse. They only lead us to surmise that he would pour out the full measure of his rationalistic venom if he dared, if the ignorant Christian prejudices of the country, as he considers them, did not present too formidable a barrier to be attacked without extreme caution.

We have only a little space left to notice Dr. Schaff's virulent attacks on everything Catholic, or that Catholics regard with reverence. He begins with the Blessed Virgin, and denounces her whom all generations are bound to bless (either freely on earth or against their will in everlasting flames), as tainted with "actual and native sin" (p. 442). He thinks that she needs a Saviour, as if the Catholic Church (of whose doctrines he seems to know nothing) had not always taught and did not teach at this day the same thing. He shows his anti-Catholic hatred of her perpetual virginity by leaning to the hypothesis that the so-called "brothers of our Lord" (a Hebrew form of expression for cousins or relatives) were actually uterine brothers, children of the Blessed Virgin and St. Joseph. This brazen-faced hypothesis is caught up eagerly by all who wish to dishonor our Blessed Lady and the Church that alone fulfils her prophecy by doing her homage. An Episcopal clergyman of Ohio, some thirty years ago, wrote a book in favor of this unchristian opinion; and his bishop wrote a letter approving the book, on the score that it would do good service against the Roman Church, and its reverence for the Virgin Mother of God. It is impossible for a Catholic, however strong-minded and impartial, to listen to these things without fancying them mere echoes of the hissing of that infernal serpent who writhes, crushed and bruised, under her virgin heel.

St. Peter, like a true Protestant, he holds in horror and detestation, because he identifies him with the Church of Rome, and delights in pouring out his gall upon the latter by abusing her Apostle and founder. Peter, according to him, was guilty of sin, of public scandal, of downright hypocrisy (p. 355). He surrendered a vital principle, and was willing to allow Christianity "to shrink into a narrow corner as a Jewish sect" (*ibid.*). "The whole scene (of Paul's quarrel with Peter) typically foreshadows the grand historical conflict between Petrine Catholicism and Pauline Protestantism (unmeaning, absurd words, which Dr. Schaff elsewhere makes a show of condemning as the invention of German Rationalism, but which he takes care to slyly insinuate as historically well-grounded throughout the whole of his book), which, we trust, will end at last in a grand Johannean reconciliation" (p. 358). He showed "cowardly fear of the narrow-minded Judaizers from Jerusalem." He was a "rock of offence and a stumbling-block" (*ibid.*). His modesty at the Last Supper was only "presumption." He showed his "consistent inconsistency" and cowardice by running away from martyrdom at the end of his life (*ibid.*). If Dr. Schaff hated St. Peter less, or loved truth more, he would have understood better the words of Origen and St. Ambrose, whom he has the face to quote in support of his wicked accusation. We may charitably suppose that he has quoted them second-hand, without read-

ing them, from his Rationalistic masters, Hilgenfeld, Tischendorf, and Lipsius. Peter, we have it repeated by Dr. Schaff, *usque ad nauseam*, was a married man, and carried his wife about with him on his missionary excursions; and this he makes an argument (p. 262) against "the claims of the Papacy!" One would suppose that Peter's marriage was a secret discovered for the first time by Dr. Schaff. Every Catholic has heard of it, and acknowledged it from the days of the Apostles to the present time. But following St. Jerome and the Fathers of the Church, we treat with deserved contempt Dr. Schaff's gratuitous romance about St. Peter's living with his wife after his call to the Apostleship. There are a few burning words in St. Jerome (*Commentary on Osee*, cap. ix.) touching heretical hatred of chastity, which we can scarcely forbear quoting in this connection, but we let them pass. Dr. S. thinks Peter's conduct at Antioch "irreconcilable with his infallibility as to discipline," and even with his "alleged supremacy" (p. 263). Now, why does Dr. S. deliberately falsify (we really can use no milder term) the doctrine of the Catholic Church? He knows, as well as any Catholic theologian, or the Vatican Council itself, that neither St. Peter nor his successors are infallible in disciplinary matters. And his saying so, against his better knowledge, is simply an effusion of blind hatred, which will not commend him to impartial readers. It is at utter variance with the canon he himself lays down: "The historian must first lay aside all prejudice and party zeal, and proceed in the pure love of truth" (p. 25). Let him abuse and decry St. Peter, if he will; but let him not belie or misrepresent him or the Church that was built on him. We are asking for very little. And if he could be shamed into the decency of common logic, where Catholic belief is concerned, we would ask him to think twice before asserting that the argument for Papal infallibility, drawn from Luke xxii. 31, 32 (*Rogavi pro te ut non deficiat fides tua. Et tu aliquando conversus confirma fratres tuos*), "would logically imply also that every Pope must deny Christ and be converted, in order to strengthen the brethren" (p. 256).

There is a great deal more of this anti-Catholic venom in Dr. Schaff's book, which is neither compatible with truth nor with the dignity of history. It is simply the pent-up indignation of an angry partisan, which he has neither the tact nor the good manners to restrain within proper bounds. And it shows that a man may write very becomingly of the way in which the historian should conduct his work (see pp. 22-27, § Duty of the Historian) without being willing or able to realize his ideal.

To sum up all that we have said in a few words, Dr. Schaff is nothing more than a bitter, unscrupulous, anti-Catholic partisan, who, to gratify his hatred of the Church and her Founder, has no



difficulty in sacrificing historical truth in a book which he and his admirers call a *History of the Christian Church*. As an expounder of Protestant Christianity honesty does not shine amongst his qualifications. He is simply a cunning, Rationalistic wolf, dressed up in Evangelical sheep's clothing.

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## THE AMERICAN HIERARCHY IN ITS THREEFOLD SOURCE.

### THREE REPRESENTATIVE BISHOPS.

*Don Fray Juan de Zumárraga, primer Obispo y Arzobispo de Mexico. Estudio Biografico y Bibliografico por Joaquin Garcia Icazbalceta.* Mexico, 1881. 8vo, 371, 278 pp.

*Monseigneur de Saint-Vallier et l'Hôpital Général de Québec.* Québec, 1882. 8vo, 743 pp.

*Leben und Wirken des hochseligen Johannes Nep. Neumann, aus der Congregation des allerh. Erlösers, Bischofs von Philadelphia, von P. John Nep. Berger, aus der Congregation des allerh. Erlösers.* New York. Benziger Bros., 1883. 12mo, 405 pp.

THERE is something grand in the sources of our hierarchy, recent though it be, and apparently unable to boast of ancient glory; of heroic prelaty confronting with dignity the assaults of error wielded by the power of Rome, the sophistry of Greece, the brutal tyranny of feudalism, or greed and passion cloaked in the rags of would-be learning. Our hierarchy seems to date back only a century; yet this is but a dim and poor idea. The eye of faith reaches farther back, back into the annals of the Church.

Three ancient European sees, betokening and representing as many time-honored hierarchies of the Old World, full of the apostolic injunction, extended their ministry to the ends of the earth, beyond the vast ocean which sobbed and seethed unceasingly before them. And from this threefold source come lines of bishops blending into the present hierarchy of the United States.

By a singular Providence, a petty strip on our Atlantic coast

shows the three European sees exercising jurisdiction on our continent, not by a mere fiction, but really and with the full apostolic spirit.

Just at the close of the first quarter of the sixteenth century, the Dominican Father c Montésinos reared a chapel in honor of St. Michael on the banks of the James as the stream rolled on in its course to meet the bay, which Catholicity had consecrated as St. Mary's. The Dominicans stood there in the Western World, with no other angel of the Mass looking on them for thousands of miles in any direction. Each of them stood there as a priest of the diocese of Seville, with faculties from the Archbishop of that venerable Iberian see, acknowledging his jurisdiction.

A century later Father Isaac Jogues, of the Society of Jesus, preached to the Indians of the Mohawk, and exercised the ministry in the Dutch hamlet of New Amsterdam, where the majestic Hudson sweeps through its mountain course to kiss the sea. Whence came his faculties? His superior, he would tell you, was Vicar-General of the Archbishop of Rouen.

Already between these points the associates of the Jesuit Father Andrew White were offering the holy sacrifice, were administering the sacraments, were winning to the fold the dusky son of the forest, and emigrants whose ancestors had yielded to the violence or cajoling of heresy in Europe. These Fathers, and the sons of St. Francis who labored with them, acknowledged the jurisdiction of the Vicar Apostolic of England, then the sole representative of the ancient hierarchy of the Island of Great Britain.

Here, on a little strip of our coast, we behold the cross planted under the authority of the ancient hierarchies of England, France, and Spain, all bowing reverently to the overruling authority of Rome. This event was not a mere strange, evanescent accident. As Spain's colonization extended, Seville gladly yielded her authority to local bishops appointed by the Holy See. Saint Domingo and Mexico became bishoprics, each in time the head of a hierarchy which sent its apostolic men over the southern part of the lands our republic now includes, and exercising at first directly, and later through suffragans complete episcopal jurisdiction. The first Bishop of Louisiana was a suffragan of Saint Domingo, as the first Bishop of Mobile was of the new metropolitan the Archbishop of Santiago de Cuba. The first bishops of Sonora and the Californias were suffragans of the see of Mexico. Their successors in those dioceses, and those formed out of them in later days, can claim apostolic succession from the glorious Church of Spain, the Church of St. Isidore and St. Leander, of St. Ildephonsus, of Hosius of Cordoba, of St. Thomas of Villanova, of St. Fructuosus, St. Turibins, St. Julian, and St. Eulogius.

So in time the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Rouen, exercised from Labrador to Texas, devolved on Francis de Laval de Montmorency, first Bishop of Petra, and then first Bishop of Quebec. Under his successors priests spread through the West and Southwest, planting the faith, and suffragans arose in time from ocean to ocean, till a bishop was consecrated for Oregon; the Archbishop of that see and his suffragans claim their descent from a Church that can point in history to St. Trophemus of Arles, and St. Pothenus of Lyons, St. Maximin of Aix, St. Irenæus of Lyons, St. Martin and St. Gregory of Tours, St. Hilary of Arles, St. Germanius of Auxerre, St. Mello of Rouen, St. Louis of Toulouse.

The see of Baltimore and all that have sprung from it, the dioceses east of the Mississippi, trace their origin to the Church illustrated by the virtues and sufferings of St. Dunstan, St. Elphege, St. Chad, St. Augustine, St. Cuthbert, St. Asaph, St. Hugh, St. John of Beverly, St. Edmund, and the great St. Anselm of Canterbury.

While the hierarchy thus is linked to England, France, and Spain, Providence has sent to our land many thousands from Ireland, whose apostle St. Patrick received episcopal consecration at the hands of a bishop in Gaul, and from Germany, whose early apostles, Boniface and Virgil, received their orders in the churches to which St. Patrick and St. Dunstan belonged.

Far back as the history of the Church in this country dates, she came not as a novel institution, a mere religious experiment, she came in her episcopal jurisdiction, her priesthood, and her faithful, full of the memories, the tradition, the faith and the liturgy of more than fifteen centuries, to transmit them faithfully three centuries and more to our day. In this view the Church stands the grandest factor in American history, the most vital, the most expansive, yet the most conservative principle in American life.

Three works have recently appeared that typify, in a manner, the three sources of our hierarchy, three centuries of the Church's life in America. These are the life of Father John de Zumárraga, first Bishop and first Archbishop of Mexico (1527-48), by the eminent Mexican scholar Joaquin Garcia Icazbalceta; the life of John Baptist de la Croix de Chevrères de St. Vallier, second Bishop of Quebec (1688-1727), and the life of the Right Rev. John Nepomucene Neumann, C.S.S.R., fourth Bishop of Philadelphia (1852-60), by one who, like the saintly bishop himself, is one of the sons of St. Alphonsus Liguori.

The life of Bishop Zumárraga, which is one of the most important studies on early Mexican history that has appeared in our time, sprang from the bibliographical studies of the author. With-

out any idea of contributing to ecclesiastical history, he began to collect notes on Bishop Zumárraga for a *Bibliografía Mexicana del Siglo XVI*. The first printing press in the New World was set up in Mexico, and the clergy were its directors. Many of the *Incunabula Americana* are connected with Bishop Zumárraga; the author's notes grew rapidly, discussions arose, and the result is in the careful and judicious volume under consideration. It is not the work of priest or bishop, who can be supposed to be biased by his sacred calling to exalt the subject of his biographical labors into a spiritual hero, but the calm judicious work of a layman, an historical scholar, known for patient and accurate investigation, for an acquaintance with printed and documentary material possessed by few, and for a sound, impartial judgment, that have won respect for his writings in all countries.

"Among the victims of ignorance and party spirit," says our author, "stands pre-eminent Don Fray Juan de Zumárraga, first Bishop and Archbishop of Mexico. Thanks in a great measure to the declamations of vulgar writers—men who wrote without reading, or read only to lie more effectively—this worthy and beneficent prelate has come at last to be, in the conception of many, the type of an ignorant and fanatical friar. But they do not depreciate and belittle him from any zeal for justice or love of truth, but at times from pure ignorance, and in many cases because they think, with sorry logic, that in his person they assail the religion which he professed and which was the mainspring of all his actions. Religion, the Church, the priesthood, these are the real target of their shafts." . . . . "I regret to add that not only among the vulgar herd of writers are found impassioned detractors of the illustrious bishop; historians of note, who at one time attained great popularity, have accepted without examination and supported by their authority the falsehoods of which the bishop has been the victim." It will at once occur to the minds of our readers how Prescott prostituted great natural talent to a bitter and unreasoning hatred of Catholicity, under the influence of which he seizes every opportunity to paint in revolting colors every type of Catholicity. In his hands Zumárraga becomes a monster.

Freethinkers in Mexico caught readily at these slanders and they were constantly repeated, but of late a more favorable judgment of the bishop began to gain ground. Yet it was necessary to show, as Señor Icazbalceta well says, "that far from having been an ignorant friar, a blind, incarnate destroyer of the monuments of Mexican civilization, Bishop Zumárraga was an apostolic man, poor, humble, learned, zealous, prudent, enlightened, and charitable; a mortal enemy of all superstition and tyranny, an in-

defatigable propagator of the true doctrine of Jesus Christ, a protector of the weak ones of his flock, a benefactor of the people in the material as well as in the moral order, and eminently practical in all his regulations and counsels. If at times he erred, let us use some indulgence towards a man who did so much good, remembering that he was a man, and a man of his time."

The life of the first Bishop of Mexico, amid a horde of adventurers, eager for fame and wealth and power, who chafed under any restraint, was not one of inglorious ease. He strove manfully to do his duty, and roused deep and lasting enmity. His life of struggle has been followed by years of misrepresentation. Now at last the time has come for an impartial judgment.

Juan de Zumárraga, as he is known in the annals of St. Francis and in the Church, was born in Durango, a town in Biscay not far from Bilbao, in that sturdy north of Spain which has given so many men of power. He was born apparently about 1468, and took the habit of St. Francis in the austere convent of Abrojo. He was guardian of that convent, when in 1527 the Emperor Charles V. chose it for his retreat in Holy Week. On leaving he offered the guardian a royal alms; but Father Zumárraga declined it persistently till he feared he would exasperate the great ruler, and when he at last accepted the donation, it was only to distribute it at once among the poor, without reserving anything for his community. Father Zumárraga had already been guardian of several convents, and provincial; Charles saw in him learning, piety, disinterestedness, and love for the poor; and he had the truly royal gift of selecting able men. When soon after a witchcraft excitement broke out, the Emperor selected this religious to investigate the whole matter; it is known "that he discharged his duty with rectitude and maturity." His worst enemies fail to show that he acted with rashness, credulity, or cruelty. From all that we know, we can place him in a higher rank than the clergy of Prescott's Province of Massachusetts a century later.

At this time there was but one bishop on the American continent, the Dominican Julian Garcés, appointed in 1519 Caroline bishop, or Bishop of Santa Maria de los Remedios de Yucatan, who in 1526 fixed his see at Tlascala, though now at Puebla. The city of Mexico, however, the capital, needed a bishop. It did not require much reflection on the part of the Emperor to fix on the choice of the new prelate, for he had not forgotten the devout guardian of Abrojo, on whom he had already fixed his attention. He presented him for the new see, December 12th, 1527.

Mexico was then in a most discordant state. Cortez had arrayed against him a host of military and civil officials, and the

court was overrun with complaints and accusations on both sides. The very judges sent to investigate and establish order only increased the disorders.

The bishop elect before receiving his bulls or episcopal consecration resolved to proceed to the spot, to be able to see exactly the position in which the Church and matters ecclesiastical were in the realm of Mexico. He sailed from Seville in August, 1528, and reached the city of Mexico on the last month of that year. There he found that Cortez had gone to Spain to seek justice; his enemies were in full power, and all combined to oppress the Indians, extorting money from the petty monarchs and chiefs, and resorting to every violence. The stern justice of the bishop elect was at once aroused, but it only drew on him personal abuse. The Emperor, however, had made him protector of the Indians; and though *conquistadores* and the magistrates were against him, the religious were the faithful champions of the rights of the natives. Being only bishop elect, his power was limited, but he presented to the Audience his appointment as Protector of the Indians, and requested their aid to enforce his authority. This was evaded, but the Indian rulers hearing of the arrival of a Protector flocked to him with presents. These he declined, but when he heard the story of their wrongs, he felt compelled to investigate many cases. The Audience took alarm and forbade him to interfere in Indian matters. The bishop replied that he would meet them to examine his authority, but he would not shrink from fulfilling his duty, though it should cost him his life. The Audience repeated their order, threatening to banish him and seize his revenues; and any Spaniard who appealed to the bishop was made liable to forfeit his Indians, and any Indian having recourse to him was menaced with death. When the bishop, after private conference with Guzman and other members of the Audience, threatened from the pulpit that he would lay the whole matter before the King, Guzman declared that he would hurl the preacher from his pulpit.

This was no idle threat, for when the Audience published a manifesto against the Franciscans, accusing them of the grossest crimes, Father Antonio Ortiz, ascending the pulpit in presence of the bishop to protest their innocence, was dragged from it by order of the Audience and sentenced to banishment.

As the Audience intercepted all letters, the bishop was unable to address the Emperor till August, 1529, when he took letters himself to Vera Cruz and placed them in safe hands.

On the report that Cortez was returning fully justified, Guzman gathered a force and went to conquer new territories. The other Auditors ruled as violently as ever, and, seizing two ecclesiastics

who were in custody of the Church authorities, imprisoned them and put them to torture. The bishop proceeded with his clergy to demand their release, but was attacked and nearly killed with a lance. The Auditors, though threatened with excommunication and interdict, hung and quartered the prisoners.

At last Cortez arrived, and a new Audience restored order. Yet the accusations of the late Auditors had borne fruit; the royal letters commanded the bishop to obey the Audience, and summoned him to Spain. His bulls had been issued September 2, 1530.

Accompanied by a son of Montezuma, and other Mexican princes, the bishop reached Spain in 1532, to confront at the splendid court of Charles V. the Auditor Delgadillo, who presented thirty-four charges against the bishop. His replies were complete and overwhelming. New bulls were obtained to correct errors in those of 1530, and on the 27th of April, 1533, he was solemnly consecrated at Valladolid by Diego de Ribera, Bishop of Segovia. His first act was a fervent appeal to the mendicant orders to aid him in converting the Indians of his vast diocese. He followed it up by visits to many parts of Spain to secure missionaries, and, doubtless, whatever was required in a country where all was to be begun.

Meanwhile he obtained new and positive laws to secure the freedom of the Indians and save them from cruelty and oppression.

His efforts to secure clergy failed, and he returned to Mexico alone in October, 1534. His diocese was now defined, his cathedral canonically erected, but he found secular clergy few, and not all possessed of proper faculties, some who had drifted along with the emigration, some adventurers—not many who came duly qualified or fitted by learning, experience and high character to aid him in giving the new diocese a proper organization. The regular clergy, especially the Franciscans, were devoted almost exclusively to the conversion of the Indians. These religious had been almost all selected for their work, and were eminently fitted for it by learning, piety, and devotedness. The prompt and complete overthrow of the Aztec monarchy, and the suppression of idolatry with its sanguinary rites, had left the common people free. An ancient tradition led them to expect men in white who were to stop the human sacrifices and revive a pure and ancient faith. While the nobles clung to idolatry and the polygamy it permitted to the great, and the heathen priesthood struggled to uphold the system by which they obtained power and wealth, the humble classes flocked to the missionaries for instruction and bap-

tism. The religious were comparatively few, the applicants many; to meet the emergency they baptized as soon as the catechumens were sufficiently instructed, and without adhering to the prescribed seasons of Easter and Pentecost, and without employing all the ceremonies in the ritual for the administration of the sacrament of baptism. The marriage of the new converts, where the man had been a polygamist, involved difficulties, and, when Bishop Zumárraga came as consecrated ruler of the diocese, grave questions demanded solution.

In concert with some neighboring bishops, he adopted regulations in 1539 to carry out the bull *altitudo divini consilii* of Pope Paul III., but the religious, relying on the extraordinary privileges conferred by the *Omnimoda*, the famous bulls of Adrian VI., were far from adhering strictly to the episcopal regulations, which they regarded as the well-meant but impracticable rules of prelates utterly ignorant of the language, necessities and condition of the tribes among whom the missionaries labored.

In 1537 Bishop Zumárraga performed the first act of episcopal consecration on our continent, conferring by the imposition of hands the dignity of bishop on Francis Marroquin, elected to the see of Guatemala; and in the following year he consecrated the bishops of Michoacan and Oajaca. One of the first acts of this little band of bishops was to consider the convocation of the General Council of Trent, and to decide whether they were required to leave the dioceses which they had just entered in order to proceed to Trent. They addressed the King of Spain to solicit from the Pope liberty for them to remain in America. At the same time they begged his Majesty to send good and learned secular and regular priests. A school for the instruction of young Indian boys was established at Tlatelolco, and one for girls was projected.

Pope Alexander VI. gave the tithes in America to the King of Spain; Julius II. bestowed on him the patronage of all benefices, so that, "except in matters purely spiritual, the Spanish monarchs exercised an authority that seems pontifical. Without their permission no church, monastery or hospital could be erected; still less could diocese or parish be created."

The position of the first Bishop of Mexico can be conceived. The tithes were in the hands of the civil power; the Church had no property giving an income for the maintenance of religion; his own support and that of his cathedral clergy depended on allowances from the crown, mainly out of the tithes. Out of his scanty income Bishop Zumárraga expended much in charity, and in giving dignity to the divine worship, which, even with this aid,



was offered in great poverty. So far was the Church in Mexico from abounding in wealth in its early days, that as late as 1582 we find a stipulation made with the choir that they were to wait for their salaries till the cathedral was able to pay, and not bring suits as had been done. Canons, on their appointment, too, agreed to forego their allowance till there was a revenue to meet it.

In Bishop Zumárraga's time no steps were taken to erect a cathedral or bishop's house.

Bishop Zumárraga made frequent visitations of his diocese, and labored to reform his clergy and flock. Unworthy clergymen he subjected to severe discipline. He enforced the sanctification of Sundays and holidays, and induced the passage of civil laws for the same object. The number of Spaniards in Mexico who had left a wife and family in Europe was productive of much vice; and regulations were made requiring them to return to Spain or to send for the wife within a certain time. His zeal for the instruction of his flock led him to prepare suitable books, and have others in Spanish and Mexican, which were printed and distributed. He is thus the founder of the printing press in America, and the first known author whose works were published here, the Church fostering the art in Mexico as in Germany and England. A catechism issued by the good bishop in 1539 is the first issue of the American press, preceding by a full century anything printed in English colonies. A Manual in 1540; a *Doctrina Cristiana* in 1544, written by Bishop Zumárraga, and characterized by Señor Icazbalceta as learned and eloquent; the Tripartite of Gerson, as well as the *Doctrina Cristiana* of Pedro de Cordova, and Richel on Processions, were issued the same year, the last published by the bishop to prevent dances and other unseemly conduct in the religious processions, especially on Corpus Christi. Other catechetical works, Spanish and Mexican, followed in 1545, 6, 7, 8, 50. Of these copies are actually known, but, as Señor Icazbalceta believes, there were others to show how anxious he was to see that his flock were properly instructed in the faith, and it will surprise some to learn that the first and a most eloquent exhortation to read the Holy Scriptures printed in America was written by the first Bishop of Mexico and issued in that city in the first half of the sixteenth century.

Bishop Zumárraga was appointed Apostolic Inquisitor, but he never organized the tribunal or used the title; one case alone is cited in which a lord of Tezcoco was convicted of murder, in offering a human sacrifice, and was handed over to the secular arm.

The cares of his diocese and advancing age did not quench the zeal of the Bishop of Mexico. His great desire was to end his

days as a missionary in China, and he actually petitioned the King of Spain and the Pope for permission to resign his mitre and proceed as a simple missionary to that great empire in Asia. He made preparations for this undertaking, but when he was commanded to remain in Mexico he submitted.

In 1546 the bishops of Mexico, Guatemala, Oajaca, Chiapas and Michoacan assembled with the heads of the religious and learned ecclesiastics. They adopted several resolutions, maintaining, 1st, the right of Indians to their property; 2d, the illegality of war made on them under the pretence of effecting their conversion; 3d, that the powers granted to the King of Spain by the Holy See were based solely on the extension of religion and not intended for their aggrandizement; and 4th, that they did not impair the rights of the Indians; 5th, that the powers involved the duty of the monarchs to maintain missionaries.

This episcopal assembly was the last public act in which Bishop Zumárraga took part. His duties occupied his whole time, for his church was new, his zeal great, and his flock numerous. The natives required protection and instruction, the Spaniards reformation, the clergy vigilance. His advanced age and increasing infirmities told that the close of his career was at hand; and anxious to employ the short term allowed him, he redoubled his exertions instead of seeking the repose he had earned so justly. Confirmation had as yet been sparingly bestowed on the Indians, but in April, 1548, he began to confer that sacrament, and in forty days four hundred thousand were presented. In discharging this duty he would not stop to eat or rest, so that his attendants were forced to keep back the throngs and remove the mitre from his head. Many believed that his death was hastened by this excessive labor in one broken by age and sickness.

An unexpected event suddenly disturbed the venerable and humble prelate. As several dioceses had now been established and organized in New Spain they needed a metropolitan less remote than Seville. In the secret consistory of February 11, 1546, Pope Paul III. raised the See of Mexico to an archbishopric, giving it as suffragans Oajaca, Michoacan, Tlascala, Guatemala, and Chiapas. Bishop Zumárraga was made the first archbishop and the pallium was forthwith dispatched to him.

Thus Seville, the foster mother of the Church in America, resigned her care over the flock that had gathered and been gathered in the New World.

Archbishop Zumárraga was confirming his Indian neophytes at Ocuiluco when the tidings of his unexpected promotion arrived. It filled his soul with trouble. How could he who deemed himself unworthy of the episcopal office, preside over his brother bishops?

His humility prompted him to decline the honor, but he feared to disobey the Vicar of Christ. He hastened back to Mexico to take advice. The religious urged him to accept; his confessor, Father Dominic de Betanzos, was absent, and he hastened to the village where he was. He spent four days with that great missionary, confirming every day. When he was urged to rest, he told them that they would soon be without a bishop, and that he must do all he could. On the 24th of May it was necessary to carry him back to Mexico.

After his arrival there he thought only of preparing for his end. Two letters written in those days reveal the simplicity of his truly just soul. "I die very poor but very happy," he wrote to Charles V., imploring him to see that his see was promptly and worthily filled. A generous man had acted as his steward, and managed his affairs; the good bishop wished to provide for what might be due him. After thus adjusting his affairs, he received the last sacraments with great devotion. An hour before his death he exclaimed to those around him: "Oh! Father, it is one thing to talk of being at the article of death, but how different it is to be really there." In the full possession of his faculties he expired at nine in the morning on the 3d of June, 1548, Sunday within the octave of Corpus Christi, his last words being: "Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit."

The grief of his flock was universal. The mass was inaudible from the sobs and wailings of the Spaniards and Mexicans who filled the Cathedral, for though he had begged to be buried in the church of his order, the clergy and people insisted on interring the first bishop where he had presided so worthily.

His remains are there still; in the chapel of Saint Peter, the place marked by a stone. A gremial used by the great bishop is still possessed by the Cathedral, having escaped the profaning hands of revolutionists.

Bishop Zumárraga labored efficiently to convert the Indians, and to instruct them in piety and secular knowledge established schools and houses attached to the monasteries where the young were received. He encouraged and aided the erection of hospitals and infirmaries for the sick; he introduced European fruit trees and encouraged the Indians to cultivate silk, and brought over mechanics to instruct the Indians. "Thus," says Señor Icazbalceta, "did the first pastor of our Church extend his benefits to all this land. Missionaries, schools, college, the press, books for the ignorant; asylums and hospitals; dowries and alms for orphans and the poor; employment and new industrial pursuits for the people; increased revenue for the state; lustre to religion and divine worship; light to the heathen, peace, concord, justice, charity to

all; naught was neglected, everything attended to by this friar, who had spent most of his life in cloistered seclusion."<sup>1</sup>

We have given but an outline of the grand and noble volume which the Mexican scholar consecrates to the life of Archbishop Zumárraga. Impartial, accurate, suppressing nothing, extenuating nothing, he presents us with a full and lifelike picture of the prelate and his times. Here we behold the Church in Spanish America as it was in its origin under the powers granted to the Catholic sovereigns by the Pope, and used at first as they were intended to be, but which, abused in our day by petty states, have become one of the greatest obstacles to the well-being of the Church.

Let us turn now to the Church in New France. The early missionaries in Canada under the fostering care of the see of Rouen carried the cross from the mouth of the Kennebec and St. Lawrence to the valley of the Hudson and the shores of Lake Superior. In 1658 the Holy See made this vast portion of the continent a Vicariate Apostolic, and relieving the Archbishop of Rouen, confided it to Francis de Laval de Montmorency, created Bishop of Petra. Sixteen years later it became the diocese of Quebec, after Father Marquette had extended its limits through the valley of the Mississippi. The see of Quebec was saved from Gallicanism by being made directly dependent on Rome. The noble figure of Bishop Laval commences well the line of Canadian prelates. For thirty years he labored to introduce priests, to establish a seminary, to regulate parishes, create schools, and develop and increase the communities devoted to education and the service of the sick and afflicted. The French government did not attempt everything as that of Spain did, and never obtained such ample powers from the Holy See; but it at times hampered sadly the action of the Church, and at one period, when the bishop and his clergy sought to check, by ecclesiastical censures, the unbridled sale of liquor to the Indians, which was sweeping the native tribes from the earth, the governor generals and their partisans, looking only to the gain of the fur trade, declared open war on the protectors of the Indians.

When Bishop Laval prepared to resign his see, which he finally did in 1688, the King of France proposed as his successor, John Baptist de la Croix de Chevrières, of an old and distinguished family, in which the mitre seemed almost hereditary, his grandfather and uncle having successively filled the see of Grenoble. Trained to piety by his mother, young St. Vallier while at college resolved to devote himself to the service of the Church. His vocation was tested by Stephen le Camus, an able director, who encouraged

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<sup>1</sup> We have already in these pages shown how ably Sr. Icazbalceta defends the bishop from the charge of destroying Mexican manuscripts.

him to persevere. During his years of study his fervor did not relax, and he was proclaimed doctor at the Sorbonne in 1672. After his ordination he became one of the canons of the cathedral of Grenoble, and by his studious life, his alms and exemplary discharge of his duties, won general esteem. The post of chaplain in ordinary to the king gave him a position at court as dangerous for a young priest as it was flattering, but he discharged his duties with a zeal that sought the improvement of all under his care, and none were too humble or distressed to be visited by the chaplain, whose rebukes were as kind as they were just, and whose exhortations won many to a better life. He attended Louis XIV. in one of his campaigns in Flanders, and was so highly esteemed by the monarch that he wished to nominate him for the archbishopric of Tours, but the young priest refused it, as he did other important sees. When it was, however, proposed that he should become the coadjutor of the Bishop of Quebec, he showed more inclination to accept a position in which there would be more labor and less honor.

Before deciding absolutely he accepted from Bishop Laval the position of Vicar General, and resolved to visit Canada, in that capacity, and thus become personally acquainted with the country, which many portrayed to him in most unattractive colors. The high-born French abbé, chaplain at the Court of Louis XIV., contrasts strongly with the austere and humble friar who first filled the see of Mexico, and the visit to America before ordination is one point of resemblance. Reaching Quebec in 1685 he was received with honor and respect. The churches and institutions, for Quebec boasted then her Cathedral and Seminary, the College of the Jesuits, the Convent of the Recollects, the Ursulines with their Academy, the Augustinian Nuns with their Hospital, gave the proposed bishop an encouraging idea of the diocese. He then visited the settlements up to Montreal, with the Indian convert villages. At a later date he descended the river, and by way of Riviere du Loup and the St. John's he reached Nova Scotia, and passing from settlement to settlement reached Tadoussac, and ascending to Quebec found the Ursulines homeless, amid the ruins of their convent, which the flames had devoured.

When the Abbé de Saint Vallier made a report to Louis XIV. on the condition of religion in his American colony, the king again pressed him to accept a bishopric in France, but as he found the young priest immovable, he nominated him. Bulls were expedited at Rome, July 27th, 1687, the last issued at the request of Louis XIV. To prepare for his episcopal life, he made a pilgrimage to the tomb of St. Francis de Sales, and then was consecrated in the Church of St. Sulpice, Paris, January 25th, 1688, by the coadjutor

of the Archbishop of Rouen. He set sail immediately for his diocese, and reached Quebec on the 3d of June. The knowledge he had acquired of the wants had enabled him to obtain much-needed relief, and the parishes and institutions all benefited by his judicious aid. A hospital for the aged and incurable was soon projected, and he appealed to the venerable Margaret Bourgeoys to undertake. The war then raging between France and England, however, menaced Canada with ruin, and in 1690 an English fleet was hurling shot and shell at the city of Quebec. God protected Canada; the baffled fleet retired, to lose by wreck and disaster, and Quebec erected the Church of Our Lady of Victory, in devout thanksgiving for the wonderful deliverance. Bishop de Saint Vallier instituted a feast of Our Lady of Victory, to be celebrated every year on the Sunday nearest the 21st of October.

He then proceeded to France, and laid before the king some questions that had arisen between him and the Seminary, which were adjusted by royal authority. The king also authorized him to establish Recollect Fathers at several points in Canada and Acadia, and also issued letters patent which enabled him to carry out his great project, the erection of a general hospital at Quebec. Having arranged all this, the Bishop returned to Canada, accompanied by a number of Recollect Fathers and secular priests.

He purchased of the Recollects, their Convent of Notre Dame des Anges, on St. Charles River, and enlarged it for sisters whom he transferred from the Hotel Dieu. But his residence in his diocese was not prolonged. In the autumn of 1694 he was again traversing the ocean; his administration had excited difficulties; the system which had grown up in Canada, and which his predecessor had adopted so far as circumstances permitted, seemed to Bishop Saint Vallier too much at variance with that of the diocese of France to be continued. His attempt to reorganize met strong opposition, and so many complaints were made that many persons of influence in France urged him to resign the see of Quebec. Louis XIV., to prevent further difficulty, intimated to the Bishop his wish that he should not return to Canada. He laid the case before Bossuet, Fénelon, and the Archbishop of Paris, and they agreed that if Bishop de Saint Vallier did not resign his see, he ought not to be detained in France. Louis XIV., after vainly endeavoring to induce him to resign, permitted him in 1697 to return to Quebec.

There one of his first acts was to erect the sisters at the Hospital General into a separate community. This excited a new storm, and when some novices had been allowed to take their vows in the new establishment, orders came from France that all the sisters were to be sent back to the Hotel Dieu. The new hospital would

have succumbed at once, had not the Hotel Dieu refused to receive or recognize the sisters who had just taken their vows. They remained, therefore, and the great establishment due to Bishop Saint Vallier was saved.

To place it on a firm basis, he once more visited France in 1700, and obtained of the king authority to carry out his original plans. He then visited Rome, to lay before Pope Clement XI. the affairs of his diocese, and to obtain the canonical annexation to his see of certain abbeys in France, which, according to the custom of that time, had been assigned to him. On his return he bore to the King from the Pope, a piece of the true cross. After presenting this to Louis XIV., he embarked for Canada, but the vessel was captured by an English fleet, and the Bishop, who was sick and helpless, was brutally treated by the English sailors, who robbed him of his cross and ring, and burned in the galley the relics which he was carrying to his diocese. On reaching England, he was sent to Rochester; he was detained in England for many years as a prisoner, in retaliation for the confinement by Louis XIV. of the Baron de Mean, dean of the Cathedral of Liège. During his forced stay in England, he received, it is stated, from the Pope, an appointment as Vicar Apostolic for that country. It was not till 1713 that he was set at liberty, and reached France. There he found that the Court was opposed to his return to Canada. The prime minister urged him to resign his see, defer visiting his diocese, or at least to accept a coadjutor. But Bishop Saint Vallier was unyielding except in regard to a coadjutor, and, after much delay, once more reached his Cathedral in August, 1713. A coadjutor had been appointed and consecrated, but he remained in France, and to him Bishop de Saint Vallier confided the care of religion in Louisiana. The coadjutor, Francis Duplessis de Mornay, a member of the Capuchin Order, confided to the friars of his branch of the Order of St. Francis the care of the French settlers in Louisiana, which they retained till the beginning of this century.

Bishop de Saint Vallier, thus restored to his diocese, labored there in peace, till his death, December 26th, 1727, at the age of 74. He was interred in the Chapel of the Sacred Heart of Mary, attached to the hospital which had been the constant object of his care.

We cannot regard Monseigneur de Saint Vallier as one of the great bishops of Quebec. His name is associated with one great work of local charity, rather than with any important results in the administration of his diocese. He is remarkable, rather for his misfortunes, for his complications with the meddlesome spirit of the ministry in France, for his long imprisonment. A man of real and solid piety, irreproachable as priest and bishop, he had

lived at court without acquiring the tact and suppleness of a courtier, and drew much on himself by his inflexibility in pursuing his projects, and resisting all modification. His mind, however, tended to bring his diocese into the circle of Gallican thought and practice, and there is ground to believe that, had he remained in full power and active administration during his term, he would have undone much of the work of Bishop Laval, and imbued his clergy and diocese with the very ideas from which its origin and position enabled it to escape.

His visitations of his vast diocese are not recorded. He prepared a ritual and a catechism, and in pastoral letters endeavored to reach his flock in all parts.

On the 1st of May, 1698, he formally established a mission of the Seminary of Quebec in the valley of the Mississippi, and zealous priests, led by M. de Montigny, labored there for years, two, Messrs. de Saint Cosme and Foucault, dying by the hands of Indians. The mission founded by Bishop de Saint Vallier included the parish of Tamaroa or Cahokia, directed by the priests of the Seminary of Quebec till Canada passed into English hands.

Bishop de Saint Vallier, as we have seen, subsequently through his coadjutor confided the parochial care of the Louisiana settlement to the Capuchins; he also committed the Indian mission in that province to the Jesuit Fathers, some of whom, like Poisson, Souel, Senat, met death with a heroism which the maligners of the Order would do well to imitate.

The life of this Bishop, blended as it is with that of the General Hospital and the community which has so nobly directed it for nearly two centuries, is of course less satisfactory than a separate sketch, and is not marked by the calm dignity and accurate research of the Spanish work already considered.

The third book before us belongs to the Church, sprang from that which grew like an undying plant beneath the tread of persecution, exclusion, disfranchisement, and penal law,—the Church during our Colonial days. The power of Charles V., of Philip II., protected the Church in New Spain; that of a Henry IV., a Louis XIV., that in New France. The hatred of Catholicity engendered in a corrupt court had at last leavened the whole English nation, and, with the exception of Maryland, every colony planted by Great Britain on our shores shows in its fundamental charter, or in its laws, that Catholicity was regarded as an enemy, and its adherents were marked out for vengeance. If Maryland for a season gave the Catholic freedom to worship God, a Protestant ascendancy soon replaced the principle of toleration by that of persecution, till the power fell from its hands, and then, with an effrontery equal to



its former cruelty and ingratitude, it claimed toleration as its own especial glory. No Catholic could enter Georgia; none could be introduced into Maryland except under heavy penalty; no priest dare enter New England or New York; no church could be opened publicly except in Pennsylvania. The Maryland Catholic, in the colony which his ancestors founded, was ground down with double taxes, deprived of arms for self-defence, excluded from every office, and, beyond the Potomac, he was degraded to the level of the negro slave; his evidence was rejected in the courts, so that if a murder was committed in the presence of Catholics only, the red-handed murderer walked away, unscathed, from the bar of justice.

Yet a noble band of American Catholics clung to the faith, and with devoted priests awaited the Lord. He came at last and turned a storm engendered in hatred of Catholicity into the instrument of its deliverance and redemption. Diplomats of Catholic Europe, accredited to the Continental Congress, fostered the young republic; the fleets and armies of Catholic France and Spain struck at the common foe, from New England to Pensacola; Catholic colonist and Catholic Indian bore their part in the struggle, and a Catholic chaplain received the earliest commission from Congress, and discharged his duties till peace disbanded the army.

The Church in the Colonies, proscribed and persecuted, stood forth the free Church of the Republic. The hierarchy that could not be restored in England could, however, be created in what was destined to be a greater Britain. Pope Pius VI. established the see of Baltimore, with a diocese including the whole United States. The first bishop, the venerable John Carroll, lived to see religion spread and prosper so that his vast diocese was divided, new sees created, and bishops as suffragans gathered around his archiepiscopal throne.

The see of Baltimore was founded in 17—; in a score of years Philadelphia was established as a bishopric. The line of bishops begins with the pious Franciscan, Michael Egan, consecrated on the 28th of October, 1810. The see was filled in succession by the Right Rev. Conwell, whose coadjutor, Dr. Francis Patrick Kenrick, governed the diocese till his promotion to the metropolitan see of Baltimore, illustrating both dioceses with his great theological and biblical learning, his strict discharge of his episcopal duties, his zeal in providing for the wants of the flock committed to his care.

His successor in Philadelphia was the Right Rev. John Ne-pomucene Neumann, whose life is before us. He was the first bishop of German origin appointed on the Atlantic coast, and the old associations of Pennsylvania, where German Catholics had set-

tled in numbers in colonial days, and German priests labored, seemed to claim a recognition.

John Nepomucene Neumann was born, on the 28th of March, 1811, in the southwestern part of Bohemia, at the town of Prachatitz, famous for its sufferings at the hands of Liska and his bloodthirsty Hussites. A pious mother imbued him with piety, and, above all, with that childlike devotion to the Blessed Virgin which was his characteristic through life, so clearly defined that the statue erected to him in his native town names him a servant of Mary. His education, begun in his birthplace, was continued at the episcopal city of Budweis. If he did not at first give great promise, it was a trial which he met humbly, and his courage and perseverance triumphed. Father Berger has gathered from Neumann's fellow-students many incidents of his student life. In 1831 he entered the seminary at Budweis, and completed his studies in that of Prague. Here he was remarkable for his piety and learning, and conceived the design of devoting himself to the missions of America. He left his native place in February, 1836, to offer himself to Bishop Kenrick, of Philadelphia, who had solicited, through the Director of the Seminary of Strasburg, young German priests, or theological students. At Strasburg he opened a correspondence with Bishop Brute, but a new trial awaited him. Hopes of the American mission became less definite; but he finally embarked at Havre in the *Europa*, and, reaching New York, offered himself, through the venerable Father Raffener, to Bishop Dubois. He was accepted, to his great joy, and was ordained in St. Patrick's Cathedral in June, 1836. The difficulties around him had been overcome; he was at last a priest, and in a field where a priest had abundant work before him. The first mission assigned to him was Williamsville, in Western New York, with several stations extending to a distance of fifty miles. Father Berger traces his labors in this large district, a rude novitiate for a young priest. After some years of mission life, he felt more and more deeply his call to the religious state. Already in the Seminary he had desired it, and was encouraged by his director to seek admission into the Society of Jesus. In New York he met the Redemptorists, and was strongly prepossessed with their spirit and their work. After long deliberation and prayer he applied, in 1840, for reception among the Sons of St. Alphonsus Liguori. Bishop Hughes, then administrator of the diocese of New York, was loath to lose one of his best priests, but yielded to Rev. Mr. Neumann's desire. He entered the novitiate at Pittsburgh, and in the new life, as a religious, felt that he was at last where God had called him, through many trials. His superiors did not allow him long to enjoy his holy calm. Before long he was engaged in

mission duty at Baltimore, Rochester, New York, and Philadelphia. His abilities, his piety, his prudence, and the sanctity of his whole life, marked him as one destined to do important services for religion. He was made Superior in Pittsburgh, and there he showed so much breadth of judgment and administrative ability that in 1846 he was made Provincial of the order in America. The humble priest who sought no honors was thus placed at the head of the American missions of a congregation of experienced and eloquent priests, among whom he had been but little more than five years. Yet his direction was so wise as to win not only the approval of his superiors and the communities under his care, but, in his frequent intercourse with the archbishops and bishops of the country, he produced on all the impression that he was a superior man, whose influence in a still higher position would be most beneficial.

Archbishop Kenrick had selected the holy rector of St. Alphonsus for his confessor, and frequently consulted him. He had recommended him to the Holy See as in his judgment one of the most worthy priests for the vacant see of Philadelphia. The bishops of the province, especially Bishop O'Connor, of Pittsburgh, were in full accord with the new metropolitan, and the Pope appointed Father Neumann. When the archbishop announced the result to Father Neumann, the tidings came upon him like a clap of thunder. It was totally unexpected; he fell at the feet of Archbishop Kenrick and implored him to relieve him of such a burden. He wrote to his superiors in America and Europe to avert a dignity which was to separate him from his religious brethren and expose him to new and unaccustomed trials. The Redemptorists tried to prevent the issuing of the bulls, but they finally wrote to Father Neumann that their efforts had proved unavailing. The bulls were expedited, and in March reached the holy Redemptorist, accompanied with a strict injunction of obedience. Father Neumann bowed to the will of the Holy Father and submitted. He selected Passion Sunday, 1852, for the ceremony which was to place him among the bishops of the United States, and was consecrated on that day by Archbishop Kenrick, assisted by Bishop Bernard O'Reilly, of Hartford.

On taking possession of his see he addressed a letter to his flock, and selected as his vicar-general the Very Rev. Edward Sourin, who had as administrator governed the diocese during the vacancy. Bishop Neumann's life as Bishop of Philadelphia was one of constant self-denial. The duties of his ministry as a priest, the confessional and the pulpit, a retired cell and the works of sound and sacred learning, were his choice; but he sacrificed his own inclinations, and studied how to meet every want of his dio-

cese. He knew by frequent and real visitations the churches and institutions of his diocese, and stimulated the zeal of his clergy in conferences, where his immense theological learning betrayed itself; exact himself in the prescribed forms of all rites and ceremonies, he endeavored to instil the same feeling in his clergy. Wherever Catholics became numerous enough to form a new parish he encouraged the erection of a church, so that many were added in his time, but in all he counselled prudence and economy. The system of parochial schools was one that he regarded as most essential, and to develop it was his constant and anxious solicitude. All these points were dwelt upon in the diocesan synods which he held, and in which he completed in a manner the great work accomplished by Bishop Kenrick in that diocese, which had been rent by schisms that cooled the charity and shook the faith of many Catholics.

Bishop Neumann was summoned to Rome on the occasion of the definition of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception by Pope Pius IX. in 1854, and after satisfying his devotion by a pilgrimage to Loretto, and other sanctuaries, proceeded to his native place, where his aged father welcomed him with loving joy, and his townspeople with no little pride.

In the Plenary Council of Baltimore in 1852, and the Provincial Council of 1855, his learning and practical knowledge were as fully recognized as his eminently holy life. Then and on other occasions he sought to be relieved from the burden of the episcopate, which he felt daily becoming more and more onerous. Pope Pius IX. did not permit him to resign, but assigned as his coadjutor the Rev. James Frederick Wood, a native of Philadelphia, and at the time a priest in the diocese of Cincinnati. He was consecrated by Archbishop Purcell, at Cincinnati, in April, 1857.

Aided by the coadjutor whom Providence had assigned him, Bishop Neumann felt less anxiety, but he continued his laborious life till the 5th of January, 1860. At that time he did not seem well, and was urged to take advice; but he was cheerful, and after his frugal dinner started to attend some business a short distance from the episcopal residence. On his way the stroke of death came upon him. Feeling his strength depart, he sat down on the nearest steps and almost instantly expired, by a sudden but not unprovided death.

The startling intelligence soon reached his Right Reverend coadjutor and the clergy of his house, and the Catholics of Philadelphia united in deploring their loss.

The reputation of sanctity which Bishop Neumann had in life received new vigor after his death. Not only among the people at large, but among venerable priests and devout religious, there

were many who habitually invoked his intercession. Father Berger details several instances where their prayers were answered. With Bishops Flaget and Baraga he is regarded as a saint, and his body is believed to be incorrupt.

He is a type of hierarchy of the United States; a man great in sacred and secular learning; an untiring missionary; a bishop fully impressed with his great responsibility and anxious to discharge it by guiding his clergy and people, old and young, in the way of salvation, and combining with this a life so pure, so recollected on God, so full of self-denial, as to impress all with his sanctity.

In thus taking by a kind of accident three types, we see the Church in her life in America since its discovery. Whether selected by the monarch of France or Spain, or chosen by the bishops of the country, we see unaltered by time the same faith, the same spirit, the same attachment to the See of Rome, the same love of the unity of the Church, devotion to her discipline, zeal for the sanctification of all committed to their care.



### JASPER IN THE APOCALYPSE THE SYMBOL OF THE PRIMACY.

THE task of interpreting any portion of the Apocalypse is proverbially an arduous one. And yet its many difficulties are not without some little alleviation, whose apparent insignificance conveys a wrong idea of their actual value:

Amongst the not very numerous circumstances which happily combine to lighten a little the labor of interpretation may be classed the fact that we can begin our work with this initial certainty, viz., the meaning of St. John is conveyed to us, not directly, but veiled in symbolism. Not that this fact alone will always help us very much; in solving individual problems, however, it often comes in as a very useful factor.

The reason of this occasional utility arises from the necessity we are under of distinguishing in the Apocalypse two kinds of prophetic imagery. There is the imagery which foretells events yet to come, and there is the imagery which simply veils truths already familiar to us. Not that these two classes of symbolism are ordinarily found apart, for more frequently than not they are

intertwined in a way which almost defies unravelling. Hence it happens that while the knowledge that we are dealing with symbolism helps us but little in understanding passages belonging to the first category, it is of material assistance when we are dealing with passages belonging to the second. It is with passages belonging to this second group that our present task deals exclusively.

The twenty-first chapter of the Apocalypse presents us, in some detail, with a description of the celestial city which St. John, in his vision, saw coming down from heaven, and some of these details (mentioned principally in the eleventh, twelfth, eighteenth, and nineteenth verses) form the subject of this present somewhat limited inquiry.

Although all are agreed that the vision of this twenty-first chapter is typical of the Church, there is some difference of opinion as to whether it represents the Church on earth, or as it shall be, finally, triumphant in heaven. As to the relative value of these two interpretations the opinions of commentators are amicably discordant; although opposite they are not conflicting. Hence we may combine both explanations, and understand the vision of the heavenly city to be a figure of the whole Church, not indeed as, at any one time or place, it presents itself to our view, but the Church *as a whole*, freed from the conditions of time and place, and seen from a standpoint higher far than ours. It is a similitude of the Church as we may conceive it appearing, whole and complete, before the eye of its Divine Founder. We see only unfinished portions of the edifice, His glance takes in at one view the slow processes of toilsome labor and the finished work which that labor is gradually accomplishing. No doubt it is not easy to see in the sober, perhaps dull hues, which the Church militant may present to our sight any very pronounced likeness to the brilliant city built of sparkling gems. But we must bear in mind that we are looking at processes, not at the final result. The masons who roughly hewed and laid the foundations of one of our great cathedrals may never have realized the graceful edifice which should one day rise upon those very foundations. And this in some manner exemplifies the thought that should be in our minds when we turn from the city of the vision to the Church in our own day. While we are living out our lives we are looking upon the rough material out of which the city of the vision shall be built. The shapeless blocks lying about seemingly so uncared for are nevertheless the same stones which later on shall form the stately cathedral.

In his description of this city St. John frequently makes mention of jasper, mentioning it with peculiar prominence. Since the

city is symbolical of the Church, since the whole description is symbolical, jasper also must be symbolical of something connected with the Church. It is an emblem; its natural properties and the office it fulfils in the city of the vision typify to us some parallel in the Church. That we may ultimately unravel the emblematic meaning set before us under the name and natural properties of this precious stone, we must begin by knowing something about the stone itself.

It so happens that, in spite of the name, it is not so easy to determine what particular precious stone is meant by "jasper." But we have this negative, certainly, it cannot be the same stone as that which we call "jasper" now. St. John's jasper is translucent, ours is not. Nor do we at first appear to reach any very sharply defined result, if we turn to the various passages in Scripture where the word occurs. In the Apocalypse, the Greek word *ἰασπις* seems to be used as an equivalent for the Hebrew *יָאֶשֶׁפֶה*, *ya-shi'peh* (not *yashpeh*, as the sound of the word is erroneously given in Mr. Spraker's *Commentary*), a word which occurs only three times in the Old Testament. In Exodus xxviii. 20, and xxxix. 13, the Vulgate, following the Septuagint *βήρυλλος*, renders the Hebrew word by "beryllus," the beryl. The beryl is closely allied to the emerald, the main difference between the two being the green color of the emerald, and the greater hardness of the beryl. This close affinity between the two, perhaps, explains the dissimilarity of the renderings of *יָאֶשֶׁפֶה*, *ya-shi'peh* in Ezekiel xxviii. 13, for while the Vulgate has "jaspis" as the equivalent, the Septuagint renders the word by *αἰμάραδος*, the emerald. Copyists might possibly be responsible for some change in the order of the precious stones mentioned in this passage. However, taking the texts as they stand, this much may be gleaned from the properties of the beryl and emerald being in some manner predicated of "jasper," viz., that this name is used of some stone, hard as beryl, and translucent as an emerald, and probably of a greenish color. This conclusion, drawn from our consideration of the word as used in the Old Testament, harmonizes fairly well with what we shall gather as to the nature of the "jasper" mentioned in the Apocalypse. It is in the Apocalypse only that the word is found, and there we meet with it four times. In chapter iv. 3, St. John says: "And he that sat was to the sight like jasper . . . . in sight like to an emerald," if, with Ribera, we couple together the opening and the concluding words of this verse. Supposing those intervening inclosed in a parenthesis, the final words give us the color of the jasper, of which St. John speaks. From its being used to symbolize Him who sat, we may gather the value of the stone, since a stone of inferior value would hardly be chosen as an emblem of one so great. In chapter xxi. 11, jasper

is spoken of as being transparent, "Having the glory of God, and the light thereof like unto a precious stone, as it were to a jasper stone, as crystal."

Here, then, we have some indications of the properties of the jasper of the Scriptures, its value, its color, its transparency. Moreover, from its being mentioned (xxi. 18, 19) as one of the twelve foundation-stones, as well as being itself the stone which formed the mighty wall, we may conclude that it represents some stone pre-eminently firm and enduring.

These properties of jasper form the groundwork of the symbolism whose meaning we wish to ascertain. It is well to bear in mind that we are not engaged in a purely antiquarian investigation, with the one object of finding out what particular precious stone St. John intends to specify under the name of jasper. For our purpose it is sufficient to know the qualities for which the stone has been selected to typify to us, more briefly and more clearly than words could do, the meaning, half concealed, half revealed by the symbolism.

Taking things, then, as they are, we must be content to set out on our voyage of discovery furnished with very simple data. The task before us, arduous as it is for us, would have been easy enough for the early Christians amongst whom St. John lived and wrote. They would have been familiar with the various moral qualities of which an Eastern imagination has made each precious stone a symbol. But for ourselves, we must gather his meaning from the various offices which he assigns to the stones in the structural economy of the city.

One feature of this economy is set before us in the twelfth verse of the twenty-first chapter, where three facts are put prominently before us. We are told (1) that the city coming down from the heavens was defended by a lofty and a mighty wall; (2) that the wall rested upon twelve distinct foundations; and (3) that upon these twelve foundations were the names of the twelve Apostles. We will begin with the consideration of this last-mentioned fact.

It must be remembered that in scriptural phraseology the *name* of a person is used as a compendious emblem of all that the person is, of all that he has become. In the Old Testament, to use a familiar example, we find the name of "Abram," the exalted father, changed by Jehovah Himself into "Abraham," the father of a multitude, that the new name might typify the office and the dignity of the father of the faithful, who should be numberless as the stars of heaven. Similarly, in the New Testament, Simon, "the obedient," is renamed Peter, "the rock." To say, then, that the names of the twelve Apostles are upon the twelve foundation-stones is equivalent to identifying the foundation-stones with the



Apostles themselves, and this imagery is put before us, not casually, but with a clear and definite design. It is not mere accident, it is of set purpose that the twelve foundations are represented as the common foundation of but one wall, inclosing one city. It is of set purpose, that while the Apostles are brought before our notice singly and individually, each one typified by a different precious stone, they are also represented as indissolubly connected with the one encircling wall. But of this later.

Assuming, then, as we are fully justified in doing, that the twelve foundations typify the twelve Apostles, we pass on to inquire, are the Apostles here represented in any definite order? The analogy of other passages in which all the Apostles are mentioned gives us the best method of answering which the nature of the case admits of. Turning to the passages which enumerate all the Apostles, we find that though there is some slight variation as to the precedence of the other Apostles among themselves, the first place is always assigned to Simon Peter. St. Matthew begins his list (x. 2) by saying, categorically, "The first [πρῶτος] is Simon, who is called Peter." St. Mark, though it almost seems as if he had not originally intended to give a catalogue, and had only accidentally glided off into giving a list of the Apostles in consequence of having mentioned that the name of Peter, "the rock," was "put upon" (ἐπέθηκεν) Simon, yet he too also follows what seems to have been the recognized order among the Apostles, certainly with respect to St. Peter (iii. 16), and mentions him first. So too with St. Luke (vi. 13, 14); since he gives the last place to the unhappy Apostle who, in public estimation, in some sense deserved the last place, we may argue *à pari*, that he gives the first place also in accordance with public estimation: "And He chose twelve of them, whom also he named Apostles, Simon, whom He surnamed Peter." In this way, then, we find that there is an unvarying order preserved, at least with respect to St. Peter, when all the Apostles are mentioned together, and in the complete absence of any argument proving a departure from this unvarying order, we arrive at the conclusion that in the passage in the Apocalypse now under consideration, this same order is tacitly understood.

The twelve foundation-stones typify the twelve Apostles, and under the symbol of the foundation-stone of jasper, the first among the foundation-stones, St. John presents us with an emblem of the first among the Apostles,—St. Peter. The prominence which the Apocalypse gives to the symbol of St. Peter is fully in keeping with the prominence with which St. Peter himself is set before us in the Gospels. The Apocalypse carries on in symbolism the *same ideas* which are more plainly expressed in the Gospels, as an example or two will prove.

The city of the vision was girt about with a high wall (v. 12), and this wall was of jasper (v. 18). Now jasper not only serves as a foundation-stone equally with the other eleven stones, but it moreover so encompasses the whole, that while parts of the city do not rest on one or another of the individual foundation-stones, there is absolutely no portion which is not girded and defended by the one wall of jasper. If we call upon our imagination to picture to us a city resting upon foundations of various colors, but the whole surrounded by one high encircling wall of jasper, would it be strange if we gathered the impression that jasper, being the most prominent, was *the* stone of the city? Compare this symbolism of St. John with the symbol used by our Lord Himself to typify the office of the first of the Apostles.

Amongst his brethren, Simon was singled out to be surnamed "The Rock," *the* stone par excellence. For though, in the Greek, there is a distinction and a difference between the word, λίθος, a stone, used in the Apocalypse, and the word, πέτρα, a large stone, a rock, used in the Gospel, there is no such difference of meaning in the Syriac word, Kipho<sup>1</sup> (whence κῆφος = πέτρος), probably used by our Lord, which means equally a rock or a stone, and is also employed with another noun to designate *precious* stones, exactly as St. John employs the Greek word, λίθος, stone. This word St. John, whose native language was Syro-Chaldaic, may have had in his mind, when writing of the "jasper stone." Be this as it may, it is not mere airy imagination to see in the vision of St. John a further application of the same symbol—the same word—originally chosen by our Lord to typify the office of Simon—the Rock. In the Gospel and in the Apocalypse, the firm unyielding stone is used as typical of the office, which one of the Apostles should fulfil in the economy of the Church.

There is another coincidence, which gives strength to this conclusion. The main purpose for which the walls of a city are raised is that they may guard and protect. Now, the command given to Simon Peter (John xxi.) is by no means adequately represented by the ordinary English rendering of the original Greek words, "ποιμαίνε τὰ πρόβατά μου." Perhaps no English word can fully convey the whole meaning of ποιμαίνε, embodying, as it does, an Eastern, and not a Western, idea. Of course, it means "feed my sheep," but it also means much more. It means, tend them, guard them, guide them to good pastures, watch them by day and protect them by night; in short, it means all that an Eastern shepherd is expected to do in keeping the flock committed to his charge.<sup>2</sup> In the Gos-

<sup>1</sup> Of Castell's *Lexicon Syriacum*, s. v.

<sup>2</sup> In the *Land and The Book* (Thompson) there is a good description of a shepherd's life and duties, pp. 203-206: "The sheep are so tame that they follow their

pel, it is the office of Peter the Shepherd to guard and protect the whole flock, and to guard and protect the whole city is equally the office of Peter—the firm rock of jasper—in the Apocalypse.

It is difficult to give an explanation of symbolism which may not seem fanciful. All symbolism appeals to our imagination, and our imagination must naturally be the first to respond to this appeal. But our test of the correctness of any interpretation must be the naturalness and the ease with which that interpretation corresponds with doctrines elsewhere definitely proposed to us. Let us see how our interpretation stands this test.

If we had to choose some imagery which should set before us the doctrine of the primacy of St. Peter, typifying to us an authority coextensive with the limits of the Church herself, we could hardly choose better imagery than that which is presented to us by a firm high wall, completely encompassing a whole city. The strength of the city is really the strength of the city's wall. It is the wall which, so to speak, communicates the strength to the city. The office of that Apostle, for whom individually our Lord prayed, who was commanded to confirm, "to strengthen" his brethren, is evidently to communicate his qualities to the whole Church. This office, too, is meant to be permanent, as the walls of the city are meant to be permanent. Again, if we wished to show how their strength of apostolic authority, though possessed in some measure by individual bishops, is equally possessed, not independently, but only in virtue of the firm union with the principal possessor of that apostolic authority, we could hardly select a better picture for our imagination than is shown us in the imagery of many foundation-stones, each distinct, indeed, but firmly united among themselves, and each and every one indissolubly conjoined with the one encircling wall, which incloses the whole city.

It is not only on the firm enduring wall of the emblematic city that jasper is put before us. In the 11th verse it is said that this city "had the glory of God, and the light thereof like unto a precious stone, as it were to a jasper stone, as crystal." To explain this verse we must collate it with the 23d of the same chapter, where we are told that the city had no need of sun or moon, for "the glory of God illuminates it." It seems at first as if two different sources of light are indicated in verses 11 and 23, but if the

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keeper. . . . It is his business to find pastures for them. . . . They must be taught to follow, and not to stray into the unfenced fields of corn which lie so temptingly on either side. The shepherd calls from time to time. . . . They know his voice and follow on, but, if a stranger calls, they turn and flee. . . . The shepherd goes before, not merely to point out the way, but to see that it is practicable and safe. He is armed, in order to defend his charge. . . . And when the thief and robber come, the faithful shepherd has often to put his life in his hand to guard his flock. I have known more than one case in which he had literally to lay it down in the contest."

two passages be considered a little more attentively, it will be found that they both refer ultimately to the same illumination. In verse 23 we are told that the brilliancy of God enlightens the city; in verse 11 the same truth is conveyed in a slightly different form and with some additional particulars. In both passages it is stated that the glory of God is "the light," but in verse 11 we are further informed as to the *medium* by which this light is transmitted to the city. This meaning is not so very well brought out in the ordinary translation, and for this reason. The word φωστῆρ, usually translated by "light" or "luminary," has two meanings. Primarily it signifies a *source of light*, a substance which of itself gives forth light. But a source of light may often be only the *means* by which light is not originated, but simply transmitted, and hence φωστῆρ has the secondary or metaphorical meaning of a medium by which light may penetrate—a window. Translators have usually preferred to give the primary meaning, but the secondary seems to be the one intended by St. John, for this reason, *inter alia*. Since "the light" has already been mentioned, and this light (δόξα) is more fully insisted upon in verse 23 as being exclusively all-sufficient, we are doing no violence to the sacred text if we understand φωστῆρ in verse 11 in its secondary or metaphorical sense, conceiving it to convey the idea of *the means* by which the light, already mentioned in the opening words of verse 11, passes on to be diffused over the city. This rendering makes the whole context more clear and consistent. The context is certainly more consistent, because if the Lamb (verse 23) is the lamp, the real light-giver of the city, and the glory of God which flows from the Lamb is its brilliant all-sufficient light, it is in open opposition to verse 23 to give the city another "light-giver," another *source* of light, in verse 11. But there is no opposition if we understand the φωστῆρ, the "luminary" of verse 11, as the *medium* which simply transmits light, and there is greater propriety in the figure employed, for while there is no incongruity in comparing the medium, through which light passes, to a transparent jewel, a transparent jewel is hardly a very fit image of the actual origin of the light itself.

In speaking of the luminary (that is, the medium by which the light of which St. John speaks is spread over the city), it is said to be "as jasper." If this stone is chosen, we are compelled to suppose that St. John had a definite reason for choosing jasper rather than another precious stone. We gather from verses 19 and 20, where the names of twelve precious stones are given, that he was not driven to call the stone "jasper" from want of familiarity with the names of other gems or jewels. Having then a plentiful vocabulary from which to choose, it is only bare justice to suppose that he intentionally selected the stone which was most suited to con-

vey his emblematic meaning. Jasper, it has been shown, is the emblem under which we are to recognize the person and the office of St. Peter, and we are justified in supposing that the same meaning is shadowed forth here by the same symbol which has just been employed for this purpose in a passage so closely connected with this one, not only locally, but also in signification.

This imagery, by which jasper is shown to be the medium, and not itself the primary originator, of the light, corresponds without any strain with the doctrine of the Catholic Church as to the special teaching office of the first among the Apostles, St. Peter. In the economy of the Church, it is the permanent office of the Supreme Pontiff to transmit to the faithful the light of that truth which comes from God. It is not his office to originate light, but he is divinely appointed and divinely helped to transmit the light which is in the Scriptures and tradition. The light indeed exists independently of him, but it is not intended that it should reach the city of the Church by any other instrumentality than her. In the symbolism which conveys this truth we see that the light of God's brilliancy is not intended to reach the city by any other means, except through the jasper medium. The providence of God might have provided for the teaching of His Church in other ways, so too might other emblems have been selected. But taking things as they are, this idea of an appointed medium for the transmission of the light of truth is not a mere invention made to suit a preconceived interpretation. It is only a natural continuation, or rather development, of our Lord's own phraseology. The Lamb, which, in the Apocalypse, is the luminary of the city, is a figure of the Messias, who, in the Gospel, said of Himself that He was the light of the world. And yet, being Himself the light, He nevertheless said to His disciples (Mathew v. 14), "*You are the light of the world,*" not because they were the originators of the light, but because they, not others, were the chosen means by which "the light" was to be diffused through all time and through all regions of the earth. None of the disciples could be called "the light," because they were to be the means of transmitting the light, in their measure and degree; with still greater propriety can the first and foremost amongst all the disciples be held up to us as "the light," the medium *par excellence* for communicating the light.

The imagery of the Apocalypse, therefore, is in perfect concord with the metaphorical language of our Lord in the Gospel; both the imagery and the metaphor find their realization in the doctrines of the Catholic Church, and in these matters such harmony must not be dismissed as being purely and simply an accidental coincidence.

These explanations will, no doubt, have to meet the objection that they wander off too much into minutiae. But this is an unreasonable and unreasoning objection. There is no reason *a priori* why minutiae should not be enveloped in figurative language as well as matters which may seem to us more worthy of such treatment. Nothing is small in the eyes of Him to whom nothing is great; and how are we to judge of relative importance here? If we make comparisons with other dispensations of God, we find the same infinite wisdom which gives laws to regulate in their orbits the mighty suns which shine upon us from the heavens as far-off stars, also frames the laws which order the growth and well-being of the smallest microscopic bacillus which lives and dies unnoticed upon a blade of grass. In the symbolism of the Apocalypse, as elsewhere, we are to deduce reasonable conclusions from reasonable premises; we must not take our prejudices and our disinclinations as our guide. It is as reasonable deductions from the given data that the conclusions here enunciated are put forward. The imagery of the city and of the stones, it is contended, was chosen with a definite object. The explanations which have been given show, with unavoidable brevity, the parallelism which exists between the teaching conveyed (1) in the metaphorical language of the Apocalypse; (2) in the symbolism of the Gospel; and (3) in the doctrines of the Catholic Church. From this agreement it is argued that the points of coincidence are too numerous, too minute, and converging, and at the same time too mutually consistent to be merely the unforeseen result of fortuitous chance.

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## LAWLESSNESS AND LAW IN IRELAND.

A PECULIAR feature in Irish national movements is the character of special lawlessness which is constantly attributed to them by English public opinion. In other countries the distinction between political offences and men's crimes is readily recognized. Kossuth or Daniel Mannin might be rebels against the Austrian rule, but they were never regarded as criminals on that account. Even Washington, though officially a traitor in the view of English law, was never looked on in the same light as a cut-throat or a burglar. In Ireland, however, the case is different. Whether her people array themselves against the foreign government in armed insurrection, or in legal agitation, they are alike regarded by English public opinion as actual criminals. From the earliest days of the Norman invasion down to the present time disaffection to the English government has been regarded in Irishmen as simple lawlessness. Indeed that character is attached even more persistently to movements within the bounds of legality than to armed rebellion. It was so in O'Connell's time, and it is still more so in the recent movement under the guidance of Mr. Parnell. The usual practice with the English public is to attribute every crime occurring in Ireland to political causes, and from that supposition to identify Irish politics with pure and simple lawlessness. The officials and their dependents in Ireland re-echo the cry, and thus an impression is often made in other countries of a peculiarly lawless character in the Irish people. How far such a character is deserved will best be shown by a detailed examination of the law itself now existing in Ireland.

That a people is not necessarily lawless because it resists unjust laws need scarcely be shown. Tyranny can make victims; it cannot make criminals. The Bulgarians massacred a few years ago by the Turkish Bashi Bazouks were not a lawless people because they incurred the ban of the Sultan's law. The bishops and priests of Prussia, who were sent to prison for refusing obedience to the Falk laws, were not, therefore, to be regarded as lawless men. If, too, the existing laws of Ireland be not of such a character as to command public respect rightfully, opposition to them cannot be styled lawlessness. The distinction between crimes and legal offences is well known to the Irish people, though the efforts to confuse the two on the part of the government are unceasing. Thus quite lately a judge in Ireland, Lawson, stated that the employment of a man to set a bone who was not a regular surgeon was an instance of the utter lawlessness of the people of Tippe-

rary. The natural result is that the bulk of the people hold aloof from the administration of the law; and this, again, is regarded in England as a convincing proof of the lawless nature of the Celtic mind. Whether it be not rather a proof of the injustice of the laws themselves can best be told by examining their nature and administration. It must be remembered that, though in theory Ireland is an integral part of the British empire, its laws are different essentially from those of England. In England the laws are suited to the will of the country; in Ireland they are adapted to the will of a foreign country. That such should be the case is an essential part of the system imposed on Ireland by the union.

The distinction between the legislative, judicial, and executive branches of government is much less clearly marked in the United Kingdom than it is in the United States. Parliament not only makes laws, but changes the executive in the persons of the ministry almost at will; and, moreover, in the House of Lords it forms the High Court of Appeal. That such a concentration of powers in the hands of a single body should be injurious to its efficiency is obvious; but to what an extent the centralizing system is carried would be very inadequately conceived did we merely think Parliament undertook for the British empire the functions of President, Congress, and Supreme Court in the United States. It assumes, in addition, all the duties which are discharged in the United States by the State governments, and even many which here are delegated to counties and municipalities. Thus a railroad cannot be built, a river deepened, or a university established in Ireland, without the special permission of Parliament. To act without it in such cases is illegal. When we consider how much of daily life needs the constant interference of law in the shape it is given by Federal, State, and county governments, and remember that Ireland is absolutely dependent for such interference on the leisure of a single legislature, charged, moreover, with the administration of the British empire, it is easy to realize how plentiful must be the crop of necessary illegality in Ireland.

The slowness with which the most needed changes are effected in Irish legislation under the present system is something astounding. Catholic emancipation was granted in 1829, but it was forty-three years later before the marriage of Catholics with Protestants ceased to be a criminal act for a priest, and unbinding on the parties in law. The dietary which can legally be given to the poor in workhouses was fixed during the famine years of 1846-49, at a scale scarcely above starvation, as a matter of immediate necessity. It has remained unaltered since, though the necessities of the time have passed away for over thirty years. The level of water to be maintained in the Shannon was fixed fifty years ago at six and a



half feet for supposed needs of navigation. It has since been established that four feet is ample for the only class of traffic on it, yet the old level is continued, with the result of flooding thousands of acres, and hindering the drainage of a tenth of the whole island. The evil is admitted, but Parliament has no time to interfere, and it would be illegal to attempt action without its sanction. These are but a few, and by no means the most striking, instances of the neglect of Irish legislation during the present century. Whenever Irish measures have to contend not with mere indifference, but with hostile prejudice, the case is far worse. The justice of providing university education for Catholics, as it had been provided for Protestants in Ireland, was admitted in theory at the time of the union, but it was only two years ago that any practical attempt was made to admit the students of Catholic colleges to legal equality with all others. The absolute need of reform in the land laws was pointed out by a Parliamentary commission forty years ago, but it was not until three millions of the population had been driven from the country, and after the most terrible famine known in modern Europe, that any attempt, however slight, was made to change the system.

Fatal as such a leaden rule of changeless neglect amid the rapid changes of modern life would be of necessity to any country, its evils in Ireland are aggravated tenfold by the nature of the system that preceded it. Where not directly changed by Parliament, the present government of Ireland is simply a perpetuation of the infamous penal code and Protestant ascendancy of the last century. The avowed aim of that system was to debase intellectually and ruin materially the Irish Catholics—that is to say, more than three-fourths of the nation. In its material effects that system is still, to an enormous extent, continued. The practical administration of the country is still kept in the hands of the same class. The worst laws of the penal code are liable to be applied at their will in a manner which would startle Americans, who believe that such enactments have long passed into oblivion. Thus, within the last ten years, Chief Justice Whiteside laid down the law that the whole organization of the Catholic Church in Ireland is still illegal under the statutes of Queen Elizabeth. But even the penal code itself is not the only relic of past misgovernment that still sways the laws of Ireland. During the past year Irish ladies were committed to jail as felons under laws enacted in the reign of Edward the Third to meet local labor troubles in England. Time, place, or character is no bar to the application of any law to the Irish people. Even the legislation of Strafford, a legislation for which his own life was solemnly forfeited by the judgment of the English Parliament, two hundred and forty years ago, has been lately resusci-

tated by the Irish lawyers, and Irish members of Parliament are called on to suffer imprisonment by virtue of that legislation. Let us imagine Louisiana governed by the lettres de cachet of the Regent Orleans, or New York by the Star Chamber decrees of Charles the First, and we will have a fair idea of what is now the actual state of the law in Ireland.

That under a system so chaotic, and clothed with powers claimed at any period during the past seven centuries, the authority of the executive should be virtually despotic is inevitable. In Ireland, however, the despotism of the Lord Lieutenant is tempered in an entirely peculiar way. The government of Louis the Fifteenth in France was said to be "despotism limited by epigrams." In Ireland the system is "despotism limited by official boards." Public education, the relief of the poor, the police of the country, its public works, and its land administration are all controlled by boards of irresponsible officials holding power for life, and having "vested rights" to their places, from which even a Lord Lieutenant is powerless to disturb them. The liberty of every private citizen is at his mercy, but he dare not meddle with the vested rights of an official to live at the public expense, however inefficient or injurious his action may be to the public weal. The administration of the law itself is no exception to the general rule. Judges, prosecutors, and legal functionaries of every class, from the Lord Chancellor to the lowest bailiff, are drawn from a small class of the population, whose special mark is hostility to the popular feelings of the country. That the people must be always in the wrong when opposed to the government is a cardinal principle in the mind of Irish judges. The mere trial of crimes is but a small portion of their administration of the law. It seems to be regarded as part of their duty to condemn from the bench, in season and out of season, all popular movements of a political kind. How far such a course tends to promote respect for the law, or confidence in its administration, may well be judged. Combined with the principles on which the judges are chosen, and the general character of the bar, it has certainly produced among the great majority of the population a belief that the law is little more than a machinery of injustice used by a foreign and hostile government for their oppression. How far this belief is reasonable may best be judged from an examination of the composition of the Irish judiciary and the system under which its members are appointed to render equal justice to all members of the community.

That the administrators of the law as far as possible should be impartial between all classes, and especially between the government and the people, and that they should be independent in the discharge of their functions, are principles recognized in all lands.

How far they are regarded in the appointment of judges in Ireland the facts themselves will best tell. Those functionaries are certainly numerous enough, and their pay is out of all proportion large compared to the circumstances of the country. Twenty-four judges of first instance discharge the work of the law in England. In Ireland with one-fourth of the population and a tenth of the legal business, twenty-one are employed for that purpose. The Lord Chancellor of Ireland is the chief of the judiciary. His salary is forty thousand dollars a year. His judicial work is practically nothing. The grounds on which he is appointed are wholly political services to one of the parties in England. He enters on his office with a change in the English ministry, and retires on the downfall of his patrons. To secure him against any risk of leaning towards the popular feelings, however, it is provided that on quitting office he shall enjoy a pension of twenty thousand dollars annually for life. The late Sir Joseph Napier, who was made chancellor in 1857, though physically incapable from deafness of discharging judicial duties, thus received a pension during twenty-five years amounting altogether to just half a million of dollars for one year's inactivity in office. Violent partisanship was the sole qualification which procured him his position and its emoluments. The maintenance of "Protestant Ascendency in Church and State," in spite of Emancipation, was his chief claim to notice, and it may be imagined how favorably such a doctrine recommended his legal decisions to the respect of the Irish people.

The eight judges who administer equity, admiralty and probate law, are appointed on the same grounds as the Chancellor, but hold their offices permanently once appointed. Their salaries range from seven thousand five hundred to twenty thousand dollars a year, promotion in all cases being wholly dependent on the favor of the ministry. It is not uncommon for judges to receive other paid appointments as commissioners of various kinds outside their judicial ones. The average earnings of members of the Irish Bar are comparatively small. Five thousand dollars a year is much above the average of private practice, and we believe none exceeds ten thousand at present. Thus the numerous judgeships are naturally the great objects of pursuit of the lawyers in Ireland. The barristers from whose ranks the judiciary is exclusively drawn are not numerous. We believe those in practice amount to about four hundred. The expenses of entering the profession are heavy, the prospects of success in it small unless by official favor. As a double result the great majority are drawn from a small class of the population, chiefly landed proprietors and officials. Thus by class feelings and interest the bar is closely drawn towards the government, and at the same time imbued with strong feelings of

hostility towards any popular movements calculated to change the existing order of affairs. As the right of pleading in the higher courts is strictly reserved to barristers, it may be conceived how their character as a body promotes the feeling of confidence in the law among the mass of the people. Indeed, of late years, it is all but impossible for a barrister to obtain a place in Parliament from any constituency in Ireland. Above all other classes they are regarded as the most specially venal and corrupt by the majority of the population. But if they are excluded from popular respect, they are compensated by a complete monopoly of the administration of justice such as it is in Ireland.

It might, perhaps, be considered that the composition of the bar and the disposal of judicial preferments, according to the favor of the ministry, would be amply sufficient to secure the devotion of the judges to the government as against the people. A peculiar test, however, unknown elsewhere, is usually required for a seat among the twelve judges of common law who form the highest tribunal in Ireland. The rule for these appointments, which have salaries attached ranging from seventeen to twenty-five thousand dollars a year, is, that something more is required than ordinary partisan attachment to an English party. The first step to a judgeship is the office of public prosecutor. The Attorney-General and Solicitor-General represent the executive in all legal affairs. By the system of government in England they are also obliged to have seats in Parliament, and to defend the ministry against all attacks on their policy. An exclusively one-sided advocacy in the courts, and an unqualified adherence to the policy of a particular minister in Parliament, are thus the legal duties of an Irish Attorney-General. From the discharge of those functions he is transferred to the judicial bench as a matter of course. In Parliament the future judges are required strictly to support the ministry in every change of policy with much greater subservience than is expected from an ordinary member of the party. In fact for either of them to oppose the Prime Minister on any serious point would involve the necessity of resignation, and, of course, put him out of the line of promotion to the bench. Besides these Parliamentary duties, the Attorney-General and Solicitor-General have to act as prosecutors in all important public cases, especially of a political nature. These are constantly occurring in Ireland. The prosecution of O'Connell in 1844, those of Smith O'Brien, Mitchell, and the other Young Ireland leaders in 1848, 1849 and 1850; the Fenian trials between 1865 and 1868, the Parnell affair in 1880, and the Land League trials during the past year, were all directed or managed by those functionaries. As in all the public sentiment was on the side of the accused parties, it is not unnatural

that the public prosecutors acquired the reputation of hostility to the national feelings of the country, and that the same reputation should attach to them after their elevation to the judicial bench. In fact the great majority of the judges are looked on as more decidedly partisans of one or other of the English parties than are the mere members of Parliament, either Whig or Tory. However, the government treats them with great deference, and manifests the utmost disinclination to express any dissatisfaction with their acts as a matter of principle. So far is this carried that a few years ago, a judge of more than usual unpopularity, who had made his way to the bench by first vigorously proclaiming his bitter hostility to the government of the day, and then suddenly joining it on a moment's notice, was maintained in his position after he had exhibited strong marks of insanity. Respect for the judicial character prevented the government from interfering with his judgments until he attempted to cut his valet's throat. He was thereupon retired with expressions of sincere regret at the unfortunate circumstances which made an interference with a judge necessary. For minor instances of eccentricity almost absolute immunity is assured by the respectful deference of the government to the majesty of the law. The contrast between the feelings manifested towards the bench by the official class and the people generally is one of the strange features of Irish life.

The mode in which legal patronage apart from their pay is vested in the judges in Ireland is a strong proof of the confidence reposed in their integrity by the government. The registrar of each court is appointed by the judge. As an almost invariable rule, he is a near relative, a son, or a brother, if such exists. The immediate relatives of judges practicing in their courts, are usually favored with much larger employment than other members of the bar of like standing. For the various commissionerships and other posts distributed from time to time by the government, the sons and brothers of judges have usual prior claims. In other countries these things would excite remark, but under existing circumstances in Ireland they are regarded by the Bar as a matter of course and a powerful means of making the administration of the law respected. The necessity of the administrators of the law and their families being raised socially above the general population is recognized freely by the whole official class, as is also the practical fact that high pay is the most effectual means to attain that end. On this point, however, the public feeling is not wholly in accord with that of the official world. Cases have been known lately, in which a judge, receiving twenty thousand dollars a year, was burned in effigy before his own court, and was commonly described as a perjured scoundrel. The only grounds for the charge, however, was

that he had sworn with due solemnity not to accept office from a particular government, in public. The oath was not taken in a court of law, and consequently no charge of perjury could be legally brought against his lordship. The popular prejudice, however, against him was singularly bitter, and it did much to lessen the respect which it was intended by government should under all circumstances surround the functions of a superior judge.

The judges (as they are usually styled by eminence), whom we have been describing, do not number over five per cent. of the active members of the Irish Bar. Even reckoning their registrars and other officials, they would not be over one-tenth of the legal fraternity eligible for the offices. A second grade of judges has in consequence been established, who were formerly known as county chairmen, but now as county judges. They number thirty-four, with salaries ranging from three thousand five hundred to eleven thousand dollars a year. The latter is enjoyed by the Recorder of Dublin, who conducts the police court of that city with much the same jurisdiction as a police judge in New York. The functions of the other county judges are not very heavy. They sit on an average one day in each week. Three hours a day is considered heavy judicial work by the Irish Bar. Their jurisdiction is not defined very accurately, as in certain cases they can even sentence to death. A few years ago a chairman in a southern county discovered a statute which enabled him to pass a capital sentence for the slaying of a goat. That class of animal, it may be said incidentally, is usually believed to have been overlooked in the ordinary law of England. However, appeals lie in most cases to the higher courts from the county judges, and when they transact much business, appeals are common. A chairman in Ulster in 1872 furnished fifty-one appeals from his court in a single session. The origin of the office of county judge is due to Lord Clare at the beginning of the present century. The Irish Bar was strongly opposed to the union with England, and in 1798 it protested, by a hundred and sixty-two to thirty-two voices, against that measure. Lord Clare immediately established thirty-two county chairmanships, as there were not judgeships enough to provide for all the minority. Sixteen of the new offices were in fact given among the thirty-two, who were thus consoled for the popular ill feeling which attended the sale of Irish Legislative Independence. The offices have been since continued as a useful provision for partisans of the government whose services are not sufficiently important to qualify them for a judgeship, and who would find it hard to make a livelihood by private practice. The public sentiment with regard to this class of judges is not very strong. It corresponds indeed tolerably closely with the judgment expressed by Dante in his *Inferno*.

on the class of the condemned prisoners there, who were "neither for God nor against Him, but for themselves."

"Let us not speak of them but look and pass."

Like the higher judges, they are appointed exclusively for political partisanship or sometimes as a mere mark of official favor, and they are naturally strongly opposed to popular ideas in politics, social and national life.

The administration of the law in smaller matters than those which engage the county courts, is in the hands of the justices of the peace, or magistrates, as they are usually styled. Their powers are much the same as those of justices in the United States, but they inflict much heavier punishments than are usually awarded in courts of the same class outside Ireland. Imprisonment for six or nine months or a year is quite a usual sentence in a magistrate's court. The magistracy numbers several thousands, and several of them usually come together to hold the Courts of Petty Sessions. No pay is attached to the office, as the power it confers causes it to be sought rather eagerly by the class of country gentlemen who have interests in the local administration of justice. It also confers the right of taking part in the Poor and Law Boards on an equal footing with the elected guardians, and in this way gives the magistracy a share in the small amount of local patronage that might otherwise be distributed among the mere tax-payers. The magistrates are appointed by the Lord Chancellor at discretion, and are liable to be removed by him at pleasure. In practice, however, they are seldom struck off the roll, unless for acts, either personal or political, disagreeable to the executive. Mere illegalities in the discharge of their functions, or even trifling offences against the law in other respects, are not considered sufficient cause, except in extraordinary circumstances, for the interference of government with the judicial acts of magistrates. The law must be respected in its administrators, even if administered a little irregularly, is the rule adopted by the government on such occasions. No legal knowledge is required for appointment as a magistrate. It is usually required, however, that he shall be chosen from what is officially regarded as the upper class of society.

The peculiar quality denoted officially by the term "respectability" is somewhat hard for Americans to comprehend; without a due understanding of it, however, it is almost impossible to appreciate the principles on which the administration of local justice is conducted in Ireland. Education, professional standing, personal character, or wealth, are not the grounds on which a man is held respectable in the eyes of the law. It is indeed supposed that these qualifications are mainly confined to a small class of the population. This class was formerly defined by law as the Protestant ascendancy,

and meant only that portion of the population which was willing to take the sacrament in an Episcopalian church, and to swear that Catholicity was damnable and idolatrous. It numbered about a ninth of the population and enjoyed a monopoly of all official patronage. Since Catholic Emancipation, the legal character of the old test has been abolished, and the quondam "ascendency" continues to hold together chiefly by its hold on public offices. The State Church helped to maintain it down to 1870, and in its capacity of "the respectable class" it has drawn to it a small number of Catholics, chiefly officials, and a certain number of the northern Presbyterians, who were formerly excluded from the "legal Protestants" ranks. This body forms the element from which the magistrates and other "respectable" functionaries are almost exclusively taken. Episcopalians, however, of national leanings in politics are strictly excluded from the ranks of the official "respectables," as of course are all Catholics who are not avowedly devoted to the government. Thus an Episcopalian who has no very definite political leanings is officially looked on as respectable, while a Catholic of the same kind would be assumed to be of the other class. If, however, an Irish Catholic should devote himself to either party in England, and repudiate any sympathy with his own country, his religion alone would not prevent the government from recognizing his respectability. This short explanation may clear up many difficulties in the way of understanding why magistrates are appointed to dispense the law to the Irish people.

Though the ownership of land is not essential as a condition to an appointment, in practice the majority of magistrates in the rural districts are either landlords or agents. Owing to the former action of the Penal laws, indeed, most of the Irish landlords belong to the Episcopalian body, and on that ground are legally "respectable." Among the legally respectable ranks, however, the government prefers landlords, as the most naturally suited to render impartial justice from the bench. Shopkeepers and farmers, it is thought, would be liable to bias in favor of their own class, and therefore pretty universally excluded. So long as a magistrate is not national in his politics the government does not pay as much attention to his party as it does in the case of paid judges. Three per cent. of the present magistrates of Ireland are Catholics. The latter form seventy-eight per cent. of the population. The government, however, denies that any reason for complaint exists, and fully admits the principle that Catholics have equal rights to office on the bench as any other class of the community. It attributes their practical exclusion to strange "coincidences" over which it had no control. The popular prejudice attributes it to the same intolerance which prevailed openly



in former years in the body from which the administrators of the law are still chiefly drawn.

The method in which justice is administered at petty sessions is little less peculiar than the composition of the judiciary. As a general rule, the respectability of the parties coming into court voluntarily or otherwise has great weight with the decisions given. This is perhaps only natural, considering the limited legal knowledge of the average magistrate, and his invariable respectability. A respectable man is generally supposed to be incapable of committing crime. If an act of his look criminal, magistrates endeavor to find reasonable grounds for doubt. Thus, last year, an excitable gentleman who drew a loaded revolver at a public meeting and brandished it was fined five dollars, on the ground that he was under the influence of Irish whisky. A short time previously, a man who drew a revolver in a county court, and who was mentally deranged, got seven years' imprisonment with hard labor in the penitentiary. The first was a respectable man, the latter only a public teacher.

The manner in which what would elsewhere be looked on as rather serious charges are dismissed by the magistrates, when brought against persons of their own class or public officials, is a marked feature in the administration of the law in Ireland. A couple of instances out of several reported during the past year may serve as good examples of the practice. A man driving home at evening near Limerick, towards the close of the year, nearly ran over two men who were searching for some money one of them had dropped in the roadway. The searchers cried out, and the gentleman driving at once fired a couple of shots at them, but, luckily, in vain. On being brought before a magistrate's court he was at once excused, on the statement that he did not know but the men were about to attack him. He was an officer in the army. A similar case occurred some time previously at Baltinglass, near Dublin, where an Episcopalian clergyman fired two or three shots on the streets after a runaway who had jostled him. The reverend gentleman explained that he had only fired to notify the police of his own whereabouts, and was at once discharged, while the boy was severely reprimanded. The respectability of the parties in both cases was deemed ample justification. The penalty on a farmer or mechanic for a similar act would have probably been about seven years' penal servitude. In such a case the legal term for the act would have been attempt to kill. As the majority of magistrates count policemen, bailiffs and gentlemen's servants for legal purposes among the respectable classes, there is very little legal crime charged to that portion of the community. Among the bulk of the population, however, there is a tendency

to regard legal offences as quite distinct from real crimes. This tendency, however, is more commonly set down by the magistracy to a peculiar quality of the Celtic mind, differing from that of other races, rather than to anything connected with the administration of the law. Its origin, in fact, is officially considered to be ethnological, and not legal; consequently, though its existence is deplored, it is deemed useless to attempt to remove it.

An important element among the magistrates are the residents or stipendiaries. They are drawn from the same class and possess much the same jurisdiction as the ordinary justices, but they receive pay from the government, and are required to reside in the districts assigned to each. From these districts they are liable to be moved to others at the will of the Lord-Lieutenant. There are usually two or three in a county, and the position is much sought after by country gentlemen of limited means and no special profession. In the justices' courts they have a superiority over the ordinary magistrates, and as, besides, they are expected to attend regularly, while the others merely come when they please or are specially interested in cases to be tried, the stipendiaries naturally wield much greater power in the country. The government communicates with them as with direct agents; and, besides their judicial functions, they also have the power of giving or refusing various privileges to members of the community generally. The right to keep arms is one of these privileges, the granting or refusing of which is left to the discretion of the resident magistrates. In granting it they are not required to confine themselves to legal grounds. They can be guided by the applicant's private conduct towards personal friends or similar reasons. Thus a case was mentioned to us as a perfectly normal one in which license to keep his gun was refused to a farmer because he owed rent to his landlord, the latter being a friend to the licensing magistrate. Another power enjoyed by the residents at the present time is that of sending police to search the houses of obnoxious individuals, either by day or night, at discretion, and of arresting any strangers in his district. The latter may be punished by six months' imprisonment if suspected by the residents of unlawful designs, the nature of which need not be defined. Persons residing in the district are liable to a similar jurisdiction if found out-of-doors after nightfall. However, these provisions are only put in force against persons of the farming, artisan and laboring classes, and even but rarely against them. Jail accommodation is somewhat limited in Ireland.

No legal training is required of the stipendiaries, and, in fact, military antecedents are an ordinary preparation for such an appointment. However, there is no necessity for any qualifications,

as the stipendiaries are appointed entirely through political influence. They usually hold for life, and are pensioned after a certain number of years, but, if their conduct on the bench be disagreeable to the Executive, the Lord-Lieutenant can remove them to remote districts, or even retire them. In cases involving only the rights of individuals, however, the government very rarely uses either punishment. In such cases the principle of judicial independence is respected by the authorities. Besides their judicial functions, the stipendiaries have control of the police, and are often placed in command of the military when their services are deemed necessary. The breaking up or prevention of public meetings prohibited by the Lord-Lieutenant or the suppression of riots are usually conducted by one or more magistrates in command of an armed force. In the case of charges arising out of such affairs the magistrate may afterwards try them as a judge. He is thus enabled to act at once as judge and witness, and, of course, can prevent to a great extent any legal annoyance to the men under his control which might arise in the ordinary course of law. The stipendiaries exercise a good deal of their own judgment in deciding what meetings ought to be suppressed. The government usually respects their liberty of action in this matter. In a recent case, however, where a magistrate prohibited a public meeting on his own authority, the Lord-Lieutenant removed him to another district. The case occurred while Parliament was in session, and the Secretary for Ireland was much embarrassed in consequence of being unable to give any legal justification for the proceeding in that body. These circumstances were, however, quite out of the common course.

The working of the jury system in Ireland has some peculiar features of its own. That verdicts should be found in conformity with the wishes of the Executive is regarded, by both the government and the legal functionaries, as essential to the proper administration of justice. As this conviction is not shared by the population, considerable difficulty is often experienced by the judges in getting verdicts suitable to the wishes of the government. The complaint as to the existence of this difficulty is of old standing, in fact it dates from the introduction of English law among the Irish population. At the date of that introduction the latter were in possession of most of the land of the country, and for the due encouragement of law the Executive deemed it necessary to deprive them of the land in favor of English settlers. For this purpose the soil was first granted in full property to the Irish chieftains to the exclusion of the people. The chieftains were subsequently attainted by Acts of Parliament at different times, and their lands legally vested in the Crown. As the English law

had been established on the submission of the chieftains, in place of the original Celtic system of government, it became necessary to establish these confiscations in the courts, and there the jury system came into play. It was easy to have English judges, but in the greater part of the country Irish jurors had to be impanelled at least in part. To work the problem out by courts-martial or by juries brought over from England specially, was found to be entirely too costly, and so the use of Irish jurors had to be adopted. From the first, however, they manifested a remarkable difference of opinion from the judges and the English officials on the rights of the Crown to dispossess them of their ancestral lands. The poet Spenser, even in the reign of Elizabeth, speaks of this perversity of Irish jurors in almost the same terms as are used by the English press and officials at the present day. No matter how clearly the judges explained to them the justice of the Crown's claims in law, they could not be led to take the same view of the question as the Englishmen impanelled with them. Indeed, they frequently so puzzled the latter with quirks and subtleties that they hardly knew how to answer them, though themselves thoroughly convinced of the Crown's right to the Irish lands.

To meet this peculiar action of the Celtic jurors, which virtually rendered it impossible to deprive them of their lands except by purchase, several modifications of the jury system were successively attempted. Lord Strafford, in his attempt to break the titles of the possessors of the soil in Connaught, fined the jurors who refused to find for the Crown four thousand pounds a man, and committed the sheriff to jail for selecting such a jury. Nevertheless the attempt was only partially successful, as the juries refused to be intimidated, though they finally paid large sums to the Crown as a species of blackmail for leaving them alone. Another device was to give shares in the lands claimed by the Crown to the jurors who tried the case. The success of this, too, was only indifferent, and Strafford having, for other reasons, incurred the hostility of the English Parliament, they made his practices in Ireland available as charges to send him to the block. The Irish, and a portion of the English people, having risen simultaneously against the misgovernment of Charles the First, the latter first executed that monarch for tyranny and then confiscated the land of Ireland for rebellion. The due establishment of the law was given as the reason for both proceedings. The English law at a later period pronounced the proceedings wholly lawless, but confirmed their result in Ireland.

Though the burning question of ownership of the land was thus in some degree settled to the satisfaction of the law, Irish

jurors were still found singularly unwilling to acquiesce in the views of the government in other cases. In fact, the impression on the Celtic mind was that law as established among them and justice were not only distinct but naturally opposite to one another. Consequently, in the part of its administration which fell to them as jurors, they frequently considered they were bound in conscience to disobey the judges. In consequence, when the government of Charles the Second thought it expedient to execute the Primate of Ireland, in order to allay a panic in England, no Irish jury could be found to convict him, and he had to be brought to England before he could be legally found guilty and executed. As a final remedy for this spirit of disaffection among jurors, all Irish Catholics were made outlaws, and thus kept off juries. In this condition they were kept during the greater part of the last century; yet, on the relaxation of the Penal laws, it was found they still continued to look on law and justice as quite distinct in Ireland. The feeling still continues, in spite of the concentration of nearly all legal power in the hands of the official class, and thus to get verdicts suitable to the wishes of the government is a task of no small difficulty to the Irish administration.

The system usually employed in cases of importance is known as "packing" juries, though the term is not used by the officials. It must be remembered that there is a class in the Irish population which is in sympathy with the Crown, though a very small one. The officials and recipients of public patronage, in one shape or other, and a portion of the landowners constitute the bulk of this class. It is obvious, that if juries could be drawn exclusively from such persons, they would naturally find verdicts agreeable to the ideas of the Executive. As they are usually better off in point of wealth than the rest of the population, the qualifications for a place on the panel are fixed high in this respect. To be a juror in Ireland, in the higher courts, it is necessary that one must occupy premises rated at two hundred and fifty dollars a year. This excludes the great majority of the population at once, and gives the friends of the government much more weight in juries than in the country generally. In cases where the Crown prosecutor deems packing advisable, he orders all persons on the panel suspected of national feelings to stand by until further notice. This privilege is not possessed by the other side, who can only challenge twenty names. The Crown can also challenge, but in addition can order an unlimited number to stand by at discretion. Thus, if there are thirty-two reliable men in a panel of say two hundred, the Crown, after the prisoner's twenty challenges are out, can make the remaining twelve the representatives of the whole panel. This device

has been long practiced, and is still used at need by Crown prosecutors.

Simple as this system appears it is beset with practical difficulties, like most other legal administrative acts in Ireland. The majority of the class favored by law are Protestants, and thus packed juries have commonly an exclusively denominational character, which seems contrary to the religious equality provided for by the written law. Public opinion consequently indulges in comments very disagreeable to the feelings of both Crown prosecutors and judges, and which even have an effect on the packed jurymen. To prevent this the principle of contempt of court receives a wide application in the Irish tribunals. The judges claim as a right the power both of determining what constitutes contempt, and the punishment they may award for it. Press comments are the most common subject of punishment, and they are only punished when the journal in which they appear is of politics unfavorable to the Executive. Two instances last year, which happened in Dublin, will illustrate the practice of the judges. In each case a man was on trial for murder. In the first, an exclusively non-Catholic jury was packed, and while trying it they mixed freely with friends, and some of them got drunk and riotous in the hotel where they were detained during the night before rendering their verdict. For commenting on these facts the *Freeman's Journal* proprietor, who is a Home Rule member of Parliament, was sentenced to five hundred pounds fine and three months' imprisonment. The facts alleged were supported by the affidavits of fourteen persons, but the judge refused to hear any justification for attacks on jurymen in the discharge of their duty. Four months later a jury disagreed in another case, where the evidence was doubtful. The *Daily Express*, a journal devoted to the government, at once stated that the disagreement might be expected in consequence of the presence of a particular individual on the jury. The judge in this case ruled that though the comment was unwarrantable, he would take no action in the matter. It will scarcely cause surprise that "contempt of court" is not confined to the comments of the Press in Ireland.

We have now briefly described the peculiar features of the administration of the law at the present day in Ireland. That the popular feeling regards it with distrust and dislike is undoubted; it is simply impossible that it could be otherwise. In every other country of the civilized world the law is framed at least in intention to suit the requirements of the people to whom it is administered. In Ireland, for the last three centuries, it has been and still is framed in open disregard of their requirements, their feelings, and their rights as men. Instead of the law being for the people, the people have:

been supposed to exist for the law. The mere prevention of crime or doing justice between the members of the community is treated by the government as an entirely secondary consideration to the maintenance of a system in accordance with English ideas, not with any principles of abstract right. At the present moment the army, which is supposed to uphold the law, furnishes a larger class of criminals than any other; and yet in the eyes of the judges and officials of Ireland, the military is a model body, whose respect for law is in striking contrast to the lawlessness of the people. It is not necessary to say more. The facts will tell whether the Irish people or their law-makers are deserving of the character of lawlessness so freely attributed of late to Ireland.

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#### MR. MOZLEY'S REMINISCENCES OF THE OXFORD MOVEMENT.

PERHAPS the importance of Mr. Mozley's *Reminiscences* will be more highly appreciated as time goes on. It has many facts. It is a contribution, and a most precious one, towards a complete biography of Newman. It is a partial and entertaining history of the great Oxford movement; it is suggestive and instructive on many points outside the circle of Oriel, Christ Church, and St. Mary's. It keeps alive the memory of not a few who would otherwise be forgotten, yet deserve on some accounts to be remembered. It is the writing of one of the most brilliant periodical writers of his time; and it is still more remarkable in this respect that, though the book is far more Roman than Anglican, the author remains a clergyman of the Church of England, and publishes at almost the very close of his career a defence of the peculiarities of the Catholic system as opposed to Protestantism, that is equally subtle, ingenious, and persuasive.

The interest which I feel as an individual in these fascinating volumes is increased by the fact of my having had some acquaintance with the author many years ago. In 1847 I was staying on a visit to Mr. Ward, the Vicar of Great Bedwyn, who was a friend of Mozley's, and, like him, an enthusiastic student of church architecture. Much is said about this very worthy man in chapter xcix. of the *Reminiscences*. Being in a deplorable state of health, and having occasion to see the Bishop of Salisbury on business, Mr.

Ward sent me all the way to Salisbury in his own carriage. But the journey was long, and he arranged that I should break it and rest the horses by stopping for an hour or so at Cholderton Rectory, Wilts, where Mr. and Mrs. Mozley (Newman's sister) received me with much kindness and hospitality. Four years later, when I happened to be in Bruges, I met Mr. and Mrs. Mozley again, breakfasted with them at the Hotel de Flandre, and accompanied them and their little daughter to the famous shrine of the relic of the Most Holy Blood. Little did I suppose, as I walked by the side of this unassuming clergyman of the Church of England, that he had thought as deeply as some even of our best men on the points at issue between the Churches, that his intellect and conscience approved the Roman solution of very difficult problems, and that I had myself but a child's knowledge of them in comparison with his. It must be granted, then, in the first place, that the *Reminiscences of the Oxford Movement* are a most valuable contribution towards a complete biography of Cardinal Newman. We have already been fortunate in such contributions from the hands of distinguished friends and acquaintances, but this comes to us from a man connected by marriage, who must have learned and observed more than the rest. History and biography have hitherto been miserably unsatisfactory, but we are gradually advancing towards a high appreciation of exact truth. Mozley came into residence at Oriel College in 1825, when he was nineteen years of age. In the following year he became one of Newman's pupils in the college, and, during two years and a half, saw very much more of his tutor than pupils usually saw even in those days when tuition meant something. When absent from Oxford he corresponded with Newman, and, at his encouragement and urgency, stood for a fellowship at Oriel, and was successful at Easter, 1829. From that time until Christmas, 1831, he resided, not only in term time, but also a good deal in the vacations, on intimate terms with Newman's mother and sisters; and with his circle of friends, whether at Oxford or in the country, he was in constant communication with Newman, till, in September, 1836, he became his brother-in-law, and accepted the living of Cholderton, in Salisbury Plain. Most of his clerical neighbors, he tells us, warmly sympathized with Newman, even if they did not all of them altogether agree with him. "It was a great thing to hear of anybody standing up for truth and for the Church." Knowing, as we do, how observant Mozley has been through life of the dealings of Providence with him in minute events,<sup>1</sup> we cannot feel surprised at his believing that his near relations with the chief of the Oxford movement were providential, and that his being permitted to write

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<sup>1</sup> See *Reminiscences*, vol. ii., p. 425.



and publish these *Reminiscences* is so likewise; and I cannot trace in this connection the slightest symptom of unwarrantable egotism. The Oxford movement was at its height when Mozley began to write in the *British Critic*, which took the place of the *Tracts for the Times*. After being a contributor for two years he became its editor in place of Newman, and continued to be so till it ceased to exist, in October, 1843. The movement had come fairly into collision with the several parties it was meant to oppose. The "Evangelical" party denounced it as an emanation from the Evil one; the Churchmen of the old school were frightened by its excesses, and poured upon it torrents of bitterness through sermons, articles, pamphlets, episcopal charges, and suspension of Dr. Pusey. But the severest blow the movement had to sustain was being slowly prepared by the increasing tendency of the foremost combatants to throw down their arms, and range themselves on the side of Rome. Newman appears as the centre of a group of those who went over to Rome with him; and those who, having fought with him as Anglicans, remained behind. Of all of them together Mozley writes: "I may honestly say that, with the exception of Keble, I do not think one of them would be a living name a century hence but for his share in the light of Newman's genius and goodness. Yet even as the planets of such a system they are worthy of a better record than I am about to offer."

It was by the good providence of God that Newman did not follow law or music as a profession. He might have excelled in either, and have made himself a name. His parents intended him for the law, and we learn from Mr. Mozley that he actually kept some terms at Lincoln's Inn. The lessons of his pious mother influenced all his thoughts and ways. Her modified Calvinism took fast hold of his mind, and was riveted by the teaching of Dr. Watts, Baxter, Scott, Romaine, Newton, and Milner,—writers in whom, with all their Puritanical aberrations, was mingled a lively sense of the preciousness of the Great Sacrifice of the Cross, which is the soul and centre of Catholic ritual and dogma. "It would hardly be too much to say that he knew the Bible by heart;" and as time went on, and he came to instruct others, he had an "immense and almost minutely reverential knowledge of Scripture. . . . In his later years he has described, in very touching language, the impossibility of shaking off or even modifying this sweetest of his early professions." It was a most superficial view of Scripture which led men to the conclusion that it was Protestant. Deeper study has convinced many, of whom Newman was the most remarkable, that it is the most Catholic book in the world. It was that book, more than all others, that brought him to the feet of the Vicar of Christ and successor of St. Peter.

Mozley's reminiscences of Newman's early years are interesting

beyond measure, and happily supplement the too scanty records to be found in the *Apologia*. He tells us, for example, that "John H. Newman used to be sensible of having lost something by not being a public school man. He regarded with admiration, and a generous kind of envy, the facile and elegant construing which a man of very ordinary talents could bring with him from the sixth form of any public school. 'You don't know how much you owe to Russell' (the head master of Charterhouse), he would say to me, though I was never one of those facile construers. In the biography referred to John H. Newman has not done justice to his early adventures and sallies into the domains of thought, politics, fancy, and taste. He very early mastered music as a science, and attained such a proficiency on the violin that, had he not become a Doctor of the Church, he would have been a Paganini. At the age of twelve he composed an opera. He wrote in albums, improvised masques and idyls; and only they who see no poetry in 'Lead, kindly light,' or in the 'Dream of Gerontius,' will deny that this divine gift entered into his birthright."

Though Newman had not the advantage of what is called a public school, he was sent at a very early age to Dr. Nicholas's at Ealing, said to be the best preparatory school in the country. There were three hundred boys there, and he rose, almost at a bound, to be at the head of the school. Thence he went straight to Trinity College, Oxford, and passed his examination for his degree at the earliest possible time, Michaelmas, 1820. He had then not quite completed his nineteenth year. His friends had expected that he would obtain high honors, but this expectation was not realized. The degree, of course, was obtained, and when the class lists came out his name was found under the line, which was as low as it could be. He cast no blame on the examiners, but always maintained that his reading had been too discursive. Perhaps this comparative failure only served to stimulate a laudable ambition, particularly as that was now associated with the desire of assisting his family in their declining fortunes.

There are some of Mr. Mozley's critics who think that his style is not sufficiently grave for the subjects which he treats; that he is by no means always accurate; that he frequently speaks of the leaders of the Oxford movement in a jaunty way, and that he reveals things now and then which are likely to prove displeasing to survivors or to some of the relations and friends of those who are no more. But when were volumes of *Reminiscences* ever written of which these things have not been said? And where are the *Reminiscences* of any account that would not be spoilt if they were much weeded and pruned? It is their merit to be free and easy, eschewing above all things that portraiture for a pur-

pose which makes biography in general so untrustworthy. Cardinal Newman himself has set an example of writing occasionally in a humorous strain on subjects of the deepest moment; witness "Loss and Gain," and many parts of his Lectures on the Present Condition of Catholics in England. Humor and sarcasm are great gifts, and a prophet of the Lord used them once on a memorable and solemn occasion.<sup>1</sup>

After some interesting particulars respecting the Newman family, who hovered in several spots in the neighborhood of Oxford during a number of years, the writer of the *Reminiscences* continues: "To no period of Newman's life do his younger friends turn with more curiosity than to his position in the Oriel common room for the first two or three years (after his being elected to a Fellowship in 1823). The truth is, it was very easy for a man to have no position at all there, especially just at that time. Newman, a shy man, with heart and mind in a continual ferment of emotion and speculation, yearning for sympathy and truth, was not likely to feel entirely at home with some, whom it would be needless to name or to describe. From the first he loved and admired the man with whom eventually he lived most in collision, Edward Hawkins. He would also have been ready to love and admire Whately to the end, but for the inexorable condition of friendship imposed by Whately—absolute and implicit agreement in thought, word, and deed. This agreement, from the first, Newman could not accord. His divergence was in fact radical. He used to say that Whately's *Logic* was a most interesting book, but that there was one thing not to be found in it, and that was logic. The truth is, every man in these days is his own logician. However, they lived for some time in close intimacy, and it is painful to remember that a time came when they were in the same city (Dublin) for seven years, passing one another in the streets, without even recognition." Cardinal Newman has left his own account of Dr. Whately and their intimacy at Oxford. He left it, he says, in 1831; "after that, as far as I can remember, I never saw him but twice—when he visited the University; once in the street, once in a room. From the time that he left, I have always felt a real affection for what I must call his memory; for thenceforward he made himself dead to me. My reason told me that it was impossible that we could have got on together longer; yet I loved him too much to bid him farewell without pain."<sup>2</sup> Separations like these are among the most painful events in life, and leave a smart behind them more acute than that caused by any other mode of bereavement.

Admiring Cardinal Newman, as we do, as a grand exponent of

<sup>1</sup> III Kings xviii. 27.

<sup>2</sup> *Apologia* (1864), p. 69.

the Catholic system of revealed truth, it is curious to look back on his debut nearly sixty years ago in the character of a parson. Mr. Mozley's account of it is particularly terse and suggestive. "In 1824 Newman took orders and became curate of St. Clements. This was then a quaint little church, in a very small churchyard, adjoining the toll-taker's shed at the east end of the picturesque bridge over the Cherwell, at the London approach to Oxford. At this time Newman was Secretary to the local branch of the Church Missionary Society, an occasional frequenter of the religious soirées held at the Vice-Principal's of St. Edmund's Hall, and on terms of more or less familiarity with a considerable number of men destined soon to part in many directions. This church was soon filled, and, although his sermons, from the first, rather puzzled Mr. Hill and his weekly synod, they passed the censorship and were pronounced, on the whole, spiritual. The parish of St. Clement's was increasing, and it devolved on Newman to undertake the building of a new church, on a more open site. This he had to leave very much to others, and the result was the singular edifice, compared by irreverent under-graduates to a boiled rabbit, on some low ground, on the bank of the Cherwell, opposite Magdalene Walks. There could hardly be imagined a building with less indications of the architectural reformation which has marked the last half century." Mr. Hill, the Vice-Principal of St. Edmund's Hall, of whom Mr. Mozley here speaks, was in his time a unique representative at Oxford of Church of England Calvinism, pure and simple. He prided himself on adhering faithfully to the Five Points, and omitted no opportunity in divinity or other lectures of introducing pious remarks of a strictly Calvinistic nature. His sympathies, of course, were with Huguenots and Puritans, with Jansenists and the Thirty-nine Articles. He was never tired of quoting "the pious Quesnel," whom he persisted in calling Quesnelle with a strong accent on the last syllable. His tea-parties, to which University men were the only guests invited, were commonly called "tea and prayers." After the tea had been handed round, he improved the occasion with remarks intended for edification, coupled with unctuous comments on Popish tendencies and Popish superstition. Then came the reading of a chapter in the Bible, an exposition, and long extempore prayer, Mrs. Hill, the Miss Hills and the servants being present. In lecture he had to build his doctrine of Final Perseverance on the overthrow of St. Paul, by which the eyes of some, if not many, of his pupils were opened to the errors of Calvin. But his life was pure; he was kind and well-intentioned, and on one occasion he even found himself sitting side by side with Dr. Pusey in a committee representing various re-

ligious parties united together for the impeachment of Dr. Hampden.

It is curious to look back on Cardinal Newman as associated at any time, however slightly, with such a divine. Evolution and the survival of the fittest seem to have brought him to something more than a variety of the same species. It is often said by Ritualists that if he had remained in the Church of England he might have wrought with it and have led it, at least in great part, by his genius into the Promised Land. But the answer to this is, that he was bound to follow the course of his own personal development, and to listen to the Voice others could not hear, and to obey the beckoning Finger which others could not see. To have continued in known schism in order to lead his brethren out of it would have been to forfeit for himself the grace he might have won for them. He would have gone down in the wreck, while they attained the shore. He might even have lost among them the influence he possessed, and, so far from conducting them like Moses, might have been numbered among the carcasses of them that were overthrown in the wilderness. His heroism consisted in this, that he forsook all for Christ, and he has, even in this life, been amply rewarded. His influence in the Church of England is, strange to say, still immense, and what it is in the Catholic Church there is no need to tell. The extreme beauty of "Lead, kindly light" lies in its expressing the principle of action to which his life was subjected from early years. "At what date he began to move in the direction which seems now plain enough it would not be easy to say. It never was possible to be even a quarter of an hour in his company without a man feeling himself to be invited to take an onward step sufficient to tax his energy or his faith; and Newman was sure to find out in due time whether that onward step had been taken. But though we may now construct a design, still we shall have to admit that it is only by being wise after the event, or with the event near in view."

The early contemporaries of Newman at Oxford, of whom Mr. Mozley has left such pleasing remembrances, have most of them long ago departed this life. The attractive way in which he tells his anecdotes respecting them throws an interest over their names beyond any they could claim as men of distinction. An exception, however, must be made in the case of the Wilberforces, who derived from their illustrious father something more than a name. Had the great destroyer of the slave trade accepted the peerage which Pitt offered him, his sons might have been less known, and the name of his family less common in men's mouths than it is at present. They all owed much of their intellectual and moral

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<sup>1</sup> Reminiscences, vol. i., chap. v.

character to him. But their mental development was favored by emancipation from the "Evangelical" party, in which their father was the brightest star. That party was singularly weak, especially at Oxford, in all branches of human knowledge. They could not show a single man there who combined scholarship, intellect and address in a considerable degree. "All watched with interest the course of the three already famous brothers. The result at this day is, that Robert (the archdeacon) and Henry are both numbered by the Evangelical world among Newman's victims, while Samuel (Bishop of Oxford and afterwards of Winchester) is partly admired, partly pitied, as a brand plucked from the burning, but with the smell of the burning strong upon him. No party in the Church claims him very decidedly, or would quote his authority upon any crucial question." They had, Mr. Mozley says, "a great love of natural history and of science, as far as they had been able to study it. Robert was much given to geology, and, upon joining the Church of Rome, and consequently renouncing his Anglican orders, he intended to devote himself to the study, but was not allowed (?) to do so by his new masters at Rome. Samuel was also fond of trees and flowers. I once heard him and a friend alternately name pines and taxodia till they had got over fifty. . . . Henry Wilberforce (afterwards for many years editor of the *Weekly Register and Catholic Standard*) had a great knowledge of insect life. His amusingly annotated copy of Pinnock's *Entomological Catechism* I cherished for many years. At classical schools of that period there was no such thing as natural history or science. From the age of ten or under till twenty-two it was Greek and Latin, Greek and Latin; parsing, criticism, antiquities, composition, history—all Greek and Latin. Latterly the history itself vanished into criticism. True, there were mathematics and a Mathematical Class List, yet I once had a discussion with a mathematical second class who did not know the difference between the planets and the fixed stars, and who could not believe it possible that the planets revolved round the sun." Catholics as well as Protestants have happily advanced beyond this puerile stage, but, seeing that Latin is the language of the Church, it is to be hoped the study of Mathematics and Physics will never be allowed to supersede that of Latin in the education of her youth. Among the innumerable benefits which the Catholic Church has conveyed to mankind is that of preserving in vital force the language and literature of ancient Rome.

Mr. Mozley's *Reminiscences* are not arranged in a systematic way, and it is hardly possible that they should have been so presented. Though Newman is the principal figure throughout, he often turns aside from following him in pursuit of less noble game.

Of Dr. Pusey he has little to say, and he dwells on few men of mark except the Wilberforces, Keble and Ward, Whately, Froude, Hampden and Arnold. Newman's influence at Oxford was eminently personal. He reminds us in this respect of the teachers of philosophy in ancient Athens, whose steps were followed by troops of disciples. A devoted body of pupils were attached to him in the year 1828, and many of these were wont to circle round the shopkeepers and housemaids at St. Mary's and listen to the dulcet tones of the preacher, who was so great and penetrating in his extreme simplicity. It was not till several years after this that he published any of his sermons, which he looked upon as little more than conversational addresses, not worthy of appearing in print. He walked or rode to his hamlet of Littlemore most days, and was almost always accompanied by some young friend, delighted to have such a privilege. Newman had not as yet formally separated himself from the "Evangelical" party, but after the completion of his "Arians" he felt strongly that he was parting company with his old friends, and wrote an elaborate comparison of the "Evangelical" school with the Church of England and the principal Anglican divines, and more particularly with the system of the Primitive Church. "It was put in the form of heads for inquiry. This he circulated in manuscript among his friends, including some who had been his pupils, and it was done so fairly, in so neutral a frame, that such Evangelicals as chanced to see it accepted the account of themselves and were thereby the better pleased to remain as they were." This was an extreme instance of that exact statement of the tenets of those from whom he differs, which has always characterized Cardinal Newman's writings. Unfairness is the one thing his adversaries will never be able to lay to his charge. "In the *Apologia*," Mr. Mozley says, "it does seem to me that Newman returns a long way towards his earliest religious impressions, and shows himself more at home with the Evangelical party. He relates the spiritual history of his soul, and records an impression, continually increasing till it becomes irresistible, that the Church of England is an external affair, out of the sphere of the soul, and incapable of being taken into it, but condemned to be always outside." There can be no doubt that the Catholic Church is intensely, and to some persons almost overpoweringly evangelical, in the true sense, and this may be the reason why Mr. Mozley fancies that he can discover in the *Apologia* a certain return on the writer's part to the religious impressions of his youth.

In the gallery of Oxford portraits which Mr. Mozley has given us, he has exhibited great skill combined with distinctness and accuracy. But not even his ability would have sufficed for the task, but for his long intimacy with those whom he has portrayed, and

the university which bound them together. Even the undecided character of his own career—much as we may regret it—he being at one time on the point of following his great brother-in-law to Rome, and then changing that determination and abiding where he was and still remains, has widened his experience of two classes of persons, those who did follow and those who did not, and given him an opportunity of watching closely the steps of those few, who have fallen away from Anglican and Catholic theology alike, and dropped down by degrees into the depths of indifference and unbelief. Of himself he speaks always with a manly humility, making an open and generous confession of his own weakness, incapacities and errors. He thus often disarms criticism and puts censure to shame. The weakest portion of his book is the reasons which he gives or rather does not give for conforming to the Catholic Church. Of the leading men in the Oxford movement he speaks with rare generosity of mind. "There can seldom," he says, "have occurred in the history of the world such an example of many men of high qualities and considerable promise, bringing their respective powers and opportunities to a religious cause, not clearly defined, and offering no earthly inducement whatever. . . . When the trumpet of no uncertain sound, as it seemed, was now heard at Oxford, a direction was given and no more. All were to retrace their steps to an age of which they knew nothing, except that it was in every respect the very contrary of that we live in. As far as any hope of comfort, luxury, or splendor was concerned, it was a march to the North Pole, the Equator, or nowhere at all. That a dozen men with golden futures should abandon them for such an enterprise would be something; but hundreds did so, and if I name a few, many of my readers could easily and immediately double or quadruple the list. . . . Isaac Williams was a very considerable poet, and for his share in the movement was beaten in the contest for the Professorship of Poetry, by a man who could not write a line of poetry."<sup>1</sup>

Let us go back for awhile to some of the miscellaneous recollections of Newman. "He might be supposed," his brother-in-law tells us, "to have really believed the English translators inspired, for any critical comment he ever made on the Authorized Version, as if he would rather have every defect in it implicitly swallowed than that it should be made the sport of scholarship, such as scholarship was in those days. . . . Even village preachers, after reading some disquisition on a corrected text, would air their newly-acquired scholarship to the poor rustics before them." The fact is Newman had too much sense to meddle with the Authorized Version in his parochial sermons as many

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<sup>1</sup> *Reminiscences*, ii., I, 3.



parsons do. He knew well that it has many defects of translation, but he knew also that congregations are utterly incapable of judging of the merit of any emendation, and that the rectifications of most of the preachers were of a pitifully shallow description. We feel interested in learning that up to the end of 1829, Newman, besides being a tutor, was a parish priest and preacher, a great reader, and on rare occasions a writer also. The relation of tutor led, as Mr. Mozley thinks, the way. To this he devoted himself in a special manner. His charity began at home in the room where he had quiet talk with his younger friends. The interest he felt in his pupils was contagious, for young men are sure to find out quickly who really cares for them and has interests in common with them. He was not one of the many college tutors whose relations to the undergraduates were simply official and nominal. He stood in the place of a father to them, or of an elder and affectionate brother. His pupils are generally agreed that the best work he did with them was in private, in conversation, in revising essays or biographies which he had set them. He asked for much more than the faculty of disputation. His first care was that the pupil should know what he intended to say, and what his words really meant. He was a severe critic of poetry, and pressed hard for an explanation of vague expressions. "He entered early into university office. He was examiner in the Classical School in 1827 and 1828; he was Pro-proctor for a year. There was before him, in all human likelihood, a high university career, with its usual consequences in the larger field of the Church."<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Mozley is a Boswell in the style of his *Reminiscences*. Indeed, there are many to whom his book will be the most engaging they have read since they made acquaintance with Boswell's Johnson. He can indulge in mere gossip, but gossip is fascinating when it relates to one whom the world in general agrees to admire. "In his earliest Oriel days," he tells us, "Newman rode a good deal. The use, and still more the possession of a horse, was then one of the principal charms of a Fellowship. . . . Newman rode well enough to come to no mishaps. Besides taking his chance of the Oxford hacks, he had for some time a rather dangerous animal, Klepper, a pretty creature with Arab blood, which had been brought over from Ireland by Lord Abercorn, then at Christ-Church. It was said that she had been bred in small square inclosures, where she had to get her living by picking up what she could on the rough edges of the ground. In such a place, when she chose to take a run, she had to turn at a sharp angle every two hundred yards. The tendency remained, and involved some strain on the rider's attention, and nerve also. Newman had always a difficulty

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<sup>1</sup> *Reminiscences*, i., 180-182.

in keeping her straight and saving himself from his own momentum. Klepper became mine, and I lent her one day to C. P. Eden, duly warning him of the creature's dangerous tendency. On his first and last attempt to ride her, he found himself lying, sadly contused, on the turf of Bullington Green, and Klepper nowhere in sight."

Henry Wilberforce, it seems, from the first used to speak of Newman as 'Ο Μέγας, but he knew the inner man. His appearance was not commanding. He did not carry his head aloft, nor did he make the best use of his height. He had a slight bend forwards, owing perhaps to his rapid movements and to his always talking in his walks. There was no pride in his port, no defiance in his eye. His gait was that of one bent on serious business. It was impossible to see him without feeling interested, yet some were disappointed by his presence. How little like the great Oxford don or pillar of the church! He might pass, they said, for a Wesleyan minister, with his long-tailed coat, morning same as evening, and not always over new. There were those who clung to him and formed a party, adopting his ways. They despised solemnity of manner and stateliness of gait, for he whom they regarded as their master walked quickly, and with a congenial companion would talk uninterruptedly. "George Ryder said of him that when his mouth was shut it looked as if it never could open; and when it was open looked as if it never could shut. Yet he was never so busy or so preoccupied but that he had always upon him a burden of conscientious duties to be attended to, calls of civility or kindness, promises to be fulfilled, bits of thoughtfulness carried out, rules of his own to be attended to." He never allowed the matters of high pith and moment which were his ordinary pursuit to interfere with the drudgery of life. He used to astonish the High Street tradesmen with the rapidity and the infallible accuracy with which he went through the parish accounts, and it was a characteristic that he never complained of any unexpected addition to his work, or any interruption. When a clerical friend had promised a sermon on a saint's day and proved a defaulter an hour before the time, he would throw aside work he was busily and eagerly engaged in, and write a sermon himself with every sign of careful preparation. He always claimed to have been substantially the same from first to last, except in progress and development. What a happy conviction, especially in one who was ever looking out for heaven-sent guidances, impulses and assistance! He believed that each one had a particular part and special work to be accomplished, and whatever happened, he interpreted it as providentially designed. His walking companions often noticed a striking peculiarity in his character. This was his admiration of the beauties of earth and sky, his quickness to observe the changes overhead

and the meaning he put into them. He was as fond of flowers as a child could be. He seldom saw a flower without its reviving some memory. His eye caught, as he walked briskly forward, "any sudden glory or radiance above; every prismatic hue or silver lining; every rift, every patch of blue; every strange conformation, every threat of ill, or promise of a brighter hour. He carried his scenery with him, and on that account had not the craving for change of residence, for mountains and lakes, that most educated people have. Unless his voyage with Froude to the Mediterranean in 1832, be excepted, he never made a tour for pleasure's sake, for health's sake, or for change sake. He did move about a good deal, but it was to the country parsonages to which so many of his friends were early relegated. These visits sometimes took him into districts singularly wanting in the features constituting 'scenery' and 'landscapes.' But even in Salisbury Plain, where there are no trees, no hedges, no water, no flowers, no banks, no lanes, and now not even turf, and seldom even a village or church in sight, he would run or walk with a friend as cheerfully as the prophet ran before the king from Carmel to announce the opened gates of heaven to Jezreel."

Mr. Mozley would never have entered so fully into particulars respecting his brother-in-law, never have dwelt so lovingly as he has dwelt on his ways and works, if he had not felt a lively spiritual interest in the faith toward which his leader was steadily advancing. Indeed, when, in 1843, he returned from Normandy, having formed a closer acquaintance with the Catholic religion, he wrote to Newman, and to various members of his family, saying that he had serious thoughts of joining the Church of Rome. He wrote at the same time to Rivington, giving up the editorship of the *British Critic*. Newman was surprised, and did not think his brother-in-law was in a state to take so serious a step. This was plain from his own showing, and he therefore distinctly advised him to "think over it two years." "Had Newman," he says, "expressed approval, or the merest acquiescence, I should have gone over at once, with what consequences I can hardly venture to imagine." Two years later he who gave the advice had himself esteemed the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasure of the Egyptians, but he had a keen perception of character, and has probably never regretted having advised his brother-in-law to wait and prove all things before taking a step of such tremendous import. Mr. Mozley after the lapse of thirty-nine years reviews his position at that critical moment. He believes he was seeking rest. "I was distracted," he says, "and wearied with discussions above my measure, my faculties, and my attainments. . . . I really think it would have suited my nature to accept all the decisions of the Church of

Rome in a quiet lay fashion, and then turn my attention to matters more in my own line. Yet even if thus I had escaped shipwreck, I might have rotted in harbor and gone down."

It was soon very evident that Mr. Mozley, though taking the two years, was not employing them as directed. He was not waiting for the fuller light and clearer voice of his Heavenly Guide. He did not find himself at home in a state of expectancy, in which he was not to trust to the ordinary reason that had hitherto been his director, but to wait for an enlightened volition. The strong impetus towards Rome passed by. The fear of compromising his liberty appears to have been too great for him. He pleads for himself a sort of right to make open questions of vital points. He shelters himself under the liberty allowed, as he maintains, to Jewish believers. "I too," he exclaims, "am a citizen of no mean city. I too claim the right to exercise my private judgment wherever nature speaks and scripture leaves me free." These words imply a resolution which our readers will deplore. But in spite of that resolution, in virtue of which Mr. Mozley still ministers in the Church of England, he has gone out of his way to defend with much force and ingenuity the foremost doctrines of the Roman system, and it is quite worth while to follow him in the line he takes. At the very time that he is defending Rome, he brings unanswered charges against the Anglican sect. "What," he asks, "is to be said of a church whose professed members have, for the most part, no other visible observance but to put on their best clothes and sit for an hour and a half once a week hearing oratorical prayers, choir music and a well-written discourse?" But Mr. Mozley does far more. He returns to what he calls "the great rock of offence," the worship of the Blessed Virgin, and he asks, "What is the teaching of nature?" The answer is familiar to all who are in the habit of reading our devotional works, but it is anything but familiar to those for whom especially Mr. Mozley's *Reminiscences* were published. He asks, what became of the household of Nazareth, when death released it finally from its earthly ties? Jesus had lived there for thirty years in complete obedience and the most loving interchange of kindnesses and even benefits. "It was a real and true companionship. It was an actual family. Jesus was no shadow. He was not a piece of Divine mechanism. He was not deceiving Mary and Joseph with a show of goodness. He was not acting the part of a son. We cannot doubt that He loved Mary to the fulness of His nature, which was Divine. It would be a very idle refinement to say that He loved her as man only, for in Him the human and divine nature were united. That nature, human and divine, He bore with Him to heaven. But what is human nature without its objects and belongings?" The Reminiscent then proceeds to show that the

love of Mary and of Joseph could not be bound by conditions of space or time. Some persons may think it a terrible presumption to place Mary and Joseph the carpenter near the throne of the universe. But it would surely be a far more terrible presumption to place them anywhere else. "Can we possibly suppose them to be laid deep in the dull catacombs of an intermediate state, waiting the solemnity of the trumpet call? Can we suppose them somewhere, walking sadly and pensively in laurel groves? Can we suppose them enjoying that mere rest which is of all things the most wearisome? Can we imagine them relegated for ages to some corner of the universe, out of sight and out of mind? Would the Son intermit His love, and stop the flow of His affection for thousands of years, till the time arrived for the reappearance of Joseph and Mary in the innumerable crowd to be then gathered, and separated right and left? In a word, is there any one positive conception of the present state of Joseph and Mary so natural and so reasonable as that they are now with Christ, and where He is, at the right of the Father?" But these questions, subtle and far-reaching as they are, do not meet the principal objections which long centuries of demur and reproach have caused to have so much weight with Anglicans. They are that it is taken for granted that Mary, though finite, hears our prayers, and that Christ, being all-sufficient, and the "one mediator between God and man," no mediatrix is wanted or been admissible. These objections are urged all around us as if they were conclusive and no answer could be given to them. But they are far from appearing in this light to Mr. Mozley. He replies very properly that "with the mechanical agencies wielded by modern civilization (alluding to the marvels of telegraphy) there is nothing inconceivable, or even difficult, in the idea of the whole human race being put in loving accord and intellectual relation with one person. Surely the great Artificer of the universe, wielding forces far surpassing our knowledge, could delegate to whomsoever He will what He pleases of His sovereignty. It would only correspond to the greater part of the work done here below. Vicarious agency is the rule of human life. . . . The most confident and independent have to admit, as regards themselves, that they are occupying a mediatorial position, and that they are the ordained receivers and dispensers of mercy, truth and grace. But whatever is done on earth can undoubtedly be done more easily as well as better in heaven. If Christ tolerates such poor rulers and such poor teachers as we find below, why may He not have good servants above, doing His work better? . . . Englishmen have not been born and bred to believe in the Syrian household, the inmates of the carpenter's shop, assisted by cousins, brothers or neighbors doing this mighty work (of governing the world);

the gentle Mother now as prominent a figure, as specially loved and as immediately obeyed by all the powers of earth and heaven, as when the Babe sat on her lap, or the Son helped in the household offices. Where are we to stop, if indeed it is wished we should stop anywhere, when we read the title, 'The Mother of God,' won by generations of controversy, and still resolutely claimed for Mary of Nazareth?"

Of all subjects of meditation which penetrate the cloister of the celibate, the study of the theologian, and generally the secret chambers of the devout, there is none more frequent and more highly prized than the relations—marvellous, mysterious and infinitely tender relations—between the child Jesus and His Virgin Mother. These meditations seem to have taken a wonderful possession of Mr. Mozley's mind, and we find them bearing remarkable fruit in the pages from which a few extracts have been given. He has sat in imagination in that humble but holy house of Nazareth, and watched Mary nursing, feeding and teaching her Babe to pray and sing, introducing Him to His own inheritance, His own kingdom, His own subjects, to the flowers and creatures, the budding trees, the changing skies, the temple and the shores. Her house was the early school of Him who was to be the Teacher of mankind. If it is our privilege as Christians to be in Him and He in us, is not she also in Him and He in her after a way immeasurably transcending our way, and in a sense appertaining only to her? If the remarkably shrewd Anglican rector writes thus of Mary and Joseph and the home of Nazareth, we can feel no surprise at finding him defend Rome in her views of the most holy Sacrament, the Trinity, and the Saints. England is the only country where the battles of Rome are fought and many of her victories achieved by those who are external to her pale. Cardinal Wiseman stood amazed at this phenomenon, even in his time, and expressed very plainly his astonishment at the sight. An entire party therein is now openly defending the doctrine of the Mass, and the first principles laid down by Mr. Mozley respecting the delegated mediation of Mary will no doubt ere long be commonly taught by disciples of his, even as he has learnt them in an elementary form from the teaching of Keble. Catholicism, fiercely opposed and driven back at this point and the other, is nevertheless winning new triumphs as a philosophy and science. It is rendering the belief in God more strong, the belief in Christ more indispensable, the belief in the Holy Ghost more reasonable and experimental. The weapons of its warfare are less than ever carnal: they have become more purely intellectual.

To return to the Oxford movement. The leading men were projecting the *Tracts for the Times*, for tracts were the order of the

day, and, the land being overrun with "evangelical" tracts, it seemed well that old truths rediscovered should be diffused by similar means. But Newman was the only one among the chief movers in the affair who could write a tract effectively. Other contributors wrote essays or sermons or extracts from their commonplace books, but not tracts. Their attempts compared with Newman's were padding and make-weights, and, though wise and learned, were not likely to take hearts by storm. Some among the writers had never another occasion of sharing a glory and a greatness not their own. But Newman, with all his supereminent ability, was indulgent and at times overindulgent to very inferior men. "Like Walter Scott, he could only see the best and highest parts of the human character, hoping ever against hope. He expected rivers out of the dry ground, and found poetic beauty in the quaintest and most rugged writers. Wise and experienced Oxford observers smiled at the confidence he reposed in men who were at best broken reeds and bulrushes, if not stocks and stones. He could appreciate writers whom nobody else could, seeing sense in their obscurity and life in their dulness." Yet he could not but be sensible that the clear notes of his own voice were deadened in the various voices of the *Tracts*, and he published in 1834 a volume of the *Parochial Sermons*, which are so peculiarly his individual utterances. Great was their success; they were copied and preached from many pulpits, and are sold and read to this day with the author's sanction and edited by one of his constant friends. They are marked by great simplicity, sincerity, tenderness and power. They wrought much for the movement in a new direction, and put a new weapon in the movers' hands. These again were supplemented by the *Lyra Apostolica*, which appeared first in the *British Magazine*. Although these poems are the joint production of six writers, among them, as among the authors of the *Tracts for the Times*, Newman is by far the chief. Nor does this apply to the merit of the compositions only, but also to their number. Even those written by Keble are more than doubled by the poems signed *y.*, which was Newman's signature. If they aided the movement, it was because there are minds to which the same ideas appeal more readily in verse than in prose. Many of the thoughts with which they were rife were deep, mysterious, religious, and therefore specially suited to poetry. Many were founded on Scripture, or alluded to Scripture, and Scripture is, and, as we hope, ever will be, dear to the English mind. There is one among them—"Lead, kindly Light"—which has found its way into every church and chapel in England, and is quoted by Dissenting ministers in their sermons and addresses at the graveside. It was recently sung at the Cathedral of Christ Church,

Oxford, on the occasion of the funeral of Dr. Pusey, where Cardinal Newman was represented among the mourners by Father Hutton of the Oratory.

Several anecdotes related of Newman in his Oxford days are worth preserving, and the affection of his friends gathers up every memorial of his life when vicar of St. Mary's. One little matter of self-imposed duty, arising out of a painful occasion, will be remembered, Mr. Mozley says, by all who ever accompanied him in a country walk. One morning Dornford asked him whether he was going to Littlemore that day, and whether on foot or horse-back. He had to reply that he was riding there, when Dornford proposed to accompany him. This gentleman, having served two years in the Rifle Brigade in the Peninsular War, and, being proud of his military character, was in the habit of cantering on the hard road, and had generally to do it alone. But Newman was in for it. In those days the first mile-stone between Oxford and Iffley was in a narrow, winding part of the road, between high banks, where nothing could be seen fifty yards ahead. Dornford and Newman heard the sound of a cart, and the latter detected its accelerated pace, but the impetuous "captain," as he loved to be styled, heeded it not. It was the business of a cart to keep its own side. They arrived within sight of the cart just in time to see the carter jump down, and be caught instantly between the wheel and the mile-stone, falling dead on the spot. The shock on Dornford was such that he was seriously ill for two months, and hypochondriac for a much longer time. The result in Newman's case was a solemn vow that, whenever he met a carter driving without reins, or sitting on the shaft, he would make him get down; and this he never failed to do. There were probably many other things which Newman bound himself to do, and some of them much less easy to accomplish. His was a life made up of resolutions, and he cut beforehand many a channel in which it was to flow. He never passed a day at Oxford without writing a sentence in Latin, either original or a translation, before he had done his morning's work. He often asked his friend to wait a minute or two before starting for their walk while he wrote this daily scrap. Another habit was to lay by a history of every serious question in which he was concerned, a summary of each book he read, or his opinion concerning it, and an account of every subject he inquired into. His mind, therefore, was always analyzing and going over analyses. When he set others, however, subjects for essays, they were not abstract, but biographies, accounts of periods, crises, political constitutions and changes. Public opinion has latterly decided that such subjects, in which the facts of history figure largely, are to be preferred to mere moral essays.



Dr. Pusey does not figure largely in Mr. Mozley's *Reminiscences*. His career, perhaps, is too well known, and he is not now the object of attention he once was. In his latter years he has been dropping down from the public eminence he once occupied, for the simple reason that his work is in a great measure done. His ambition was to restore the preponderance of what are called "Church Principles," the belief in the efficacy of the Sacrament, absolution, sacrifice, and confession. An amazing change has been wrought in the Church of England in these respects, and with these, we suppose, Dr. Pusey was more or less satisfied. He was essentially Protestant from first to last; and the wide divergence of the two illustrious friends without breach of friendship is the most remarkable instance of mutual self-restraint which ecclesiastical history can show. Never have Newman and Pusey written or spoken one unkind word of each other! Newman and Keble also met before one of them passed away from earth, not in reconciliation, for they never quarrelled, but in love and friendship. And this mutual faithfulness unto death of the great leaders is certain to augment in a great degree their combined and their several influence on posterity. Mr. Mozley, speaking of them together, says: "Pusey, Keble, and Newman had each an individuality capable of a development, and a part, beyond that of any former scholar, poet, or theologian in the Church of England. Each lost quite as much as he gained by the joint action of the three." Had they continued united till death, the case would have been different, but, as matters now stand—Newman alone among them having submitted to the Apostolic See—there must ever continue to be a mutual limitation of each other's influence, so far as he and his two friends are regarded. They will be still holding out for the bewildered Church of England; he will be pleading for the unchangeable Church of Rome.

Among those who at one time were numbered as agents in the Oxford movement was a writer who has since obtained celebrity as an essayist and historian, moving on totally different lines. This is James Anthony Froude. Elected Fellow of Exeter College in 1842, he disturbed the minds of serious friends by the boldness of his speculations, and by the pleasure he seemed to feel in distinctive paradoxes. After a time a reaction in his mind was reported; and Newman, who was engaged in bringing out the *Littlemore Lives of the Saints*, invited his assistance. Many hands were employed in the work. "One writer alone," to use the words of Mr. Kegan Paul,<sup>1</sup> "avowedly drew on his imagination. His conduct in so doing has always been regarded, by those who know the circumstances, as an act of singular unfaithfulness to the dear

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<sup>1</sup> *Century*, New York, June, 1882.

friend of his dead brother. The *Life of St. Bettelin* was intrusted to Mr. James Anthony Froude, and the following is the peroration of this very graceful work of fiction: "And this is all that is known, and more than all, yet nothing to what the angels know of the life of a servant of God who sinned and repented, and did penance and washed out his sins, and became a saint, and reigns with Christ in heaven." Mr. Froude has not alluded to it in his recent account of the Tractarian movement at Oxford; but the matter is not without interest, and may, perhaps, throw some light on his whole method of writing history and biography.

The result of this singular occurrence was a sudden snap of the slight and precarious tie of friendship which existed between Newman and the Froude of Exeter. There had never, Mr. Mozley says, been any real joining, and where the old crack had been there was now a complete fracture. They departed upon lines increasingly divergent, and there appears little prospect of their ever meeting again.

There was another agent in the Oxford movement, mentioned by the *Reminiscences*, whose lot it was to figure conspicuously in the eye of the public. He represented, according to this authority, intellectual force, irrefragable logic, absolute self-confidence, and headlong impetuosity. "Whatever he said or did was right." I should be disposed to qualify some of these assertions, and, so far as I have had any means of observing, I consider them decidedly overstatements. "He had," Mr. Mozley says, "been instantaneously converted to Newman by a single line in an introduction to one of his works, to the effect that Protestantism could never have corrupted into Popery,"—a weighty and suggestive remark, but hardly likely to effect of itself so sudden a change in a man of Mr. Ward's grasp of mind. I well remember the time when his *Ideal of a Christian Church* made its appearance, and the excitement it caused among many of the young clergy, who read it and passed it on from one to another in country parishes. Dr. Pusey distinctly recommended it, and would even send it down to a young curate who could not afford to buy the bulky volume. This appeared to me singular, nor could I comprehend this recommendation on the Doctor's part, seeing that the book was evidently intended to lead on and up to assent to the entire Roman system. But he recommended, also, that the Littlemore *Lives of the Saints*, with their showy covers, and books by Roman Catholic authors, such as *The Life of St. Peter of Alcantara*, which he kindly put into my hand. Indeed, when we recited the canonical hours in his house, and made use each of a breviary, the invocations of St. Mary in the prayers were omitted, and a slight pencil-mark was drawn across them. I fancied at the time that they were put before our eyes in

this manner in order to familiarize us with them by degrees; but the subsequent career of Dr. Pusey, his strenuous efforts to retain those in Anglicanism who announced to him their intention of "going over to Rome," and his adherence to the last in the communion of the Anglican Church, make it doubtful to me now whether that was really his design. We are now assured that he refused to the last to believe that it was intended by Newman to quit the Church of England, though he had learned it from himself and by numberless other indications. But at the particular time to which I am referring those who were foremost in the movement concurred not only in Roman doctrine on the basis of Tract xc., but in a variety of observances also unknown to Anglicanism and proper to the Catholic Church. This was the state of things during the condemnation of various propositions extracted from the *Ideal of a Christian Church*, which took place in the theatre at Oxford on February 13th, 1845, and made Mr. Ward the hero of the day. His subsequent conduct was not wanting in dignity; and his marriage, though the subject of much laughter and jeering, was in no degree inconsistent with his previous conduct or writings. In the Catholic Church he found a thoroughly congenial sphere, and "took to" it with almost passionate delight. During seven years he, though a layman, professed dogmatic theology at Old Hall, and received from Pope Pius IX. the honorary degree of Ph.D. He was highly popular among the students of divinity, and his lectures were published after their delivery. Cavillers were sometimes found against this or that point; but his spirit of submission to the authority of the Holy See was so profound that he quieted all objections with the utmost ease. When he became editor of the *Dublin Review*, in 1863, it was with the intention of combating very distinctly the minimizing views, as they were called, of the *Home and Foreign Review*. He maintained uniformly the need of submission, not only to doctrines pronounced to be of faith by the infallible authority of the Church, but to the decisions of the Pontifical Congregations in the sense and after the manner laid down by his Holiness, Pius IX., in a brief addressed to the Archbishop of Munich, in December, 1863. In consequence of this document the *Home and Foreign Review* was discontinued, and Mr. Ward continued for many years to publish in the *Dublin Review* some masterly essays on philosophy and religion. Afterwards brought out in separate volumes. His defence of intuitional philosophy has been much admired by competent judges, and it is said to have drawn from John Stuart Mill the confession that, though he had been attacked by writers of greater repute, he had never been hit so hard as by Mr. Ward. This zealous convert joined with Tennyson, Cardinal Manning, and others in founding the Metaphysical So-

ciety, and a member of it belonging to an opposite school of thought has said of him, "No man in the Society was more universally liked. The clearness, force, and candor of his argument made his papers welcome to all,—for in that Society nebulosity was almost the rule, weakness chronic, and inability to understand an opponent's position, rather than want of candor, exceedingly common. The present writer well remembers the dismay Mr. Ward caused amongst the Experience School of philosophy by a paper on 'Memory,' in which he maintained that unless you had at least one intuitive faculty, unless you had an absolutely intuitive certainty that the absolute asseverations of memory were indisputably true asseverations, not only the experimental philosophy, but all philosophy, all coherent thought, became impossible at once. 'You are hearing at this moment,' he said, 'the *last* word of the sentence, but how do you know the other words of which it is composed? Simply by *remembering* them.' 'Unless you assume that memory is to be trusted, you cannot understand the meaning of a single sentence which is uttered; nay, you cannot so much as apprehend its external bodily sound.' That fell like a bombshell among the antagonists of intuitive certainty. And yet no one took more pains to understand the school of Mr. John Stuart Mill, or received more full recognition from that school, as meeting their philosophy fairly, and face to face, than Mr. Ward. From the time, indeed, that he ceased to become a regular attendant at the Metaphysical Society, the Metaphysical Society began to lose its interest, and to drop into decay. Such was the attractive power of at least one strong and definite philosophical creed."

Mr. Mozley says but little of the great and good, though far from clear-headed man, who gave his name to a school of thought—one might almost say to a new schism—and has lately passed away from earth. He was present, however, as the writer of this article was likewise, when Dr. Pusey delivered his memorable sermons on "Sin after Baptism." Every corner of the vast and chill cathedral of Christ Church was filled. Still silence prevailed; every word told; but they were words of fear. "Impossible . . . . to renew them again unto repentance!" Their loss irreparable, and the sin after baptism not to be washed away! Well may Mr. Mozley have to tell us that, "Not a soul could have left that church without deep and painful feelings." But, though stunned for a time, they afterwards came to take a less desponding view of the case of post-baptismal sin, and to see also how different it was in a general way from the case contemplated by the Apostle in the Epistle to the Hebrews. The theology of Pusey, Keble, and the other leaders of the movement was undoubtedly overcast by a certain gloom, whether they expressed themselves in prose or verse. I remember

a lady of the Evangelical school remarking to me at the time how frequently the word "dread" occurred in Keble's *Lyra Innocentium* and the *Lyra Apostolicæ*, which appeared in the *British Magazine*, was darkly shaded here and there. But this was hardly to be regretted. The searchers after truth who wrote thus were professedly penitents, and pilgrims should not always be singing hymns of gladness. Mr. Ward, like so many other leaders of the Oxford movement, has departed from among us since these *Reminiscences* were first projected. He has entered, doubtless, into that rest which is constantly associated with the idea of music, in which he delighted more than most men; and he is now able to harmonize many, if not all, the things which to the fineness of his intellectual ear appeared discordant. But of this surely he is convinced more strongly than ever that the very notion of a living and ruling God involves that of a Church ruling with authority in His name. We shall ever regard the Oxford movement with grateful interest as having tended powerfully in this country to break in pieces the most irrational of all ideas that have long held sway over the human mind, namely, that the Supreme Being, having at last sent into the world His Son, the Messiah, of whom the prophets had spoken age after age, and having recalled that Son when His work of redemption was accomplished, left the record of these events to be recorded in a book, but gave no man or men authority to interpret it.

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## BOOK NOTICES.

**A HISTORY OF THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES, from the Revolution to the Civil War.** By *John Bach McMaster*. Vol. i. (1784-1790), 8 vols. 622 pp. D. Appleton & Co., New York. 1883.

A period which, in the hands of most writers who have treated the history of the United States, is singularly jejune and uninteresting to the general reader, becomes in the hands of Mr. McMaster remarkably attractive from the graphic manner in which he brings into relief the people in their general life and in the discussion of all questions that occupied men's minds.

A country, even with its original limits of vast extent, and with the modes of intercourse then known of almost immeasurable distances, recognized by the great powers of the civilized world as an independent republic, with an intelligent, active, energetic population, it nevertheless presented the strange spectacle of being ruled by a fugitive government, a Congress with a quorum of often only a dozen members, flitting from Philadelphia to Princeton, from Annapolis to Trenton, from Trenton to New York.

While the General Government had little power, and obtained little respect, except in its intercourse with foreign nations, the State governments maintained order, protected trade and industry, and developed the resources of the country. They too had their difficulties, and the rebellion of Shays in the well-ordered commonwealth of Massachusetts, the establishment of the insurrectionary State of Franklin, and the feeling in Vermont which looked upon British rule preferable to submission to New Hampshire or New York, showed that even the State systems could not stand too severe a strain.

People went on in a kind of happy reliance on Providence that some stable form of government would in time be evolved, just how or when nobody knew, though some, half in jest yet with a touch of real earnest, proposed a monarchy, with Frederic, Duke of York, boy bishop of Osnaburg, the future scandal of the British army, as sovereign.

In a happy spirit of security the new nation worked its way, pushing settlements in the interior, opening trade with China, negotiating with the Barbary States, trying the markets of the West Indies; the first attempts that had any look of success in the application of steam to navigation were made in this period; a country without a mint and without coin discussed with no little thoroughness the whole question of paper-money; in the field of religion all bodies, except the Congregationalists, who recognized no custodians of Divine power but the church members in each meeting-house, all were looking to Europe for some new organization in America. Science, art, literature had few votaries; but Webster was already proposing his reforms in English orthography, and had begun the vast influence acquired by his *Speller and Dictionary*.

It is strangely enough the period when George Washington had no influence, except that exercised as a private gentleman in the neighborhood of his Virginia plantation.

The scope of the author's work is best given in his own words: "The history of the people shall be the chief theme. At every stage of the splendid progress which separates the America of Washington and Adams from the America in which we live, it shall be my purpose to describe

the dress, the occupations, the amusements, the literary canons of the times ; to note the changes of manners and morals ; to trace the growth of that humane spirit which abolished punishment for debt, which reformed the discipline of prisons and jails, and which has, in our own time, destroyed slavery and lessened the miseries of dumb brutes. Nor shall it be less my aim to recount the manifold improvements, which, in a thousand ways, have multiplied the conveniences of life and ministered to the happiness of our race, to describe the use and progress of that long series of mechanical inventions and discoveries which is now the admiration of the world, and our just pride and boast ; to tell how, under the benign influence of liberty and peace, there sprang up in the course of a single century a prosperity unrivalled in the annals of human affairs ; how, from a state of great poverty and feebleness, our country grew rapidly to one of opulence and power ; how her agriculture and manufactures flourished together ; how, by a wise system of free education and a free press, knowledge was disseminated, and the arts and sciences advanced ; how the ingenuity of the people became fruitful of wonders far more astonishing than any of which the alchemists had ever dreamed."

The material for such a social history as is here proposed are scattered and in many points defective. The early American newspapers are very jejune, and the news columns tell us less than the advertisements of the way in which people lived, their houses, their markets, the material for clothing, the amusements and books of the day. New England is rich in local histories, which give many pictures of every-day life, and the absorbing local questions of past generations, but the personal memoirs and correspondence, the chatty diaries and journals, where friends and enemies are sketched in bold masterly strokes, are very few in number. The pamphlets of the time are chiefly political and religious, dealing more in logic than in facts. We have histories of some of our great trades and manufactures, of the theatre in America, of some religious denominations and their early efforts for education, some contributions to the history of internal intercourse by canal, steamboat, and railroad ; but very little as to history of agriculture, home life, the kitchen, the market, weddings, and funerals.

Striking out a new path the author has been in the whole wonderfully successful. Similar works may appear, and doubtless will, but few will show as much skill in weaving in the series of pictures into the historical tapestry that he hangs up for us.

The picture of the population scattered over the country, less than two millions and a half in all, including slaves in almost every part of the land, with the Indian tribes still near and powerful, is graphic, bringing before us the wide differences in the people of the different sections, isolated from each other and retaining all the peculiar characteristics of their origin. "Differences of race, differences of nationality, of religious opinions, of manners, of taste, even of speech, were still distinctly marked."

Travel between the cities was slow and difficult ; the roads were poor ; bridges few ; coach and horses, like the pedestrian, were carried over the rivers in flat-boats, and in stormy weather the passage of the Hudson, Delaware, or Potomac was a matter which excited more anxiety in many a household than now would be caused by the gentleman's trip across the Atlantic.

He pictures well the life of the more wealthy in Boston, and the life in the towns and in the farms of New England. We see their food, the reading, the religion, the schoolmaster, the housewife at her labors,

in her visits, her shopping and marketing, and follow her even to the intricacies of her making change.

During colonial days the theatre and shows were comparatively unknown. The British army did much to create a taste for them. With the peace came projects of theatres, and the whole question of the propriety of allowing theatrical and other performances was widely discussed in the papers of the day. The whole discussion, the prosecutions that resulted, the state of public feeling, are graphically given by Mr. McMaster. A Catholic will form some idea of the state of the public mind when he hears that Bishop Carroll had to come out in the papers when an old priest was held up for public condemnation on the charge that he had attended a circus!

The life of a mechanic is thus described. "In the low dingy rooms which he called his home were wanting many articles of adornment and of use now to be found in the dwellings of the poorest of his class. Sand sprinkled on the floor did duty as a carpet. There was no glass on his table, there was no china in his cupboard, there were no prints on his wall. What a stove was he did not know, coal he had never seen, matches he had never heard of. Over a fire of fragments of boxes and barrels, which he lit with the sparks struck from a flint, or with live coals brought from a neighbor's hearth, his wife cooked up a rude meal and served it in pewter dishes. He rarely tasted fresh meat as often as once in a week, and paid for it a much higher price than his posterity. Everything, indeed, which ranked as a staple of life was very costly."

Meats were high, vegetables few and scarce; fruit had not been cultivated scientifically, yet our author seems to carry his ideas on this point too far, for the house of Murray in New York even during the Revolution shipped Newtown pippins to London, where they brought a high price. He makes the tomato a vegetable introduced from France, but it was cultivated almost from the date of the settlement in Florida, and was known throughout the West Indies and along the Gulf of Mexico.

The state of the prisons and of prisoners is a picture that is sad enough; and yet the fall of the royal power swept away many crimes and modified others. Before the Revolution the slightest offence in a church, the theft of a book, a blow, or the like, was a sacrilege, the punishment for which was death.

The chapter devoted to the Weakness of the Confederation gives a graphic picture of our General Government before the Constitution was adopted, and of all the projects which led to the call of a convention. Trade and commerce declined, a general spirit of disaffection prevailed, which at last ended in defiance of authority.

The whole history of the Convention which formed the Constitution has never been presented in a form more likely to be read and understood than in this volume, which carries the reader back to the period, with all its needs and aspirations. How the Constitution was received by the people of the several States is a point on which most are profoundly ignorant. As presented here it will create astonishment. Delaware was the first State to ratify the new Constitution, December 6th, 1787, but by the middle of the following April only five others had followed this course, Massachusetts being the last and setting the example of proposing amendments which she deemed essential. Then other States accepted it, each proposing amendments, till New York, which had been awaiting the action of Virginia, finally adopted it in July, when the requisite ten had already accepted. The amendment to the Constitution which prohibits Congress from establishing a religion was proposed by New Hampshire, and its object, undoubtedly, was to save these



United States from ever having Catholicity established by law. There has been a kind of dream-like idea prevalent among Catholics that this amendment emanated from Bishop Carroll, and was the result of a petition of the Catholics addressed to or through General Washington. It is clearly only a confusion based on the address sent to Washington after his election as President.

We find the amendment clearly marked out in the acceptance of the Constitution by New Hampshire, while in the proceedings of the first Congress there is no trace whatever of any Catholic petition or any action which gives the slightest indication that any such petition ever existed. The amendments proposed by the several States were matters that came necessarily before Congress for action, and the adoption of that proposed by New Hampshire was accepted readily. It is certain, too, that any amendment to the Constitution proposed then or at any time since by Catholics as such, would be summarily rejected.

We are then carried back to the first Presidential election, and to the intrigues against Adams; to the inauguration of Washington, to the formation of the new government, which few trusted, but which was to raise the country to new life.

A Federal Congress took the place of the old Continental Congress, with a President and Cabinet. New questions arose, one, that of slavery and the slave trade, not to be finally settled except by a terrible war.

The present volume brings us to the period when the new government was completely organized and seriously at work. If the succeeding volumes show the same skill, this history will undoubtedly be more widely read than any of our histories of the United States.

There is nothing in this volume as to the position of Catholics during the period it embraces, yet there was scope for a picture. Emerging from the penal laws, they could leave in Maryland the old chapel built by legal enactment under the same roof as the priest's house, and erect churches like other denominations. They began to form congregations from Boston to Georgia; the clergy had long and anxious deliberations, dreading to excite public odium if they asked the Holy See to appoint; feeling the necessity of being delivered from all spiritual dependence on England, fearful of having some French-Irish priest forced on them by Stuart influence, till, at last, the clear common sense of Benjamin Franklin cut the knot when the Nuncio at Paris called upon him for his views, and American Catholics obtained a bishop,—the patriotic John Carroll, who was already prefect apostolic.

Our author, alluding to what he imagines was the progress of liberality in ideas, says: "Compared with Cotton or Hooker, a New England minister of 1784 had indeed made vast strides towards toleration. He was a very different man from the fanatics who burned Catholics at the stake, who drove out the Quakers, who sent Roger Williams to find an asylum," etc.; but, to do New England justice, she never burned Catholics at the stake. Our martyrology has no such page. Plymouth had her penal laws against Catholics, and so had Massachusetts, passing a stringent one in 1700, but the spirit which prompted them was the same that fixed a price on the head of Father Rale; the same that has, to this day, disfranchised Catholics in New Hampshire; the same that in 1800 placed the amiable and charitable Cheverus in the dock as a criminal; the same that, thirty years later, applied the torch to the convent in Charlestown, and to churches in New Hampshire; the same that tarred and feathered Father Rale; the same that refused a charter to a Catholic College; that justified the punishment of a Catholic boy for refusing to say a spurious form of the Lord's Prayer; that appointed

Convent-spying committees; that constantly allows perpetrators of outrages on Catholics, even the murderer of a priest, to go unpunished. No; the advance in liberality has not been as great as some would suppose. The John Jay who, in the New York Constitutional Convention of 1776, moved to add to the section on religious toleration the words: "Except the professors of the religion of the Church of Rome, who ought not to hold lands in, or be admitted to a participation of the civil rights enjoyed by the members of this State," lives a century after in the John Jay of our days, who strings a column of sophistries to justify the system by which Catholic inmates of public institutions are prevented from enjoying the worship of their own church, and are forced to join in a Protestant service, drawn up by Protestants, from Protestant standards, and conducted by Protestants. In that family, at least, bigotry blinds the grandson as completely as it did the grandfather.

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AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF ENGLISH LITERATURE AND LITERARY CRITICISM. Designed for the use of Schools, Seminaries, Colleges, and Universities. By *Professor James Baldwin*. Volume I—Poetry; Volume II—Prose. Philadelphia: John E. Potter & Co.

A more pretentious and at the same time trashy work on the subjects it professedly embraces we have seldom met with. In his excursions through the fields of literature the compiler (for there is scarcely anything really original in it) seems to have used a hay-rake or a drag-rope to gather his materials, and then, finding that the quantity collected was too great for him to manage, to have thrown a part away and to have used the other part, weeds, brambles, grass, and ripened grain, as they come to hand, without discrimination, and, seemingly, without possessing the faculty of discrimination.

In every department of his work he has associated together as of approximate merit writers of genius or eminent talents with others of mediocre or inferior ability. A large number of distinguished authors are passed over without mention, while many whose worthless productions, and even their names, have passed into merited oblivion are brought prominently to view. The highest degree of critical discrimination the author of this work seems capable of is to attach adjectives—such as "able," "great," "high," "sublime"—to the names of the writers he mentions, and, to give a specimen of his nice use of language, he says of one writer that he gave "sublime vent" to his thoughts. Whatever of real criticism the work contains consists of quotations from other writers, and the value of these is marred and made almost useless by the fact that there is no congruity or system in their selection and arrangement—the only idea seemingly guiding their compiler being to select the most sensational quotations he could find.

To review these volumes systematically and point out their faults and numerous errors, both of commission and of omission, and the evidences in which they abound of an utter want of good judgment, and taste, and discrimination, would require more space than it is worth while to give them. We mention a few instances just as they meet our eye. In the chapter on "Theology and Religion" the only American writers mentioned are Cotton Mather; Jonathan Edwards, William Ellery Channing, Theodore Parker, Henry Ward Beecher, and T. De Witt Talmadge. What do our Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Congregational, Baptist, and Methodist friends say to this? The entire criticisms of the last-mentioned four are as follows: Of Channing (quoted at that), that "He has the love of wisdom and the wisdom of love;" of Theodore

Parker that, "In the writings of Theodore Parker he (the reader) will discover many passages of high literary merit;" of Beecher and Talmadge that, "In the sermons of Henry Ward Beecher and T. De Witt Talmadge he (the reader) may peruse some of the finest examples of modern pulpit oratory." The author or compiler of these volumes seems to have never heard of such American Catholic pulpit orators as England, Lynch (each in his time Bishop of Charleston), and of Ryan, Co-adjutor Bishop of St. Louis, whose eloquence has enraptured and entranced thousands of non-Catholics as well as Catholics, nor of many distinguished American Catholic pulpit orators and writers on religion, a few of whose names, as they recur to us while writing, we mention without regard to order of time or of ability and learning, such as Kenrick, Hughes, Spalding, Bayley, Hill, Hecker, Hewitt, Stone, Preston, Orestes A. Brownson, J. G. Shea (the latter eminent especially for his invaluable contributions to the history of North America, and particularly to its religious history), and a host of others.

Turning back in this same chapter—"Theology and Religion"—we are able to find the names of only two Catholic writers in England, Scotland, and Ireland, except a bare mention of "Bede's translation of St. John's Gospel." First, that of Sir Thomas More, who is disposed of as follows: "Sir Thomas More, better and more favorably known as the author of the *Utopia*, was the opponent and bitter foe of Tyndale. Seven volumes of controversial letters, containing the most virulent denunciations, were written by the great chancellor, and remain to add nothing to his honor. In these letters abuse takes the place of argument." Then follows a quotation of eight lines in illustration of this last statement. From Sir Thomas More we pass on through page after page of bombastic eulogiums of "able" and "ablest," "great" and "greatest" Protestant writers, without encountering the name of a single Catholic until we reach that of John Henry Newman, with whose writings the compiler of the volumes before us evidently has scant, if any, personal knowledge. He quotes from them, but, there is good reason to believe, at second hand. Of other Catholic writers in Great Britain and Ireland he seems to have not even the slightest knowledge, to have never heard of the existence even in Ireland, as well as in England (we mention them just as they occur and without regard to order of time or of merit), of Doyle, Dixon, Murray, McHale, the two Leaheys, Woodlock, Russel, Milner, Bishop Butler and Alban Butler, Robert Manning, Ullathorne, the three Vaughans, Marshall (author of the most exhaustive *History of Missions* ever published), Dalgairns, Faber, Oakeley, Bagshawe, Coleridge, Cardinal Manning, and Cardinal Wiseman, the latter of whom was as distinguished for his literary, philological, and scientific attainments as for his theological learning, and who at the time of his death was preparing, at the request of a number of distinguished non-Catholic Englishmen, to deliver in London a series of lectures on Shakespeare.

Following up this subject of omission of the names of Catholic writers, we turn to the volume on Poetry, and look in vain there for the names of Aubrey de Vere, Faber, and Newman, all of whom have attained just distinction in England, and the sacred poetry and hymns of the two last-mentioned are admired and cherished by High Churchmen and Ritualists, as well as by Catholics. We might suppose that, perhaps, the cause of this omission is the opinion, which the compiler of these volumes clearly entertains, that there is scarcely room in religion for true poetry. "A single thought (quoting Taine) is expressed a thousand different times; it is only in the manner that we find variety. Some-

times this expression is truly poetical, but often it is no more than a vehement repetition of words, with, perhaps, only those mechanical qualities of poetry—rhyme and metre." Were the compiler of these volumes acquainted with Catholic sacred poetry, even as presented in non-Catholic collections and translations into English of ancient and modern hymns, and had he any appreciation of true poetry, such a sentiment as we have quoted would have found no expression in his book. As it is, the names, and the only names, he mentions of English writers of sacred poetry are George Herbert, Giles Fletcher, Milton, Watts, Pope, Wesley, Byron, Milman, and Keble.

It would occupy too much space and time to go through this volume on English poetry. We simply remark, as specimens of the absence of any true criticism, that we have looked in vain through the volume for any recognition of Byron's real poetic genius, and of the manner in which he misused and abused his high gifts. Shelley and Swinburne seem to be favorites, and receive unmeasured praise. Of the former, we are told, the student of English poetry cannot form any just conception of Shelley's great works through the reading of mere selections; he should turn to them, and study them thoroughly "in their entirety." As to Swinburne, he quotes a number of extravagant encomiums of his writings, without one word of reference or disapproval of the erotic pruriency and obscenity which disgrace them. While no mention, or a mere mention, is made in the volume of many poets of real merit, a large number of mere rhymsters are named as "poets," and quotations made from their writings.

Turning again to the volume on English prose, we find in the chapters entitled "Essays," "Politics and Political Economy," "Oratory," "Philosophy and Science," omissions of any mention of some of the most distinguished writers. And the "critical" remarks about those that are mentioned consist of quotations from other writers, selected, seemingly, on the principle of choosing the most highly eulogistic and sensational.

In the chapter entitled "The Transition Period," we find the following and only mention of St. Thomas Aquinas: "Thomas Aquinas, the Benedictine Monk, was, like Duns Scotus, an ardent Realist. But the two men differed in their views regarding foreordination and free-will." . . . "Thomas Aquinas devotes three hundred and fifty-eight chapters (!) to discussing the nature of angels." Then, what purposes to be a short quotation, and the compiler says: "Such was the stuff with which the learned men of the Middle Ages seriously occupied their time and their talents. Now and then, as if by accident, a schoolman would originate a happy thought, a valuable idea."

With one more remark we dismiss these volumes of indiscriminate literary padding. They are put forth as text-books, "unsectarian" text-books. What kind of "unsectarianism" pervades them will appear from the two following extracts, taken respectively from the concluding chapters on "Theology and Religion," and "Philosophy and Science:"

"When Christianity arose, eighteen centuries ago, it was in the East, in the land of the Essenes and Therapeutists, amid universal dejection and despair, when the only deliverance seemed a renunciation of the world, an abandonment of civil life, destruction of the natural instincts, and a daily waiting for the Kingdom of God. When it rose again, three centuries ago, it was in the West, amongst laborious and half-free peoples, amidst universal restoration and invention, etc. . . . No wonder if the New Protestantism differs from the ancient Christianity, if it en-

joins action instead of preaching asceticism, if it authorizes comforts in place of prescribing mortification, etc. . . . A vast revolution has taken place, during the last three centuries, in human intelligence. . . . We know that positive discoveries go on day by day. . . . From this body of invading truths springs in addition an original conception of the good and the useful, and, moreover, a new idea of Church and State, art and industry, philosophy and religion.<sup>1</sup>

“‘The effect of Mr. Darwin's work,’ says Professor Fiske, ‘has been to remodel the theological conceptions of the origin and destiny of man, which were current in former times. . . . Again has man been rudely unseated from his imaginary throne in the centre of the universe, but only that he may learn to see in the universe and in human life a richer and deeper meaning than he had before suspected. Truly, he, who unfolds to us the way in which God works through the world of phenomena, may well be called the best of religious teachers.’” . . .

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SOCRATES. A Translation of the *Apology*, *Crito*, and Parts of the *Phædo* of Plato. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1883.

It is to be desired that persons who are unfamiliar with the language of ancient Greece would read and carefully study this volume containing Plato's statements of the ideas entertained by a heathen philosopher, who of all heathen thinkers before or since approached most closely to the doctrines of divine revelation on some of the most important subjects that can challenge the attention of mankind. The reasonings of Socrates as given by Plato are valuable to believers in divine revelation, as showing how an acute, profound, and earnest mind, four centuries before the nativity of our Lord and Redeemer, honestly employing the unaided light of reason, and faithfully following it, exposed and refuted the fallacies of the skeptics of his time. Materialists and radical revolutionists—the former of whom disbelieve and deny the existence and immortality of the soul, and the existence of a Divine Providence, and the latter of whom wage persistent war against divinely constituted authority in Church and in State—would discover, if they seriously and honestly studied the arguments of Socrates, that they are totally in error, and that natural reason, as well as Divine Revelations, disproves their errors, and also shows that they are wholly and purely pernicious in their consequences.

The volume before us contains a new translation of those parts of Plato which are essential to an understanding of the personal character and the moral position of Socrates, and includes one of the most famous of Plato's own speculations on the immortality of the soul and its existence after death. The *Apology* shows, among other things, the sturdy independence of Socrates, the inflexible resolution with which he executed what he believed to be a divine command, and the calm fearlessness with which he announced to his judges that he should obey God rather than man. The *Crito* gives us an opposite but no less striking view of the character of Socrates, showing the real respect for the laws and institutions of his country which he felt under all his defiant independence. It contains the eloquent argument in which he refuses to evade and consult the authorities of the State, by escaping through flight from the execution of even an unjust sentence. Thus these two discourses exhibit Socrates as equally firm in upholding the supremacy of duty above all human power, and in recognizing the supremacy of law

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<sup>1</sup> Adopted by the compiler from Taine.

above all personal considerations, and even above life itself. The principles and reasoning of this ancient heathen put to shame the fallacies and delusions of adherents in this age to two opposite yet kindred errors, for they both have a common origin—the upholders of the supremacy of the State over the human conscience on the one hand, and, on the other hand, the deniers of any real divinely originated authority of the State over individuals.

In the *Phædo* we have the narrative, by Plato, of the closing scene in the life of Socrates, with the conversation on the soul and its immortality which Plato represents him as holding with his friends during the last few hours before he drank the hemlock. Of this dialogue the narrative part is given in full, while many of the discussions are abridged by omitting parts of the argument, which the translator thinks have lost their interest for the present age, or are too abstruse. Where these omissions occur abstracts of the omitted portions are given by the translator.

In passing from the *Apology* to the philosophical discussions of the *Phædo*, the reader cannot fail to notice the great change in the more dogmatic tone which Socrates is made to assume in the latter. The reason of this is easily understood, when we consider that in the former we have the real, actual Socrates, and in the latter the Platonic Socrates. For Plato was, had the habit, in his dialogues, of frequently using his master as a mouth-piece for the expression of his own speculations, and he thus makes Socrates utter many doctrines which the real Socrates had probably not thought of, and many, too, which, rigid questioner that he was, he certainly would have subjected to a merciless cross-examination. Among these is Plato's doctrine of independent ideal forms, which, we know, from Aristotle, was never developed by Socrates himself. Yet we find this doctrine expounded in great detail by Plato's Socrates in the *Phædo*, and made the basis for an elaborate argument for the immortality of the soul. Still we must remember that it is through Plato that his master is best known, and that it is the Platonic Socrates quite as much as the real Socrates who has passed into history.

It is in the *Apology* that we find the real, genuine Socrates, the plain, honest, unpretending inquirer, whose portrait has been drawn from another point of view by Xenophon, in his *Memorabilia*; the keen, rigid analyzer, whose searching questions stung to madness the sophists and people of Athens, as they saw their cherished fallacies and delusions brushed away like cobwebs by the searching questions of Socrates. For Socrates never professed to be a teacher in the ordinary sense of the word; he called himself an *examiner*. The result of these tormenting examinations of the opinions and ideas of all classes of persons in Athens was a general enmity against him. For the great enemy of truth in Athens was not ignorance, pure and simple, but ignorance puffed up with the conceit of knowledge, and it was against this that Socrates spent the best part of his life in combating.

The parallelism between this condition of Athens and the present age seems to us too obvious to require dwelling on. The spirit of shallow skepticism, the same superficial conceited dogmatism, the same fondness for and eager taking up of novel theories, the same dislike to rigid, searching examination and testing of favorite opinions, the same aversion to severe thought, the same unwillingness to recognize the difference between hastily adopted notions and true knowledge. Hence we regard the work before us as calculated, if carefully read and studied, to render valuable service, in exposing and refuting the fallacies of the prevailing skepticism and materialism of our own age.

THE LETTERS AND MEMORIALS OF WILLIAM, CARDINAL ALLEN (1532-1594).  
 Edited by Fathers of the Congregation of the London Oratory. With an Historical Introduction, by *Thomas Francis Knox, D.D.*, Priest of the same Congregation. London: David Nutt. 1882.

It has been long and deeply felt by those who look beneath the surface of events that a life of Cardinal Allen would be a very important acquisition to the history of England during the reign of Elizabeth. Yet the difficulties in the way of successfully accomplishing such a work seemed insuperable. The loss of manuscript and printed documents which existed nowhere but in the English establishments on the continent of Europe, and which were destroyed by the revolutionists of France, and the jealous exclusion from public or private inspection of letters and documents which were preserved in absolute secrecy in the State archives of England, seemed to render it impossible to obtain materials sufficient to obtain a correct insight into the real relation which the Cardinal held to historical movements of England, France, and Spain, during the period referred to. This difficulty has been lessened, if not removed, by several recent occurrences. Although the wholesale destruction of Catholic documents on the continent and in England during the wars and revolutions which followed the so-called Reformation, is an irreparable misfortune, and an injury to historical studies to an extent which it is impossible to exaggerate, yet many valuable papers have survived the wreck, some of which have been recently brought to light, and still others of which may be discovered, if carefully sought for, in England and on the Continent. Moreover, the increased interest taken in the study of historical sources has led to the publication of catalogues and abstracts of many manuscript documents, hitherto unknown or inaccessible, and also to the removal or lessening of the restrictions by which the contents of State archives were jealously kept from inspection and examination. Hence it has now at length become possible to gather together and publish a large number of documents which throw a clearer light upon many subjects and events in the history of England during the reign of the Tudors, the contents and present existence indeed of many of which have, until now, been unknown.

The Fathers of the Oratory, and of the Society of Jesus in England, have zealously and industriously engaged in the work of searching for and examining these documents, and bringing their heretofore hidden contents to light.

In undertaking and performing this task they have rendered invaluable assistance to present and future writers of history, have thrown a clear light upon many facts and events whose causes, connections, and relations were very obscure, and have cleared away many misapprehensions, and exposed many wilful perversions and misrepresentations of the actions of prominent Catholics, both laymen and ecclesiastics, and of the Sovereign Pontiffs of the Church, in that period, which hitherto, from want of documentary evidence, it was impossible to freely refute.

The volume before us, by Father Knox, of the English Oratory, is a very valuable contribution to this important work. It consists of two hundred and eighty-four letters and documents of Cardinal Allen, or letters and documents relating immediately to him and to his official acts, two hundred and twenty-five of which are now printed for the first time, three have been in part printed before, and the remaining fifty-six have been previously printed. Besides these documents the footnotes contain important explanations and elucidations of the text of documents, taken from unedited MSS. or rare books. The chief sources from which the MS. documents have been derived are the archives of the See of

Westminster, the English State papers, the Roman transcripts in the Public Record Office, London, the Spanish archives at Simancas, the British Museum, the archives of the Kingdom of Belgium at Brussels, the archives of the English College at Rome, the archives at Stonyhurst College, and the MS. collections belonging to the old Brotherhood of the English Clergy, formerly known as the English Chapter. The documents are in English, Latin, Spanish, Italian, and French. Many, however, of those in Italian and most of those in Spanish have been translated into English, and many, too, of these and of other documents throwing light upon them have been substantially incorporated into an Historical Introduction to the Collection, which, of itself, is of great value. The whole work makes up a volume of upwards of five hundred quarto pages.

Father Knox brought to the execution of his task peculiar and rare qualifications, and devoted to it all his spare time for five years. He died from heart disease while the last sheets were passing through the press. The author of the Preface to the work, a Father of the London Oratory, from whom we gather these latter facts, intimates that valuable materials exist for "future volumes of these Records," and says that but two things are necessary to turn them to account, "first, competent laborers, and, secondly, sufficient interest on the part of the public in this kind of publications to secure their labors from pecuniary loss." We sincerely trust that both these conditions for the prosecution of the important undertaking of the volume before us is a part which will not be wanting.

Of the value of Father Knox's work there can be but one opinion on the part of those who know the intimate relation, the Cardinal, for many years sustained to the Holy Roman See, the Courts of France and Spain, and to the Catholics of England, and who are acquainted with the complex movements and relations of different European countries to each other, and of England to them all during that period.

In addition to many other subjects which the volume elucidates, it incidentally throws a clear light upon the charges of treasonable practices and of complicity with plots to assassinate Elizabeth, brought by Hume and other English historians against the Catholics of England, and particularly against the Catholic priests in England, the Holy Roman See, and Mary, Queen of Scotland, and furnishes strong proofs of the falsity of those charges.

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LIFE OF ST. DOMINIC. By the *Rev. Père H. D. Lacordaire*, of the Order of St. Dominic, and Member of the French Academy. Translated by Mrs. Edward Haselund. London: Burns & Oates. 1883.

A life of St. Dominic by Lacordaire, it would naturally be expected, would be interesting. The charm of the distinguished writer and preacher's style, and his intense attachment and devotion to St. Dominic, would secure this to anything he wrote, respecting that eminently great saint. As a mere narrative or biography, therefore, the work before us possesses high merit, but its claims to consideration go far beyond this.

Among all the great saints of the Church there is, probably, no other with whose name and memory so much and so bitter prejudice, on the part of non-Catholics, is associated; none other, whose life, actions, and character have been so entirely misunderstood, and so thoroughly and so persistently misrepresented. And this misapprehension and misrepresentation have attached to the glorious Order which St.



Dominic founded, and in which his spirit still lives and works. The members of the Society of Jesus are hated and feared, are calumniated as animated and guided by a spirit of diabolical subtlety and deceit, derived by direct inspiration from the "Father of Lies." To counteract the silent but powerful influence which their virtues, their learning, their obedience, and their labors in promotion of science, literature, and religion, is constantly exerting, a system of misrepresentation is maintained against them, subtle, cunning, shrewd, and deceitful, akin to the very diabolical spirit which they are falsely charged with possessing. But the Dominicans occupy a different position in the eyes of the world, and are subjected to a different form of misrepresentation and of opposition. The members of the Society of Jesus and the members of the Society of St. Dominic are both hated alike; yet, they are very differently regarded. The former are popularly looked upon by the non-Catholic world as semi-demons, possessing superhuman diabolical power, and, as such, are dreaded and feared. The latter are regarded rather as savage beasts in human form, possessed of human intellects, but animated by the passions and nature which cause ferocious beasts to delight in rending and tearing to pieces their prey.

Thus, it has been accepted as a historical truism by non-Catholics that St. Dominic and his followers slaughtered the Albigenses without mercy, preached a crusade of extermination against them, and burned hundreds of thousands of Jews, Moors, and heretics, in Spain. It is taken for granted, too, that this savage spirit of merciless persecution still lives in the Order of St. Dominic, and only wants the power and opportunity to exert itself effectively now in nameless deeds of cruelty, as it is alleged it did in past ages.

Nothing could be more untrue than this, yet nothing is more currently believed. Hence, a work, such as the one before us, exhibiting in true light the life, the character, and the deeds of St. Dominic, and the real spirit, nature, and object of the Order he founded, is calculated to perform an important service to the truth, in removing prejudices and mistaken opinions from the minds of candid non-Catholics, and in exhibiting to Catholics the eminent virtues and apostolic spirit of one who rendered such illustrious services to the cause of true religion.

There are two important topics among the many comprised in the work, in the treatment of which the author has been specially happy. One of these is the fact that St. Dominic is in no way responsible for the war waged, that was made upon the Albigenses, nor in any way connected or complicated with its occurrences. The justice, the necessity, of that war can easily be shown; but, just and necessary, or not, it and its concomitants and incidents constituted a movement entirely separate from, and independent of, the mission of St. Dominic. Each of them stand upon their own special ground, and each was instituted and carried forward without reference to the other. This important fact the author of the work before us shows and proves with great clearness and force.

The other point, to which we referred, is the peculiar constitution and rule of the Order of St. Dominic, and the causes which produced them! St. Dominic aimed at founding an Apostolic order,—an order or apostolate of preachers. The needs of the Church and character of the age required this. Yet, there were serious difficulties in the way. The Fourth Lateran Council had decreed that, to avoid confusion and inconvenience resulting from the multiplication of religious orders, no new ones should be created. Moreover, preaching being an office transmitted by the Apostles to the Bishops, it seemed contrary to an-

tiquity and sacred tradition that it should be exercised by any other than the Episcopal order. True, Bishops might appoint competent Priests to preach in their stead. But, still, it was one thing for each individual Bishop to provide for religious instruction in his Diocese by appointments revocable at will, and another, and a very different thing, to confide to a particular order the perpetual and universal function of preaching.

How these difficulties were overcome, and the influence they had upon the peculiar rule and constitution of the Order of St. Dominic, and how the Order was thus, in the Providence of God, made to take the exact form and character best adapted to the fulfilment of its important mission, is clearly brought to view by the author.

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THE LIFE AND TIMES OF ANSELM, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, AND PRIMATE OF THE BRITAINS. By *Martin Rule, M.A.* In 2 vols. London: Kegan Paul, French & Co. 1883.

A life of St. Anselm, we mean not simply a personal biography or portraiture of his personal character, but a narrative which exhibits him in his relations to the age in which he lived and labored, thought, wrote, and heroically fought for the rights and liberties of the Church, is a work of primary importance in itself, and has, too, a special and practical relation to questions of our own present time; for, the questions which confronted St. Anselm and consumed the greater part of his life, are precisely those which, under somewhat different form, yet identical in principle, are most fiercely fought over to-day. The efforts in European countries, and in those of Central and South America, to subordinate the Church to the State, and make the former simply an ecclesiastical bureau of the latter, and the settled policy in this country that in all questions of social morality, and questions which are concerned with both spiritual and temporal interests, the State shall have supreme jurisdiction, have their root and ground in the same principles that were involved in the conflict which St. Anselm was compelled, against his wishes, but constrained by duty, to carry on, first, with William Rufus, and then with Henry II., of England. And so, too, the same metaphysical and philosophical questions referring to the existence of God, and the proofs of His existence, which St. Anselm pondered over and elucidated, are the same that enter into the metaphysical and philosophical conflicts of our own time.

St. Anselm, we were going to say, was a "many-sided" man. He was not. According to natural tastes, predilections, and gifts, he was a student and thinker. According to his desires, sanctified by divine grace, and which desires, for a time, he was permitted to gratify, he was a simple monk, of an ascetic order, in a rigidly-ruled monastery, devoted to vigils, penance, self-mortification, and study. But very soon God, in his providence, broke in upon St. Anselm's dearly-loved quietness of life, by causing him to be burdened with the distracting cares and responsibilities of administrator and prior, and soon afterwards, abbot of the monastery in which he preferred to be an obscure and humble brother. And then, as if to crown his disappointment and try to the utmost his submission to the Divine will, he who had always striven to be obscure, who wished to know nothing of the world, and to be unknown by it, who desired nothing beyond and outside of a monastic life, was forced and compelled, despite his tears, remonstrances, and protestations, to leave his loved monastery, and monastic companions, to give up his seclusion, and accept the perillous and difficult functions

of Archbishop of Canterbury and Primate of England, during one of the most disturbed and confused periods of England's history.

Under all these aspects as monk, student, archbishop, and primate, and, when that office involved the most complex relations and functions, bringing its incumbent into constant connection and collision with the fierce, imperious, and semi-savage successors of William of Normandy, the life of St. Anselm must be studied in order to be really understood. And to thus understanding it, too, the age in which he lived, and the processes of transition and formation through which its peoples and countries were passing, with the confusions and conflicts thus necessarily arising, must also be reproduced in thought and feeling.

This is the task which any one who essays a true life of St. Anselm must undertake. To the performance of this work the writer of the volumes before us devoted many years of laborious research and faithful study, "reading over and over again the inestimable but almost unexplored mine of St. Anselm's correspondence, collating Oderic, William of Malmesbury, and Eadmer's 'Vita St. Anselmi,' and his 'Historiâ Novorum,' gathering from 'all sorts of odds and ends of eleventh and twelfth century literature,'" whatever might throw light upon his subject, visiting the place of St. Anselm's birth, and other places made memorable by association with his presence, labors, and conflicts. After having thus collected materials, the writer spent other years in sifting, arranging, and digesting them, and as the result we have a delightful narrative in which St. Anselm, his companions, and co-laborers, and those with whom he was compelled to contend, and the age of which he and they formed a part, seem to be revived and to again become real.

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THE WORKS OF ORESTES A. BROWNSON. Collected and Arranged by *Henry F. Brownson*. Volume II. Containing the Second Part of the Philosophical Writings. Detroit: Thorndike Nourse, Publisher. 1883.

The questions discussed in this second volume of Dr. Brownson's writings, are even more profoundly important than those which were comprised in the first volume. In their treatment, Dr. Brownson displays the characteristics, which we spoke of in our first notice, as distinguishing his writings generally—transparent lucidity of style, searching analysis, keenness in perceiving and making distinctions, directness and closeness in argumentation, and perfect fairness and honesty in stating and meeting objections.

The volume contains nineteen articles on the deepest and most far-reaching questions that can claim human consideration. The first article is an "Essay in Refutation of Atheism," which occupies ninety-four pages, and under fifteen distinct heads; searchingly examines and with masterly ability refutes the various fallacies put forward by atheists as a basis for their unbelief. He also examines with keen discrimination the various methods and processes of argument, by which believers in God undertake to prove His existence, and points out how far they are sound, and where they fall short. In the course of this masterly and profoundly-learned essay, the leading ideas and arguments of almost every distinguished thinker and school of philosophy are stated and discussed, from the time of Plato and Aristotle to the present. Apart even from the positive ideas on the main subject of his essay put forth by Dr. Brownson, and as merely a searching philosophic examination of numerous systems of philosophy, ancient, mediæval, and modern,

this paper is an exceedingly valuable contribution to Christian metaphysical literature.

The importance of the other articles comprised in the volume may be inferred from their titles. There are four articles on Vincenzo Gioberti, acutely and profoundly examining his leading ideas and their practical influence: first, his general system; secondly, his "Philosophy of Revelation," third, his "Philosophy of Religion," and fourth, "The Giobertian Philosophy," as a system. Then comes an invaluable article on "The Philosophy of the Supernatural." This followed by an article, which under the title of "An Old Quarrel," gives a history of the conflict, so long waged, and still carried on under different names and changes in the form of the controversy, between the Nominalists, Realists, and Conceptualists. After this follow articles respectively entitled, "Victor Cousin and his Philosophy," "The Church Review and Victor Cousin," "The Cartesian Doubt," "Porter's Human Intellect" (two articles), "Christianity and Positivism," "Professor Bascom's Lectures" (on Science, Philosophy, and Religion), "Balme's Philosophy," "Ontologism and Psychologism," "Father Hill's Philosophy" (two articles), "The Eclectic Philosophy."

In addition to the value of the two volumes thus far published of the collected writings of Dr. Brownson as comprising Dr. Brownson's own profound speculations and ideas, they are remarkable for the immense knowledge they display of the positions and ideas of almost every prominent metaphysical writer, ancient or modern. Without any such intention on the author's part, they really, though incidentally, serve the purpose of a "Hand-book of Philosophy," in which, with far keener determination, analysis, and clearness of statement than characterize the vast majority of such books, the leading ideas of almost every prominent thinker and writer on philosophy are discussed and reviewed.

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**THE CHRISTIAN FATHER; WHAT HE SHOULD BE, AND WHAT HE SHOULD DO.** Together with a Collection of Prayers Suitable to his Condition. From the German of Rev. W. Cramer. By Rev. L. A. Lambert, Pastor of St. Mary's Church, Waterloo, N. Y. With an Introduction by Right Rev. Stephen V. Ryan, D.D., C.M., Bishop of Buffalo. New York, Cincinnati, and St. Louis: Benziger Brothers, Printers to the Apostolic See. 1883.

The companion volume of this work, *The Christian Mother*, by the same author, has deservedly met with much favor, and we doubt not that "the Christian Father will obtain, as it merits, an equally favorable reception. It is characterized throughout by practical good sense, simplicity and deeply religious lessons. It is not an ideal of a father that is depicted in its pages, but an actual, genuine Christian father, such as God intended fathers to be, and such as may and can be found at the head of Christian families, faithfully discharging their duties to society according to his circumstances and position, and sanctifying himself in the ordinary every-day duties of life."

As we have already intimated, the work is thoroughly practical. The author first draws a life-like portrait of what a Christian father should be and may be; shows the sublimity of his position, its duties and obligations, the difficulties and dangers to which he is exposed, the graces he needs for the sanctification of himself and his household, and the means he must employ in order to secure those needed graces. He shows that, as God has stamped upon all men the image of His divine nature, so also He has decreed that His fatherhood should have its image in human

fathers; that as to Him so also to them should children owe their being; and that as He created His children in His natural and supernatural likeness, so also should fathers communicate to their children a part of their material and spiritual nature. He shows, too, that as there is "no power but from God and those that are ordained of God," so human fathers are images and representatives of our Divine Father in heaven; that they stand above their children, their rule by divine appointment, exercising and bound to exercise authority over them, and responsible to God for the manner in which they exercise that authority.

These truths form the foundation on which the author builds, the premises from which he draws his practical conclusions. How practical they are may be inferred from a few examples of the subjects discussed. Under the general counsel to "avoid dangers," the author points out "the dangers to faith," in associating with unbelievers, in reading books and taking periodicals and papers written by unbelieving and immoral men, which misrepresent and ridicule the Church and her teachings, and in leading a sensual, idle, or careless life, in visiting public houses and places of worldly amusement, in negligence and irregularity in attending to religious duties.

In like practical manner the author points out the manner in which the Christian father should qualify and fit himself for properly governing and training his children, and explains their duties under the titles, among others, of "Government," "Discipline," "Law, Rule, and Order," "The Enforcement of Rules," "Punishment," "Superintendence of Children," etc. Among the last subjects which he treats of is that of the evils of "Mixed Marriages."

The work is published with the *Imprimatur* of His Eminence John Cardinal McCloskey, Archbishop of New York, and is also warmly commended in an introductory chapter by the Right Reverend Bishop of Buffalo.

ST. FRANCIS'S MANUAL FOR MEMBERS OF THE THIRD ORDER. Arranged by a Father of the Order of St. Francis. Fr. Pustet & Co., New York and Cincinnati.

As its title indicates this work has been prepared for the special use of Tertiaries of St. Francis. It is intended to be a manual in the fullest sense of the word, containing a very large number of prayers and devotions for guiding the Tertiaries in their religious exercises, and giving them instructions and directions for sanctifying their daily life.

It is divided into two parts. The first comprises prayers and devotions common to all Christians, and especially suitable for persons who are striving after Christian perfection. A number of these prayers have been taken from the writings of St. Gertrude, St. Matilda, St. Alphonsus Liguori, St. Leonard of Port Maurice, etc., and a number also of indulged prayers from the "Raccolta."

The second part contains instructions, devotions, etc., specially intended for Tertiaries; the Rule and Explanations, Ceremonies at Reception, Profession, etc. This part also of the work may be used with great advantage by all Christians, on account of the practical and suggestive and edifying character of the instructions and lessons it contains.

Use has been made in various parts of the work of a number of other prayer-books, such as: *The Vade-Mecum*; *The Sacred Heart of Jesus and Mary*; *Seraphic Manual*; *Manual of Perpetual Help*; *Golden Manual*; *St. Vincent's Manual*, etc.

The selections from these approved works have evidently been

made with great care and sound discrimination, and have been so arranged and combined as to form a volume which, without being cumbersome, contains devotions suitable for assisting at all the usual and some of the special services of the Church, and also for private devotions at home. The work is published with the *Imprimatur* of His Eminence Cardinal McCloskey, Archbishop of New York.

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**SANTA TERESA DE JESUS.** Estudio Historico-Critico-Biografico Premeado con medalla de Oro en el certamen literario que celebró el Casino Español el día 16 de Octubre de 1882, en conmemoracion del Tercer Centenario de la ilustre Santa, por D. Antonio Lopez Prieto. 8°. 72 pp. Habano. 1882.

Among the tributes to the great Saint Teresa called forth by her Centenary, America has produced nothing more elegant or worthy than the study of the great Cuban scholar, Don Antonio Lopez Prieto. A corresponding member of the Royal Academy of History of Madrid, and member of the Royal Economical Society of Havana, he is known for his untiring collection of material bearing on the history of Cuba and the adjacent parts, as well as for his skilful use of the printed and unpublished treasures with which he is so familiar.

The introduction brings before you the glories of Spain in her time, especially the Christian glories, and the influence the peninsula exercised on religious thought throughout Europe, in reviving religion and checking the progress of error. He then sketches the life of St. Teresa, showing how she contributed to that influence, and from her cloister of poverty became the teacher of the wise and learned. The chapter devoted to her mystical writings is indeed a study; and the work closes with an examination of her poetry. Few of our readers can form any conception of the works written in Spain, even in our day of revolutions, on St. Teresa and her works. Señor Prieto shows familiarity with all, and his work, essentially that of a close and accurate scholar, is imbued with a spirit of faith and allegiance to the Church which makes it heartily enjoyable.

The treatise is exquisitely printed and adorned with a striking photograph from an authentic picture of the Saint.

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**THE NEWARK CATECHISM.** A Simple, Orderly, and Comprehensive Catechism of the Catholic Religion. Approved by the Right Rev. M. A. Corrigan, D.D., Bishop of Newark. American News Company, New York.

This Catechism was written more than three years ago by Rev. M. L. Glennon, of St. Bridget's Church, Jersey City (now Pastor of the Church of the Holy Spirit, Asbury Park, N. J.), and was published with the approval of the Ordinary, Right Rev. Dr. Corrigan. Since then it seems to have grown into such favor that not only has a new edition been called for in New Jersey, but its popularity has extended to other dioceses throughout the country. This is not surprising; for the little book verifies its title, being simple in style, orderly in arrangement, and comprehensive enough for those for whom it was written—the smaller children of parochial schools. Nothing is harder than to write a good Catechism; and the younger the children, the greater becomes the difficulty. Theological accuracy is necessary, of course; but it is not all-sufficient for the purpose, as any one may see from the Catechisms current amongst us. A more indispensable requisite is catechetical experience, and a fixed purpose (that must not be lost sight of for a moment) to say nothing that a child may not readily understand. Rev. Mr.

Glennon has succeeded very happily, we think, in using the plainest and simplest form of words, and therefore the best adapted to the intelligence of tender age. His last chapter on festivals of obligation and their meaning is certainly a great improvement on ordinary Catechisms.

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SCIENCE AND SENTIMENT, with other Papers, chiefly Philosophical. By *Noah Porter, D.D., LL.D.* New York: Scribners. 1882.

Although not a very profound or accurate philosopher himself, Professor Porter has a decided taste for philosophical studies, and his excellent judgment saves him from that temptation to "evolve a system," which is the besetting one of philosophers. So far as we have read the writings of Professor Porter, he seems to lean toward the philosophy of Sir William Hamilton, whose works he edited in America, and for whom he certainly entertains profound respect.

The present work is a collection of essays, written chiefly for the *Princeton Review*, and treating of such subjects as "The Science of Nature *versus* The Science of Man;" "What we Mean by Christian Philosophy," etc. There are also criticisms of John Stuart Mill, and the Agnostic philosophers and scientists. Whilst nothing new or striking is presented, the valid arguments for the historical truth of Christianity, the possibility of the mind's attaining truth, and the *loci communes* of philosophy are well brought out, in a vigorous and readable style. Perhaps the most remarkable essay, from a Catholic point of view, is the one entitled "The Collapse of Faith." The admission is made that there seems to be no faith, in the Christian sense, among a very large proportion of Protestants. But this failure of faith is treated only as a "passing eclipse," similar to that of Deism, which once pervaded England, or of Atheism, which once ruled France, but which disappeared as suddenly as it came. To a Catholic mind, familiar with the absolute permanency of the faith, at least as a system of objective truth, the idea of its disappearance, even for the briefest space, seems odd; but the Professor takes such vanishings as a matter of course.

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A STUDY OF SPINOSA. By *James Martineau, LL.D., D.D.* London: Macmillan. 1882.

It is but justice to Spinoza to say that he deprecated the evil consequences of his pantheistic system. But these were inevitable. If human actions and passions are only modifications of the Being who is all, sin must certainly be ascribed to God as its author. To evade this conclusion, Spinoza sought to rationalize sin away, and, in his peculiar exposition of the Hebrew Scriptures, he makes sin mainly a phantasm.

Dr. Martineau has gathered all the facts of the life of the philosophic Jew of Amsterdam, who for non-metaphysicians is best known from Auerbach's novel, *Spinoza*. The chief error of his life was his philosophy, as, personally, he appears to have been a quiet, inoffensive, and rather commonplace man. As a philosophy, pantheism has long ceased to have any hold in the schools. Besides, Spinoza's definition of substance as that which is conceived *per se et in se*, and the concept of which does not involve the concept of anything else, is so arbitrary, confused, and inadequate, that it cannot serve for the basis of a rational philosophy. His ascription of thought and extension to the Divinity is a contradiction in terms, and his theories have been overturned a dozen times by all classes of thinkers and all religious controvertists.

The author does not pretend to pass any *critique* upon Pantheism.

He simply sets forth the system as embodied in the writings of Spinoza. Whether the study of a monstrous fiction and dream serves any worthy purpose may well be questioned, though to the student of philosophy such books have their uses.

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NATALIE NARISCHKIN, SISTER OF CHARITY OF ST. VINCENT OF PAUL. By *Mrs. Augustus Craven*, author of "A Sister's Story." Translated by Lady Georgiana Fullerton. New York, Cincinnati, and St. Louis: Benziger Brothers, Printers to the Apostolic See.

This is not a "story," in which the actual labors and experiences are made to furnish materials, which the fancy of the writer has worked up into a "true tale." It is the biography of an actual person, a Russian lady of noble birth, who was attracted to the Catholic Church during her visits to Italy and France, in the company of her relatives. After passing through many trials, she became a convert to the true faith, and subsequently a Sister of Charity.

The scene of her labors, during her life as a Religious, from 1848 to 1874, was Paris, where, as a simple Sister, as Secretary at the Mother-House, and as Superior of the Community of the Rue Saint Guillaume, she led a life of great self-abnegation, faithfulness to her vocation, and sanctity. During the siege of Paris in 1871, and the reign of the Commune, she was indefatigable in her charitable labors, and prosecuted them with undaunted heroism, unmoved by the perils that surrounded her.

The chief incidents and events in Sister Natalie's life, her relations to Russian society, the sacrifices she made, her interior struggles, her faith and devotion, her persevering energy in good works, and her happy death, Mrs. Craven has described in a very interesting manner.

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THE SODALIST'S VADE MECUM. A Select Manual of Prayers and Hymns. Composed, Selected, and Arranged by *Edwin F. McGonigle*. Philadelphia. 1883.

The Vade Mecum is really what its name implies, a very useful companion to the sodalist at home, in church, or in choir.

The book is beautifully printed. In the offices the Latin words are carefully marked so as to insure a correct and uniform pronunciation. Such parts of the office as are not generally recited by the sodality have been omitted. The space gained has been filled by the insertion of hymns with appropriate music, harmonized, for the greater part, for four voices. To these are added the psalm tones most in use. Mr. McGonigle has been, for some time past, specially interested in the training of sodalities, and his labors have been crowned with the most complete success, as any one can attest who has ever attended a celebration prepared under his direction.

To those who have awaited the outcome of his work in this direction, the *Vade Mecum*, we are sure, will be most welcome and satisfactory. We hope it will meet with the favor it deserves.

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THE BEAUTIES OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH; or Her Festivals and Her Rites and Ceremonies Popularly explained. Translated and adapted from the German of Rev. H. Himioben by *Rev. F. I. Shadler*. With an Introduction, by Right Rev. P. N. Lynch, D.D., Bishop of Charleston, S. C. New York and Cincinnati: Fr. Pustet, Printer to the Holy See and the Sacred Congregation of Rites. Fourth Edition. 1883. 8vo., pp. 499.

We are heartily glad that this excellent work has reached a fourth edition. It speaks well for the good taste of both clergy and laity through



the country. It is seldom that we have seen the modern popular objections against the Church, her doctrine, discipline, and ceremonies, so well and clearly stated as in this book, and we must add so well and vigorously refuted. We think the book an invaluable help to a clergyman in stating clearly the belief of the Church, and in removing those objections that are more common in modern times than before. Any priest who has once made use of the book as a help to his preaching, will not fail to use it again. And we do not know that we could give the book a better recommendation. We have conversed on the subject with some of the most intelligent pastors in the country, and all agree that it is exactly the book that meets their wants. Father Shadler, who has translated it into good, idiomatic English, deserves the gratitude of all for having put it within the reach of English readers.

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THE CATHOLIC PIONEERS OF AMERICA. By *John O'Kane Murray, M.A., M.D.*, Author of the "Popular History of the Catholic Church in the United States of America," "Prose and Poetry of Ireland," etc. New York: J. P. Kennedy. 1882.

The object of this work is to furnish in one volume biographies of a number of Catholics more or less prominently identified with the history of America, in order to clear their memory from the misrepresentations of non-Catholic writers, and to furnish reliable information respecting their real lives and characters. The biographies are eighty in number, and are brief, as they necessarily must be in order to be comprised in a single volume. They are, however, sufficiently full to furnish a general idea of the actions and characters of the persons whose lives are sketched.

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ELIANE. By *Mrs. Augustus Craven*. Translated from the French by Lady Georgiana Fullerton. Boston: Thomas B. Noonan & Co.

A beautifully written and interesting tale, belonging to the *Catholic Leisure Hour Library* series. The scenes of the story are laid in France and Italy; the action turns chiefly on the difference of English and French customs with regard to the betrothal and marriage of young persons. The various characters are well drawn, and the interest of the reader in them is maintained to the end.

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ALICE RIORDAN, THE BLIND MAN'S DAUGHTER. A Tale for the Young. By *Mrs. J. Sadlier*. Boston: Thomas J. Noonan & Co.

This is a beautifully bound reprint of an old and interesting, and deservedly popular Catholic story, describing how a little Irish girl landing at Montreal with her blind father was preserved from many dangers by persevering in the practice of her religious duties.

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LITTLE HINGES TO GREAT DOORS. And Other Tales. By *F. S. D. Adams*, author of "Marian Howard," etc. New York: The Catholic Publication Society.

This volume contains three beautiful tales that cannot fail to be attractive to young folks, and old ones also, who are fond of reading stories. They are as true, too, in principle as they are interesting in detail.

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BOBBIE AND BIRDIE, OR OUR LADY'S PICTURE. A Story for the Little Ones. By *Frances J. M. Kershaw*. Philadelphia: Peter F. Cunningham & Sons.

A very instructive story, full of interesting incidents, which are told in such a manner as will not fail to interest little children.

# THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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## THE CATHOLIC DOCTRINE ON MARRIAGE.

*De Consensu ad Matrimonium requisito.* Billuart. Paris, Migne, 1841.

*De Matrimonio Christiano.* Perrone. Rome, Propaganda, 1858.

*De Re Sacramentaria.* De Augustinis. Woodstock, Maryland, 1878.

*De Impedimentis Matrimonii.* Moser. Paris, Migne, 1841.

*Compendium Theologiæ Moraliæ.* Gury, with Ballerini's notes, Rome, Propaganda, 1877.

*The Calling of a Christian Woman.* Dix. New York, Appleton, 1883.

CARGOES of a polygamous sect, fierce, fanatical and aggressive, are annually dumped on our shores. They are gathered in the slums of England, Scotland, and other parts of Northern Europe, which rejoices to be freed from their baleful influence on public morals. They swarm in one of our largest Territories and are spreading through the States. The daily press of May 14th, 1883, records a public meeting held in Harford County, Maryland, one of a series, to propagate the principles of Mormonism. It was largely attended. The "apostles" of this sect publicly and privately announce their purpose of endeavoring to change the whole order of our domestic society. Monogamy, according to them, must go down, no matter how well established in the customs of our people and by our civil laws. They look on it as a mere prejudice, to be removed by the new light emanating from the *Book of Mormon*. Their propagandism is zealous. When pushed into a corner by the arguments of a champion of monog-

amy, they claim direct and personal inspiration for their belief; and although admitting the divinity of Jesus Christ and the inspiration of the New Testament, they say it has been supplemented by the new revelation. It is true that our civil laws either condemn or ignore their theories; but they do not act. Our government seems to be conducted in regard to this matter on the principle of letting the evil alone, with the hope that it will die of inherent rottenness. At any rate, we seem to be willing to let the deluge come after us, content to have this generation take care of itself.

But it is not likely that Mormonism will die from natural causes, for it appeals directly to the strongest passions of human nature, and gains recruits not only by emigration from without but also by accession from within the United States. The vastness of our territory prevents this evil, like that of Socialism, which also prevails among us, from obtruding itself too closely on our attention; but a hundred years hence, perhaps sooner, when a thicker population will have brought men into closer and consequently more offensive relations, in regard to these matters, our neglect or pusillanimity will be bitterly blamed by a posterity that will have to reap what we are sowing, and to destroy with difficulty what we could have uprooted with ease.

On the one hand, this organized sect assails the unity and sanctity of marriage by doctrinal and practical simultaneous polygamy; on the other, the frequency and facility of divorce among the people of the United States, by establishing a system of "consecutive" polygamy, sap the foundation of the whole social order, and are not less destructive of Christian morality than Mormonism itself. The difference is slight between a man who has ten wives at the same time, in the same place, and him who has ten in the same or in different States of the Union, all living and all divorced but one. Yet the latter state of affairs is as possible as the former, as a glance at the statistics of divorce will show. "In the New England States alone families are broken up at the rate of two thousand every year. And again note this, that, while the laws protecting marriage have been thus gradually weakened, and facilities for divorce extended, crimes against chastity, morality and decency have been steadily increasing. In Massachusetts, from 1860 to 1870, during which time divorces have increased two and one-half times, while marriages have increased hardly four per cent., and while all convictions for crime have increased hardly one-fifth,—those crimes known as being 'against chastity, morality and decency,' filthy crimes, loathsome, infamous, nameless crimes, have increased three-fold."<sup>1</sup> . . . "The following" are the "ratios of divorce to mar-

<sup>1</sup> "The Calling of a Christian Woman" (page 124), Rev. Morgan Dix, S.T.D. Published by D. Appleton & Co., New York. 1883.

riage: Connecticut, 1 divorce to every 10.4 marriages; Vermont, 1 to 13; Massachusetts, 1 to 21; New Hampshire, about 1 to 9; Maine, 1 to 9 or 8; Rhode Island, 1 to 10. This is not true of New England alone. In Ohio, for example, the ratio of divorces to marriages has increased from 1 to 26 in 1865, to 1 to 17 in 1881."<sup>1</sup> This statement regarding Ohio of Rev. Samuel W. Dilke, Corresponding Secretary of the New England Divorce Reform League, may be supplemented by a passage from a recent report on the relative increase of divorce read before the Ohio Episcopal Convention: "At the ratio since 1870, in twenty years, divorces in Ohio will equal the marriages. Five-sixths of the divorces granted in 1882 were for causes not recognized by the Bible. Collusion and fraud prevail to an alarming extent."<sup>2</sup> It is not necessary to quote more. The looseness of legislation regarding marriage in all of the United States is notorious, and should be an answer to those who hope that Mormonism will die out of its own accord. Human passion and loose laws are its chief champions, and the Protestant sects are inadequate to resist its onward progress. They see their creeds melting away in an ocean of doubt and unbelief, like icebergs drifting into southern latitudes; and they stand wringing their hands in hopeless despair, because Christian morality will not survive the loss of her sister Christian faith, whom they murdered in the sixteenth century. Every honest man sees the gulf into which the frequent disruption of the marital relation will eventually bring us. Better than any one else could say it, the learned and saintly Pontiff, Leo XIII., has summed up the consequences of divorce in these words: "Divorce renders marriage contracts changeable; weakens the mutual love of the contracting parties; gives inducements to unfaithfulness; is injurious to the rearing and education of children; breaks up the domestic relations; sows dissensions among families; lessens and degrades the dignity of woman, who is thus exposed to be cast off, after having been the slave of man's passions. And as nothing conduces more to the destruction of families, and the destruction of national power than corruption of morals, it is easily seen how hostile to the prosperity of the family and of the State are the divorces which spring from the corrupt morals of the people, and as experience teaches open the door and lead the way to greater public and private degradation."

All sincere Protestants subscribe to these words of the Holy Father. They know and admit that the Catholic Church is not responsible for raising the sluices of divorce, but that its possibility arises from the looseness of Protestant teaching and practice.

<sup>1</sup> *Idem*, p. 127.

<sup>2</sup> *New York Sun*, May 13, 1883.

<sup>3</sup> Encyclical of February 10th, 1880, found in "*Acta quæ apud Sanctam Sedem*," etc., vol. xii.

They destroyed the sanctity of marriage when they denied its sacramental character. "It is hardly necessary to remind the reader of the obsequiousness of Cranmer in the matter of the divorce of Henry VIII.; of the conduct of Luther and Melanchthon in the case of the Landgrave of Hesse; of the abortive *Reformatio legum ecclesiasticarum* in the reign of Edward VI.; and of John Milton's tractate addressed to Parliament on the *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*."<sup>1</sup> "From the total of marriages registered in the several States those contracted and solemnized by Roman Catholics must be deducted; for they, all honor to them, allow no divorce *a vinculo*, following literally the command of our Lord Jesus Christ."<sup>2</sup>

The Protestant bishop of Maine says: "Laxity of opinion and teaching on the sacredness of the marriage bond and on the question of divorce, originated among the Protestants of Continental Europe in the sixteenth century. It soon began to appear in the legislation of Protestant States on that continent, and nearly at the same time to affect the laws of New England. And from that time to the present it has proceeded from one degree to another in this country, until, especially in New England, and in States most directly affected by New England opinions and usages, the Christian conception of the nature and obligations of the marriage bond find scarcely any recognition in legislation, or must thence be inferred, in the prevailing sentiment of the community."<sup>3</sup>

In contrast to the looseness and weakness of the Protestant reformers regarding marriage, how grandly the Roman Pontiffs loom up in history as the champions of its sanctity and indissolubility! We remember Nicholas I. defending its sanctity against the Emperor Lothair; Urban II. and Paschal II., against Philip I., of France; Cælestine III. and Innocent III., against Philip the Fair, forcing him to reinstate Ingelburga in her position as his wife; Clement VII. and Paul III., against Henry VIII.; and Pius VII., against the powerful Napoleon I.; and then we look with contempt upon Luther and Melanchthon truckling to the brutal passions of a petty German prince, sanctioning bigamy for the sake of a little political assistance given to their revolt against the old Church.

But, although Protestants and infidels know in a general way that the Catholic Church does not tolerate divorce, their information in regard to the Catholic doctrine on marriage is not very clear nor very full. Many of them do not take the trouble to study her teaching on this or any other subject, and yet there is among some a desire for more information regarding it. The observer must have recently remarked from time to time inquiries made in

<sup>1</sup> "Calling of a Christian Woman," p. 135.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, p. 123.

<sup>3</sup> *Idem* (quoted by Dr. Dix).

the daily press, showing that knowledge in this matter is sought for. It might be found with ease from the nearest Catholic priest or in the usual text-books of theology; but the average Protestant does not wish to consult a priest, and the text-book of theology is in an unknown tongue.

It may be well, therefore, to give a short statement of Catholic teaching on the chief points of marriage, especially on those that will most interest the Protestant or the infidel inquirer.

Marriage, under the law of nature, was a mere contract, seldom, however, divested of a religious character. It is even in the law of nature intentionally indissoluble; for it is a union of two hearts, pledging to each other undying love. In this union children are to be brought up to maturity by their parents; and these parents, in old age, are to be supported by their grateful children. The unity of the family is thus preserved intact.

The learned Romagnosi<sup>1</sup> thus sums up the reasons for considering the marriage tie indissoluble: "In questa politica fisiologia la famiglia si comincia col matrimonio, si prosegue colla educazione e si finisce coll' assistere alla vecchiezza."

The consent of the parties to this contract should be both internal and external, mutual, free, and deliberate. This natural contract was elevated to the dignity of a sacrament by Christ.

Firstly, then, let us discuss the indissolubility of the sacrament of marriage; and secondly, point out some of the impediments which render it either illicit or invalid.

It is an article of Catholic faith, defined in the 7th canon of the 24th session of the Council of Trent, that the consummated marriage of Christians can never be dissolved as to the *vinculum*, or bond, save by the death of either party. There is no exception to this rule. The Pope himself cannot make one, for he has no right to dispense with the divine law. Where there has been mutual consent, and no impediment nor informality, the married person is married for life. This doctrine was denied by Calvin, who permitted divorce, *a vinculo*, for cause of adultery; by Luther, who permitted it even for theft or any sin, or frequent quarrelling, or if one of the parties remained too long absent; while Bucer taught that a man could divorce his wife as often as he found her disagreeable; and she could divorce him for a similar reason.<sup>2</sup> No matter what crime a Christian man or woman commits, it does not break the matrimonial chain, according to the teaching of Catholic faith. There is, indeed, in the Catholic Church a partial divorce permitted. It is from bed and board only, and is granted in the case of adultery, or for other grave causes. The Church considers the

<sup>1</sup> "Instit. di Civil. fil.," tom. i. p. 431.

<sup>2</sup> "De Augustinis, De Re Sacrament.," vol. ii., p. 282.

marriage contract as indissoluble by its very nature, but especially since its elevation to the dignity of a sacrament which represents the union of Christ with his Church; which union is indissoluble, for the Divine Word will never lay aside the humanity which He assumed. Even Protestant jurists, with a higher instinct than Protestant theologians, although denying the sacramental character of marriage, recognize it as "something more than a mere contract. It is rather to be deemed an institution of society founded upon the consent and contract of the parties."<sup>1</sup> The whole of Catholic tradition is in favor of the indissolubility of marriage. The testimony of the Fathers on the subject is too long to quote, and it may be readily found in any text-book of Catholic theology. The voice of universal Catholic tradition on this matter is heard in the decree of Pope Eugene IV., approving the Council of Florence, which gave expression to the faith of the United Greek and Latin Churches in the fifteenth century: "Although for cause of fornication, separation from bed and board is allowed, yet it is not lawful to contract another marriage, since the bond of a marriage lawfully contracted is perpetual." Let us pass, then, to the Bible.

There are five passages in the New Testament which bear directly on the indissolubility of marriage, *a vinculo*. Of these three are clear and absolute. The first is found in Mark x., from verse 2 to verse 12, inclusive. We quote it: "*And the Pharisees coming to him asked him: Is it lawful for a man to put away his wife? tempting him. But he answering said to them: What did Moses command you? who said: Moses permitted to write a bill of divorce, and to put her away. To whom Jesus answering said: Because of the hardness of your heart he wrote you that precept. But from the beginning of the creation, God made them male and female.*" That is, one male for one female; one Adam for one Eve.

"*For this cause a man shall leave his father and mother, and shall cleave to his wife. And they shall be in one flesh. Therefore now they are not two but one flesh.*

"*What therefore God hath joined together, let not man put asunder.*

"*And in the house again his disciples asked him concerning the same thing. And he saith to them: Whosoever shall put away his wife and marry another, committeth adultery against her.*"

"*And if the wife shall put away her husband, and be married to another, she committeth adultery.*"

It would be impossible to express more clearly than is done in these words the unity, sanctity, and indissolubility of marriage. By them the Mosaic divorce is abrogated; and its abrogation is twice declared, once in public discourse, and again in private ex-

<sup>1</sup> Judge Story, "Conflict of Laws," section 108, note.

planation by the divine lawgiver to his apostles. The natural contract and ceremony of the Mosaic dispensation are elevated to a higher sphere and made a sacrament, by the divine Author of all the sacraments.

Again, this indissolubility of marriage is inculcated by our Lord, in Luke xvi., verse 18: "*Every one that putteth away his wife, and marrieth another, committeth adultery; and he that marrieth her that is put away from her husband, committeth adultery.*" The possibility and the right to put away a wife are here expressed; but it is evidently only a divorce *a mensa et thoro*, from bed and board; the *vinculum*, the marriage-tie remains unbroken; for he that marries her who is put away commits adultery, which could not be if she were free, any more than it would be adultery to marry a widow or a widower. There is no exception in either of these texts. They are both absolute and categorical.

The most voluminous and the greatest inspired expounder of our Lord's words is St. Paul. We have the authority of St. Peter indorsing this estimate of the apostle of the Gentiles. Now this is what St. Paul writes about marriage, 1 Cor. vii., verse 39: "*A woman is bound by the law as long as her husband liveth; but if her husband die, she is at liberty: let her marry to whom she will, only in the Lord.*" This is a clear declaration that the consummated marriage of Christians can be dissolved only by the death of one of the married parties; and is the best commentary ever written on the words of Christ: "*They are not two but one flesh,*" "*what therefore God hath joined together, let not man put asunder.*" In the same chapter, verse 10, St. Paul says: "*Not I, but the Lord commandeth that the wife depart not from her husband.*" But if she does depart, being divorced from bed and board on account of adultery, or some equally heinous offence, she must still remain unmarried; for he continues: "*And if she depart,*" the Lord commandeth, "*that she remain unmarried or be reconciled to her husband.*"

It is a canon of hermeneutics that the obscure should always be explained by the clear; and if therefore there is any obscurity in the New Testament regarding the doctrine of marriage, these clear texts, some of them, if not all, written later than any obscure passage that may be quoted on the subject, should be the proper interpreters of it. This rule of interpretation is admitted by those even who are not willing to admit the authority of the Christian Fathers, nor the infallible authority of the Catholic Church in interpreting Scripture.

Now it so happens that there are two texts relating to marriage, both in the gospel of St. Matthew, which have given rise to contention; and human passion, rather than the light of faith and authority, has made the sects, in spite of the clear texts above quoted,



choose the sinister rather than the universal Catholic explanation of them.

The first of these texts is Matth. v., verses 31 and 32: "*And it hath been said whosoever shall put away his wife let him give her a bill of divorce.*" Our Lord is correcting the false interpretations which the Pharisees had put on many of the Mosaic laws. He is also improving those laws, abolishing some of them and bringing ethical legislation up to the pure and high standard of his own teaching. The context shows this. He is stating the old Hebrew law, or the pharisaical gloss on it. He does this first, and then corrects the error or abrogates the law. This he has been doing on other points. Then he proceeds to the question of marriage: "*But I say to you,*" not as Moses said to give a bill of divorce, *a vinculo*, which he allowed on account of "*the hardness of your hearts;*" "*that whosoever shall put away his wife excepting for the cause of fornication,*" when it is allowed to put her away from bed and board forever if you like, but not to free her from the sacramental tie, "*maketh her to commit adultery; and he that shall marry her that is put away, committeth adultery.*" Christ does not say, "Give the woman a bill of divorce as Moses permitted when she commits fornication, so that she may be free." This He would have done if it was His purpose to permit the discarded woman to marry again, as the sects claim. His purpose was to abrogate the Mosaic bill of divorce as the context here, and in Matth. xix., verse 9, shows. That Mosaic bill of divorce was the occasion of our Lord's words. But he does not abrogate the Mosaic bill of divorce, if the words "except the case of fornication" mean the possibility of a divorce, *a vinculo*, and are not confined to a divorce, *a thoro*. If divorce *a vinculo* be allowed by Christ, has he not left the Mosaic law in this matter unchanged? In that case Christians would have the same indulgence as was accorded to the ancient Jews on account "of the hardness of their hearts;" and our Lord's words would imply no modification of the Mosaic laws regarding marriage, and would have no sense; a supposition which would be absurd and blasphemous.

Besides, if a woman who has been discarded on account of adultery may marry again, as some of the sects say, her position would be better than that of one dismissed for no crime at all. The adulteress would be free to marry, while a woman separated from her husband on account of sickness, for instance, could not marry. This would be the necessary consequence of the Protestant interpretation of the text. But it is plain that our Lord frees the husband from the burden of living with the adulteress, but not from the bond of marriage. This is all he concedes, while Moses concedes total divorce on account "*of the hardness of heart*" of the

Jews. "If husbands were allowed by Christ to dismiss their adulterous wives and marry others, men who were tired of their wives would forge charges of adultery against them to get rid of them and marry new ones; and thus our Lord, instead of restricting the discipline of the old law, would have relaxed it."<sup>1</sup> In the old law the adulteress was put to death; in Christ's law, according to Protestant interpretation, she could go free and marry again; while a discarded wife guilty of no crime would not enjoy a similar privilege.

Remark further, the reason why our Lord does not say that if the discarded woman marries again she commits adultery, is because it was unnecessary to say so. She had been discarded for adultery, and it was useless to add that her new offence if she dared to marry again would be adultery. But He says that "*he that shall marry her that is put away committeth adultery*," to show that she could marry no other man, and that no other man could marry her so long as her husband was alive.

An Anglican may say that this argument only shows that the guilty party cannot marry again, something which he admits in common with the Catholic Church; but that it does not prove that the innocent party may not marry again, as he maintains with all Protestants contrary to the teaching of the Catholic Church. To this we answer, 1. That as an innocent man cannot marry the guilty woman who is discarded—the text says it—the innocent is made to suffer in any case; the innocent who may want to marry her as well as the innocent who has been married to her; for the indissoluble tie of marriage is the real reason of her inability for marriage rather than her adultery. 2. Christ distinctly says in Matt. xix., v. 9, "*I say to you that whosoever shall put away his wife except it be for fornication and shall marry another committeth adultery*." Here the innocent man after putting away his wife for adultery is still tied by an indissoluble chain; for the words "*and shall marry another committeth adultery*," follow the words "*except it be for fornication*," to show that even then the Christian law holds the man in spiritual bondage, contrary to the Hebrew law which gave him carnal liberty. There is, indeed, one privilege given to the innocent by our Lord, and it is a great one: to turn the culprit out of the house, but not to break an indissoluble contract and desecrate a sacrament. 3. The individual must suffer for the good of the whole. Every day individual liberty is abridged by the state for the good of the commonwealth, and so in the Christian commonwealth must the individual bear the sweet yoke of Jesus Christ for the sake of good morals and the sanctity of marriage.

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<sup>1</sup> St. Jerome quoted by Maldonatus, "Comment. in Matthaeum," in loco.

Besides, the other texts and arguments clearly exclude even the Anglican exception in favor of divorce.

The full text of Matth. xix., v. 8 and 9, gives new light to this interpretation. It reads: "*Because Moses by reason of the hardness of your heart permitted you to put away your wives; but from the beginning it was not so.*" Our Lord is now going to correct the Mosaic laxity and assert the dignity of the sacrament: "And I say to you that whosoever shall put away his wife except it be for fornication,"—and then a partial divorce is allowed, not a total one as Moses permitted,—"*and shall marry another, committeth adultery; and he that shall marry her that is put away, committeth adultery.*" Even after putting her away the man is not free to marry, else why say that even then if he remarries he commits adultery, just as she would? For that which is crime for one is crime for the other according to the text. The husband is not bound to put her away; he may condone the offence; but he has the privilege of dismissing her forever, although he cannot marry again while she lives. That this severe interpretation of the text is the only right one is shown by the context that follows. The Apostles, understanding and realizing that Christ taught that a man once married, to a leper, or a scold, or even to an adulteress, could never be loosed from the sacramental knot save by the death of his wife, said v. 10: "*If the case of a man with his wife be so, it is not expedient to marry.*" If they had understood him as granting license to remarry when a wife was unfaithful, they would not have spoken in this way. If these Christian Hebrews, as the Apostles were, had not understood our Lord as abridging and abolishing the Mosaic privilege of divorce, their words would not be what they were. And our Lord in reply to them, instead of softening his doctrine, tells them in the subsequent verses, that it is better and more conducive to spiritual perfection not to marry than to marry. His religion is a restraint on human passions, an abridgment of the liberty of the flesh, the perfection and purification of the Hebrew creed. And although his teaching regarding the indissolubility of marriage may be a "hard" doctrine, as was said of his doctrine regarding Transubstantiation,<sup>1</sup> He can make no concession. He came to purify morals, not to break down the dykes that hold passions in check.

The impartial reader, we think, will admit that the Catholic interpretation of the above texts is the correct one according to the laws of hermeneutics, even though he may refuse the testimony of the Church in the case. How unfortunate for public morals it is then that the Protestant sects should have permitted passion to

<sup>1</sup> John vi., v. 61. "*Many therefore of his disciples hearing it said: This saying is hard and who can hear it?*"

lead them to interpret the words "*except the case of fornication*," as legitimizing divorce *a vinculo*, whereas they mean only a permission for divorce *a mensa et thoro*, from bed and board. Speaking of sectarian looseness in this matter, Dr. Dix appropriately writes: "This is a heresy born and bred of free thought as applied to religion; it is the outcome of the habit of interpreting the Bible according to a man's private judgment, rejecting ecclesiastical authority and Catholic tradition, and asserting our freedom to believe what we choose, and to select what religion pleases us best."<sup>1</sup> This is very orthodox writing and has the ring of the old Church about it. Dr. Dix is an Anglican. He belongs, we believe, to the High Church party. Now the Anglican Church is one of the most respectable of the sects, and clings still with tenacity to many of the old doctrines and customs of the Catholic Church. The odor of the old faith and of the old piety hangs around Anglicanism, even after the sacred vase of Catholic unity and orthodoxy has been shattered. Dr. Dix is one of the best types of the New York Anglican clergy. Many of them are pious, passably learned, and would make good Catholic priests if God would give them the grace of conversion to the true faith; and if they were not impeded by what the venerable and learned Benedictine, Dr. Bernard Smith,<sup>2</sup> once said in Rome was the chief argument against the Catholic Church, "hanging on their arms." And so Dr. Dix, "orthodox" and well-intentioned gentleman as he is, inveighs against divorce. We follow his song with pleasure. The tones are clear and true, but just when he reaches the "top note" he fails; and the ear is offended by a flat and unnatural discord. "Marriage is not a mere civil contract," he writes, "it is a divine institution." He even calls it a sacrament, quoting Ephes. v. 32, in a foot-note, "*sacramentum hoc magnum est*," with the gloss "the English word 'mystery,' the Latin 'sacramentum,' alike indicate the presence and work of supernatural power and divine grace."<sup>3</sup> Discussing the clause "*except the case of fornication*," he says: "It is not absolutely clear what that word 'fornication' means. It may possibly mean infidelity after marriage, or it may mean impurity before marriage. I cannot discuss the question here. But mark, that is the sole exception; and it is a mere peradventure that it includes *post-nuptial sin*."

Yet on that peradventure, and because of that shadow of doubt, the benefit of the doubt is given<sup>4</sup> by the Anglican Church per-

<sup>1</sup> "The Calling of a Christian Woman," p. 135.

<sup>2</sup> "Here," said the Doctor, "comes the Rev. Mr. So-and-So with the chief argument against the Catholic Church hanging on his arm." It was an Episcopalian minister with his wife.

<sup>3</sup> "The Calling," etc., p. 137.

<sup>4</sup> Idem, p. 140.

mitting divorce. "It is the rule of our own branch of the Church, and we must follow it. Divorce, with the privilege to remarry, may be granted, but for one only cause: when adultery has been proved."<sup>1</sup> A strange Church that cannot give an authoritative interpretation of an important text of Scripture, but leaves the matter to a mere "*peradventure*," and on that "*peradventure*" tolerates divorce! Yet Dr. Dix does not approve of the practice of his *branch* of the Church in this case. He is a true Protestant still, and although we have already quoted his words condemning private interpretation and free thought, he uses both against his own "*branch*."<sup>2</sup> Hear him: "The stringent rule is this, that though the married may be separated so as to live apart when they cannot live together in peace, yet are they still man and wife; and no new matrimonial relation can be formed. They may come back to each other; to strange flesh they cannot go." This is the doctrine of the Holy Catholic Church. "And I think that must have been what the Lord meant, and that it ought to be the rule of the Church."<sup>3</sup> Here is an opinion by an Anglican clergyman condemning the teaching and practice of his own "*branch*" of the Church, yet asserting that we must follow it for all that. Why not follow the lead of the Holy Ghost instead, and leave a sect which you believe to teach error? Is not that a plain duty of conscience? Is not that what logic would dictate? But alas! logic and Anglicanism were divorced long ago. We pray that it may be only a *mensa et thoro*!

The Anglican *branch* of Protestantism having allowed absolute divorce for cause of adultery, in fact owing its very existence to an English king who divorced his wife and the Catholic Church at the same time, the other "*branches*" could not be expected to do better. The consequence is that absolute divorces are now common for various causes, and partial divorces from bed and board are hardly understood out of the Catholic Church. The United States, where so many Protestant "*branches*" exist, and where being in the majority they control civil legislation on the subject, are now morally degraded on account of the facility with which divorces are granted. Let us take a view of some of the laws on the subject in the different States, all admitting divorce. Alabama permits divorce not only for the usual grave causes, but for two years' desertion; Arkansas for habitual drunkenness for a year, or desertion for a year; California for habitual intemperance or wilful neglect of the husband to provide for the wife for two years, or conviction of felony; Connecticut for seven years' absence not heard from; Florida for ungovernable temper and desertion for a year; Illinois for desertion for two years, or "any grounds which the court may consider proper;" Indiana for abandonment for a

<sup>1</sup> "The Calling," p. 141.<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, p. 140.<sup>3</sup> *Idem*, p. 140.

year, or for "such other causes as the court in its discretion may deem sufficient;" Kansas for gross neglect of duty; Kentucky for living apart without co-habitation for five years, desertion for a year, confirmed drunkenness of the husband with improvidence continued for a year, habitual misbehavior of the husband continued for six months; Maine at the discretion of the judge; Michigan for desertion for two years; Minnesota for drunkenness for a year; New Jersey for desertion for three years; North Carolina for "any just cause which the Civil court may deem proper;" Mississippi, Nebraska, Nevada, Tennessee, and elsewhere for desertion for two years. Thus in most of our States a man may run away from his wife when he is tired of her, remain away from her for a few years and then marry another, or he may enjoy this privilege as a reward of misbehavior for six months.<sup>1</sup> To this degree of degradation has the teaching of the Protestant reformation brought the holy institution of Christian marriage. When will the conservative thinkers in the sects and out of them do justice to the Catholic Church on this important matter? Do they not see that she alone, by her unflinching and unyielding position in regard to the sanctity and indissolubility of the marriage relation, is the only breakwater to the advancing tides of social immorality in our country? We therefore invite them all to come into the ark out of the deluge; to come on to the Catholic platform, which never breaks down, for its planks were laid and its props fashioned by the omnipotent hand of the Divine Workman. The superiority of the sanction which the Catholic Church gives to domestic society, and her protection of the holy sacrament of matrimony are further evidenced in the number and character of the impediments with which she has hedged it in. The Hebrew prohibitions of marriage as found in the book of Leviticus are in many respects different from those of the Catholic Church. The Hebrew law was a national dispensation and narrow in its import. There was in it the obligation of keeping the tribes distinct from one another, and of confining the royal descent and the priesthood to special families. Hence, certain consanguineous marriages and marriages of affinity not permitted by the Church, were not only allowed, but commanded, by the law of Moses. The Catholic Church having abolished carnalism and enlarged the limits of charity by inculcating the doctrine of the

<sup>1</sup> The rasping lines of the Roman satirist will soon apply to the condition of our much-divorced people:

"Cur desiderio Bibulæ Sertorius ardet?  
Si verum excutias, facies, non uxor amatur.  
Tres rugæ subeant, et se cutis arida laxet,  
Fiant obscuri dentes oculique minores;  
Collige særcinulas, dicet libertas, et exi:  
Jam gravis es nobis et sæpe emungeris, exi  
Ocius et propere: sicco venit altera naso."

—*Juvenal, Sat. vi., v. 142, seq.*

universal brotherhood of man through the Incarnation, set her face from the first against the intermarriage of relatives, among other reasons for the purpose of widening the relationship of the family, and destroying selfishness, which is the foe of Christian charity. Science and good social policy approve the action of the Church in this matter. They show that the marriage of blood relatives imperils the increase of population, and is injurious both to the physical and mental health of the race. A nation's glory is not its material wealth, but the strong arms of a healthy manhood; and this incestuous marriages destroy :

" A bold peasantry, its country's pride,  
When once destroyed can never be supplied."

A people to be brave must also be healthy ; and therefore the quotation from Goldsmith may be appropriately supplemented by the line of Juvenal : "*Orandum est, ut sit mens sana in corpore sano.*"<sup>1</sup> Incestuous marriages unite affections that should be kept separate. The affection which a man has for his kin should not be confounded with that which he should have for his wife. They should be kept specifically distinct, for they are often incompatible ; as, for instance, if a woman were a man's wife and niece at the same time, by the former title being his equal, by the latter his inferior. They often engender fratricidal strife ; for in case of conflict between husband and wife, it is bad enough to see their respective families take sides in the quarrel like so many Montagues and Capulets, but worse when the combatants are all of the same flesh and blood. Such marriages confuse the ties of kindred and complicate indefinitely relationships. But above all, they increase the temptations to vice, and sully the sources of family love. There is one spot where it should not be possible for the demon of lust ever to enter. It is home. Its sacred door should be closed to black-winged concupiscence. The halo of purity that surrounds the angel forms of sister, aunt, niece, and even cousins, who are like to sisters, with whom we have culled the flowers in May by the hedgerows and in the meadows, or with whom we have whiled away the long hours of the winter in intimate and innocent amusement, must ever shine with untarnished lustre. Even the greetings or caresses of our own blood must be shielded from evil thoughts or foul blight ; and therefore around the home, the Catholic Church throws the white mantle of her holiness ; and by her stern impediments exorcises the fiend that would destroy the reverence and respect due by the law of nature to our kindred. Within the home she lights

<sup>1</sup> The law of man's physical life is like that of other animals. The race is injured unless foreign stock and new blood are frequently crossed with the original source. Every physiologist knows this. The reader can find this law well explained in "Peace through the Truth," an able work by Rev. T. Harper, S. J.

a vestal fire that ever burns, and is never dimmed by the smoke of passion. She extends her prohibition even to affinity. She does not wish to see the anomaly of the aunt of children becoming one day their mother. She protects the wife and the husband from the danger which may most threaten them. She will not suffer the sick or aged wife to run the risk of being supplanted in her husband's affections by her younger sister, or niece, or cousin, who is privileged by relationship to live on terms of intimacy in her home. The broad law of reverence for the sacrament of marriage pervades all the Church's impediments both of consanguinity and affinity.

And here again, we have to call attention to the anomalous and illogical position of Anglicanism in regard to the Levitical impediments. By examining the Anglican table of prohibited degrees, we find that it is not forbidden for a half-brother to marry his half-sister; although Leviticus xviii., v. 9, prohibits such marriage. Why this unscriptural omission by so "scriptural" a Church? In the Levitical catalogue there are twenty-two prohibitions; in the Anglican catalogue there are sixty. Then there are thirty-eight Anglican prohibitions of marriage for which there is no Bible warrant. Why this unscriptural assumption in so "scriptural" a "branch?" The conduct of this church in regard to one impediment of affinity, viz., the marrying a deceased wife's sister, is at the present time exceedingly amusing. The impediment exists, but the Church of England has not the power of dispensing in it. A strange Church that makes a law but requires an act of Parliament to unmake it! In this matter she is like a man who uses a ladder to climb, kicks the ladder away by mistake, and then has no means of coming down. Yet Henry VIII., her founder, used just such a dispensation from Rome to marry Catharine, his brother's widow. The intermarriage of cousins is not prohibited by Protestantism, and consequently it fails to guard domestic purity.

We shall briefly state the impediments of marriage according to the discipline of the Catholic Church. They are twofold, those which simply impede so as to render the contract illicit but not invalid; and those which impede so as to render it null and void. A special prohibition as to time, place, or person, or an injunction to comply with certain formalities; thus to marry a Protestant, to marry without publication of banns, would render a marriage illicit and sinful but not necessarily invalid. Care should be taken not to confound the Church's *impedimenta impedientia*, with what are called "voidable" contracts in the civil law. A marriage which is merely illegal in the eyes of the Church is sinful, but not "voidable." The sin may be wiped out by contrition and sacramental confession; but the marriage cannot be annulled even by the Pope,

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<sup>1</sup> "Peace through the Truth," Appendix D., p. 673.



unless the impediment is *dirimens*, or one that invalidates the contract.

The invalidating impediments are numerous. Some of the *impedimenta impedientia* merge into *dirimentia*. Thus, "*pre-contract*," as Blackstone calls "*sponsalia*," although an *impedimentum impediens*, becomes *dirimens* under the name of *public decency*.<sup>1</sup> By a decree of the Council of Trent, *pre-contract* or "*betrothal*" annuls marriage in the first degree of consanguinity only. Again, the clandestine marriage of a Catholic to a Protestant, which is only an impeding impediment in most parts of the United States, merges into an annulling impediment wherever the decree made by the Council of Trent against clandestine marriages has been promulgated. This decree annuls all marriages not made in presence of the parish priest or his substitute and two witnesses.<sup>2</sup>

As marriage is a sacrament, though having the nature of a contract, the Catholic Church claims exclusive control over it, and permits the State to legislate only regarding its civil effects. If the State does more than this, the Church considers it an intrusion, which she out of charity or courtesy may tolerate, provided the State law does not interfere with the matter, the form, or the ministers of the sacrament. The matter is the consent of the parties delivering over to each other a right to each other's body; the form is the consent formally expressed by words or other signs in the actual delivery of this right; and the ministers of the sacrament are the contracting parties themselves, the priest being only the minister of the Church. She will never recognize the doctrine that the State can make a law annulling the marriage contract between Christians. In this matter she claims absolute and exclusive jurisdiction, limited only by the divine and the natural law. In regard to these *diriment* impediments the words of Blackstone are appropriate: "These disabilities make the contract void *ab initio*, and not merely voidable; not that they dissolve a contract already formed, but they render the parties incapable of performing any contract at all; they do not put asunder those who are joined together, but they previously hinder the junction, and, if any persons under these legal incapacities come together, it is a meretricious and not a matrimonial union."<sup>3</sup>

Some of these "*disabilities*," as laid down in canon law, are as follows: solemn vows and holy orders. The marriage of nuns and monks or of sub-deacons, deacons, priests or bishops, is null and void. Consanguinity, in the collateral line, annuls to the fourth degree inclusive; thus the marriage of cousins is null and void. The disability of relatives in the direct line as to marriage

<sup>1</sup> "*Honestas publica*."

<sup>2</sup> Sess. 24, c. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Blackstone's Commentaries, book I, chap. xv.

is unlimited. Those spiritually related cannot marry. The marriage of godfather or godmother with a godchild or its parents is void, as is the marriage of baptizer to baptized, or to the baptized's parents. The same law holds good for those acting as god-parents in confirmation, and to the same extent as in the case of baptism.

Adoption is another annulling impediment. The adopter cannot marry the adopted child or its children; nor can the adopted marry the children of the adopter, nor the widow of the adopter; nor can the adopter marry the widow of the adopted.

Affinity arising from a legitimate marriage is an annulling impediment, and, like consanguinity in the collateral line, extends to the fourth degree inclusive. If it arise from an illicit connection it extends only to the second degree. No man can marry his wife's sister or her niece.

Adultery committed with a promise of marriage renders the marriage void. Nor can a man who has murdered his wife marry a woman who has been his accomplice in the act, and *vice versa*.

The marriage of an unbaptized person with one that is baptized is invalid.<sup>1</sup>

The reason of this impediment is evident. The Catholic Church loves the souls of her children too well to permit them to run the risk of losing their faith, or of bringing up children without it; and consequently, if possible, she will grant no dispensation to marry an unbeliever, unbaptized or even baptized, unless the faith of the Catholic party and of the offspring, should there be any, be secured from molestation. The words of Pope Benedict XIV.,<sup>2</sup> applied to mixed marriages, or marriages between Catholics and baptized Protestants, apply with greater force to those between Catholics and infidels. They are "detestable, and our holy mother the Church has always condemned and forbidden them."

Forced fear, such as to destroy freedom of consent, and rape or forcible abduction, nullify marriage, as does also physical impotency. A very remarkable instance of fear and force nullifying marriage has occurred, during the reign of Leo XIII., in the case of the Prince Albert of Monaco and Mary, the daughter of the Duchess of Hamilton. The lady sued for divorce on the ground of fear and force destroying her consent, and in the trial it was shown that her mother had entreated and morally forced her to marry the Prince against her will, and that she had refused to live with him. Two ecclesiastical commissions appointed by His Holi-

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<sup>1</sup> For the question of the marriage of unbaptized persons and what is to be done in case of their baptism if they have several wives, which one is to be retained as legitimate, etc., see Ballerini's note to "Gury," p. 736.

<sup>2</sup> Bull *Matrimonia* of Nov. 4, A.D. 1741.

ness tried the case, and pronounced the marriage null, the one on May 17, 1879, the other on January 3, 1880. The Pope then took the case into his own hands, and, after a thorough examination, declared that the marriage was invalid, though the child born of it was to be considered legitimate.<sup>1</sup>

The marriage of females before twelve and of males before fourteen years full is also generally invalid.

These are some of the chief impediments. The reader will not expect us to discuss them at length. The Catholic reader will pardon us for telling him what he already knows; but the Protestant inquirer will perhaps thank us for saving him the trouble of reading our text-book of theology for the information which we give him.

If these impediments be examined closely it will be found that motives of sound public policy and supernatural wisdom have dictated their enactment. We have already pointed out some of the reasons which justify the impediments of consanguinity and affinity. The same reasons apply to the case of adopted children and god-parents. The relations between such parties are too close not to be fenced off by impediments which are the sentinels of purity. The impediments of forced fear and abduction protect the liberty of consent necessary for marriage according to the axiom, "*Non concubitus sed consensus facit matrimonium.*"

But are there not cases where public policy or private justice would prompt a departure from the general laws regulating these impediments and render a dispensation not only useful but even necessary? May there not sometimes be a wrong that can be righted, or a sacred duty that can be fulfilled only by removing the barrier of a matrimonial disability? And is there no power on earth competent to do it? Yes; the Catholic Church has the dispensing power, and she exercises it through her head, the Pope, or his appointed delegate. We have already mentioned the case of fear nullifying the Prince of Monaco's marriage. The true Church is not like the Anglican Church, which needs the permission of a political parliament to remove an impediment which she herself has made. Most of the impediments above enumerated are of purely ecclesiastical origin. The Church made them. The Church for good reasons can unmake them. The vicar of Christ, the successor of St. Peter, who holds the keys of apostolic power to bind or loose according to the commission given to him as infallible teacher and supreme legislator for God's people, uses the dispensing power whenever the good of society, or of religion, or the eternal salvation of souls may require it. That he, as the chief spiritual authority in Christendom, should have this power is im-

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<sup>1</sup> See the case in full in the "*Acta Sanctæ Sedis*," vol. xii., p. 403.

plicitly though unintentionally conceded in these words of Blackstone: "The punishment therefore or annulling of incestuous or other unscriptural marriages is the province of the spiritual courts, which act *pro salute animarum*."<sup>1</sup>

The power to annul is correlative with the power to dispense. Unfortunately, however, some of the civil powers have not been willing to leave marriage to the jurisdiction of the Church; considering it as a mere profane contract, they have loosened its bond and destroyed the whole order of society, as the condition of those countries—of France, for instance—proves where the sacramental character of marriage has been ignored. There is no remedy for this perturbation of the moral order but a return to the doctrine of the Holy Catholic Church. She teaches that marriage is a holy sacrament, and that the Christian family, of which it is the corner-stone, has its prototype in the Holy Trinity itself. Just as in the divine family there are three in one, the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, bound together by eternal and indissoluble love, so in the human family there are the husband, wife and child bound together by mutual and indissoluble love. She points to the holy family at Nazareth, in which Joseph, Mary and the divine Jesus live as the model of every Christian family. She teaches, with St. Paul, that "this is a great sacrament, . . . in Christ and in the Church."<sup>2</sup> As Christ had two natures united in one person, so in marriage there are two persons in one flesh, but considered as only one moral person. Christ is the head of the Church; the husband is the head of the family. The Church is Christ's spouse, whom he nourishes with infallible doctrine and vivifies with his perpetual presence, which fructifies and fecundates, producing children of God and heirs of heaven; as the husband in the sacrament of marriage protects and supports the partner of his bosom and brings up children in the order of nature to be raised by the grace of baptism to the supernatural order.<sup>3</sup> Christ has promised to remain with his Church all days, even to the consummation of the world; and the Christian husband and wife in the sacrament of marriage pledge fidelity to each other to the end of their lives. Christ in the Church deserts the soul that sins mortally, but His

<sup>1</sup> Commentaries, edition of Banks & Bro., New York, 1878, p. 142.

<sup>2</sup> Ephes. v., verse 32.

<sup>3</sup> "Adam was a type of Christ; Eve a type of the Church. As from Adam and his spouse the whole human race sprang, so from Christ and his Church the whole multitude of believers was generated. . . . The first man and the first prophet—Adam—prophesied this of Christ and the Church; that our Lord and Saviour would leave his Father God and his mother, the heavenly Jerusalem, and would come down to earth for the sake of his spouse the Church, whom he formed out of his side, and for whom the Word was made flesh."—St. Jerome, "Com. in Epist. ad Ephes.," lib. ii., c. 5, v. 31.

sufficient grace deserts no man, and the stamp of baptism always remains. The repentant sinner is always welcome to His divine arms. There has been, as it were, a partial divorce between him and his Redeemer; something like the divorce from bed and board which may take place among married Christians. The blessing of Christ is on the married couple from the beginning; the ring that symbolizes their union is blessed, and abundant graces are showered on them through the sacrament, enabling them to bring up their children in the fear and love of God. This is the only doctrine that will sanctify the family and save the State; and this is the doctrine of the Holy Catholic Church alone.

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## THE CHURCH OF FRANCE AND THE REVOLUTION.

*The Gallican Church; a History of the Church of France from the Concordat of Bologna, 1516, to the Revolution.* W. Henley Jervis, Canon, etc. London, Murray, 2 vols., 8vo., 1882.

*History of France.* W. H. Jervis. London, Murray, 1882.

*State of Society in France before the Revolution and the Causes that Led to that Event.* De A. Tocqueville; translated by Henry Reese. London, Murray, 1882.

*Les Origines de la France Contemporaine.* H. Taine. Paris, Calmann Levy, 1880, 2 vols.

*The French Revolution.* H. Taine. London, Daldy & Co., 1881, 3 vols.

"THE history of the Papacy is the martyrology of nations!" exclaimed the Abbé Grégoire, in one of his petulant diatribes against the authority of the Holy See. The definition would have been more just and accurate had he put it thus: "The history of nations is the martyrology of the Papacy."

The one has, in truth, been so bound up with the other that the narrative of the world's wars and revolutions, its struggles and triumphs, the rise and progress and decay of its dynasties, from the Christian era to our own time, might be written as a running corollary on the margin of the history of the Papacy. The destinies of both have been so closely interwoven that the records of the one cannot be fully written without including the records of the other, and nowhere has this solidarity been so strikingly exempli-

fied as in the annals of the nation that long gloried in the title of "eldest daughter of the Church." France, above every other country, for centuries so identified her interests with those of Christianity, that her very existence came to depend in a measure on the maintenance of this union, and, therefore, it followed that whenever she fell out with the Church the disagreement partook of the nature of a conjugal quarrel, bitter, personal, ending in that rancorous hatred which comes with the violent rupture of a sacred natural bond. Her quarrels with the Church have invariably turned to direct rebellion against God, to defiant upheaving against His law, and a satanic effort to break and abolish His authority.

The Revolution opened its campaign by a legitimate charge against the higher clergy; but this specious pretext soon proved to be a mere feint and the starting-point of a fierce and wholesale attack upon religion itself, which was speedily to culminate in the savage slaughter of numbers amongst that section of the clergy against whom the reformers avowedly had no grievance, a crime which in its turn was the prelude to an act of blasphemy unparalleled in the history of peoples. When the Convention passed a decree denying the existence of "one named God," the Revolution reached that point where its excesses recoiled upon itself.

Mr. Jervis, in the preface of his remarkable work on the Revolution and the Church,<sup>1</sup> boldly challenges M. Thiers's assertion that the National Assembly aimed only at reforming abuses, that it made no aggression upon the spiritual or ecclesiastical power, but confined its action to legislating for temporal reforms. This misrepresentation was sedulously propagated by the would-be reformers of the time, and has been maintained ever since by the apologists of the Revolution, who fail to perceive that the Assembly of '89 began by assailing the relations of the Church with the State, and attacking points of doctrine; thus provoking the schism that sundered the Church of France at that period, and has remained an ill-closed wound up to our own day.

Mirabeau, more honest, or, at any rate, more clear-sighted than the rest of his colleagues, bluntly told them that "if they wished to have a revolution they must begin by decatholicizing France."

This work of decatholicization was, according to Mr. Jervis, begun by, or, at any rate, within the Church herself. It strikes us that he very much exaggerates the importance of the incident on which he lays his heavy charge, namely, the petition of the lower clergy for the redress of some of their grievances against the higher. The clergy of all ranks had a perfect right to petition the crown, its relations with the Church being what they were at that period, filial, friendly, and chivalrous. The curés were conse-

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<sup>1</sup> *The Gallican Church and the Revolution.* (Kegan Paul.)

quently guilty of no disloyal act when they appealed to the king to alleviate the unjust and vexatious burdens which pressed upon them. They had a right to petition the crown for redress against the temporal irregularities imposed upon them by those prelates and abbots whose wealth and luxury had become a scandal to the faithful, whose large emoluments, drawn for the most part from sinecures, were a crying injustice which weighed heavily on the zealous, overworked, and ill-paid priesthood. That the coincidence of this appeal with the first mutterings of the Revolution was in itself unfortunate and may have been ill-advised, we are ready to admit, but we cannot accept that it sounded the signal and led the way to that attack upon the Church of France which ended in its overthrow. The breach between the higher and the lower clergy was no doubt doubly to be regretted at a crisis when the ancient order of things, ecclesiastical and civil, was about to stand its trial before the nation; but, deeper down than this misunderstanding, there were causes within the Church of France which were imperilling its very existence. Foremost amongst these was Jansenism, an organic disease which had long been a dissolving agency at work enfeebling and dividing it. From a mere theological controversy, Jansenism had worked its way into the domain of politics and was now a distinct element in the approaching Revolution, though a far less powerful element than Protestant historians are apt to suppose. The Jansenists had been crushed under the two preceding reigns, but they had not been killed or extinguished even by the Bull *Unigenitus*; they were still a faction, a smouldering fire, ready to be fanned into a flame by the first blast of the Revolution. The moment it broke out they threw themselves into it with passionate enthusiasm. Their influence, however, at this crisis has been considerably overrated. Even had they risen above sectarian ambitions and revenges, and sacrificed their personal cause to the interest of the Church, they were not powerful enough to arrest the onset of the Revolution and its ruinous results. The heart of the nation never went over to the Jansenists; their doctrines had never become "popular." Then, as now, the nation was divided, roughly speaking, into two classes, orthodox Catholics and unbelievers. Jansenism was not indigenous to the soil; it was an imported growth that flourished only within a certain radius and under conditions that were not indigenous. The fact, nevertheless, remains, that the Jansenists were a power in the National Assembly, and that they lent a strong hand to the ruin of the Church by throwing their weight on the side of the Left, composed chiefly then, as in the Chamber of to-day, of atheists, fanatics, and adventurers, including *ninety-nine degraded priests*. The rôle of the Jansenists under the Revolution was precisely that

which is being enacted in the present day by a handful of *prêtres défringués* in France, in Germany, and in Switzerland. The groups of ecclesiastical *révoltés* in league with the Jacobins of '93 has its prototype in every age; it is always the same type, the same secret springs setting in motion the same machinery. Men who, finding the yoke of the perfect life intolerable to their hungry, rebellious passions, break loose from it and pair with the enemies of the Church in representing that yoke as odious, dangerous, and contemptible, and in vilifying the ideal they have betrayed; Doms Gerles, who first dishonor and cast off their monastic habit, and then join with the Jacobins of the day in attacking the doctrine and discipline of the Church, trading on the ignorance and the prejudices of those who hate her, sowing discord amongst souls, and making capital out of their knowledge of sacred science and their familiarity with sacred subjects.

Like all factions in white heat of rebellion, the Jansenists were to a great extent blind to the ultimate issue of the onset in which they joined; but the leaders of that onset had a perfectly clear view of their purpose, which was to deprive the Church of her temporal pre-eminence, to humiliate and bring her into bondage to the State, and thus more effectually to attack her essential power and uproot that indigenous plant of Catholicity which the Revolution of all periods has rightly enough regarded as the greatest obstacle in its path. The Assembly, however, was too clear-sighted to proclaim openly this clause in its programme. It knew well that, for all their outcry against the higher clergy and the feudal system still in force in their temporal estate, the mass of the people were at heart loyal to the Church, and that any direct attack upon her would alarm the national susceptibilities and throw national sympathy on the other side. It therefore went cautiously to work, keeping its batteries covered until the moment should arrive for unmasking them with safety and effect. This opportunity came in the form of an ecclesiastical committee, which was appointed for the purpose of redressing the grievances of the inferior clergy and reforming the organization of the Church generally.

The leading spirits of this committee were Treilhard, a barrister and a Jansenist; Camus, the bitterest of Jansenist leaders; the Abbé Grégoire, curé of a parish in Lorraine, a man of unimpeachable integrity in private life, but of more than doubtful orthodoxy. The Assembly named some men, such as Bishop Borel, by way of a blind to public opinion, but the presence of the three first-named sufficiently proved what the drift and aim of the committee was intended to be. The members themselves were not in accord; they started from different points and had different goals in view; they were consequently not qualified to work in harmony or op-



pose a firm and united front to the attack which was advancing with the formidable strength of union.

But however much the committee lacked in the main this force of united action, it was fully united on one point, which was to strike at the authority of the Holy See by establishing the independence of the Gallican Church. It started by demanding the restriction of the Papal prerogative of instituting bishops, a prerogative which dated, not, as is often erroneously supposed, from the Concordat of 1516, but from the earliest days of the Church. The right of institution always belonged to the Pope, the only difference being that in primitive times the bishops were elected by the faithful, and later on by the chapters, until in 1516 the right of presenting the bishops for institution was ceded by the chapters to the sovereign, and secured to him by the Concordat passed between Leo X. and Francis I.

Another hostile step of the committee was the attempt to raise the position of the lower clergy at the expense of that of the higher, demanding that the bishops, abbots, etc., should be reduced to an inferior social standing by being deprived of their revenues and those vast endowments which dated from mediæval times.

The fact that abuses existed is undeniable; the need for some reform was manifest; but when historians assert that this need was among the main causes, some go so far as to say the chief factor in the Revolution, they lay themselves open to the charge of gross exaggeration and historical inaccuracy. M. de Tocqueville, an authorized witness quoted by Mr. Jervis, declares as the result of his own patient and searching investigations, that "there never was a body of clergy in the world more remarkable than the Catholic clergy of France at the moment when they were surprised by the Revolution," and he adds that, after entering on the study of the subject full of prejudices, he left it off full of respect.

The committee had not been many months in operation, when the Assembly, emboldened by the hostility excited in the public mind against the Church by that party whose interest it was to inflame it, gave expression to its own animosity by a series of decrees which no longer left any doubt as to its veritable aim. The proletarian revolt of August was followed by a vote of confiscation of the feudal privileges of the higher clergy, and soon after this the proposed Declaration of the Rights of Man gave rise to a debate as to whether or not the document should begin by any recognition of the Providence of God. This trumpet call at least gave forth no uncertain sound. The clergy, thoroughly alarmed, rose to the defence in the Assembly. The Abbé Grégoire declared that to omit such a recognition would be to expose France to the reprobation of civilized Europe. The phrase was eventually adopted, but the

discussion marked a new date in the attitude and tone of the Assembly. From this time forth, a great change was visible, outbreaks of democratic violence became frequent, and were characterized on the part of the popular leaders by a determination to bring the Church and the clergy into odium. The clerical deputies were insulted on their way to the Assembly, and the Abbé Grégoire complained from the tribune that the curés who were the first to prove their disinterested desire for reforms, by abandoning the titles and supporting the law for the abolition of plurality of benefices, "were day after day outraged by the populace in the streets of Paris." But this protest was drowned in the roar of the battle, which had begun in terrible earnest. The house was now at open war with the Church. The priests were panic-stricken. Many sought safety betimes in flight, seeing that the tide was rising and flight would soon become impossible.

Amongst the crowd of maniacs and mediocrities who held the stage of the Revolution at this period, the figure of Talleyrand stands out like the hero in some sanguinary and brutal romance, a distinct and picturesque individuality, a man nobly born and allied to the oldest houses in France, possessed of large wealth and enjoying a high position in the Church, into which he had been forced without the shadow of vocation. The venerable Abbé Devoucoux, vicar of Autun, Talleyrand's future See, relates how he had heard his brother priests of St. Sulpice speak with anguish of having had to take a part in the ordination of the young nobleman. "We have often heard eye-witnesses declare," he says, "that it was a source of harrowing torture to the director of St. Sulpice, to whom fell the mission, of preparing the heart of the Abbé Talleyrand for the awful ministry that he was assuming, without apparently attaching any particular importance to it." The highest offices and emoluments were at once given to this unlikely minister of the gospel, who as Bishop of Autun stood forward in the Assembly to vilify and despoil his own order and reduce them to the condition of State menials. But Talleyrand possessed that supreme instinct of the politician which taught him to detect, with prophetic certainty, the issue of the rising storm and of changes yet undeveloped. He saw how the fight was going and where his best interests lay, and he made it unhesitatingly his goal, careless of principle, of every consideration but personal gain. The Revolution seized on him as an invaluable instrument. His position, his birth and fortune, his brilliant art and acquirements gave an air of entire disinterestedness, almost of heroism, to his rebellion against a régime which favored him so abundantly, and lent a weight to his utterances quite apart from their real value.

When the debate on Mirabeau's motion for disendowment

came on, in October, 1789, Talleyrand was one of its most ardent and powerful supporters.

Camus, the Jansenist, stood forward, on the other hand, to defend the beleaguered clergy, and his defence was followed by an eloquent and telling speech from the Abbé Maury, their accredited champion. "Our possessions guarantee yours," he said. "We are attacked to-day, but if we are victimized now, it will not be long before you become the prey of the spoiler." Pending the decree for the confiscation of Church property, the Assembly dealt a heavy blow at the liberty of the Church. One week after this stormy debate, the abolition of religious vows in convents of both sexes was proposed, and, contrary to rule and precedent, carried at the same sitting.

The week after this, a mob of armed miscreants surrounded the Archbishop's palace and gave the hesitating legislators within to understand that they were expected to proceed to the business of spoliation without further delay. This act of terrorism, backed by Mirabeau's clever tactics and weight in the Assembly, had the desired effect. The public vote of confiscation of Church property was passed. Well might the Abbé Maury cry out in despair, "There is truly no despotism so terrible as that which puts on the mask of liberty."

Treilhard, who was working actively in the Ecclesiastical Commission, pushed on his advantage by proposing that convents and monasteries should be suppressed in all the larger towns, and only allowed to stand in villages or remote places where they were of use to the population, whereas the revenues of those in towns would be more useful to the State by helping to shake off the spectre of bankruptcy to which Mirabeau pointed in his memorable speech. The final debate on the disposal of ecclesiastical property gave rise, however, to an incident which showed that the full and true animus of the majority was directed not against the wealth of the clergy, or the abuses which had grown out of it, but against religion itself.

Dom Gerle, a member of the Ecclesiastical Committee, rose before the Assembly and, with a view to clearing the committee of the charge of an anti-religious aim and spirit, demanded in its name that a decree be passed to the effect that the Catholic Apostolic and Roman religion is and ever will remain the religion of the nation.

The motion was applauded frantically by the Right, whilst the Left clamored for an adjournment, which was finally carried amidst indescribable violence and confusion. The two camps spent the night making ready for the battle of the morrow, which, it was felt, would be a decisive one. The Left assembled at the Jacobin Club

in the Rue St. Honoré, while the Right met in a great hall on the opposite side of the street, and arranged their programme, confident of a great victory. "This time they cannot escape us," said the Abbé Maury; "this motion is a match lighted under a barrel of gunpowder." Meanwhile, the man who had struck the match was being sharply taken to task at the Jacobin meeting, where his motion was censured as stupid and dangerous. Dom Gerle was an ex-Carthusian monk, one of those ninety-nine corrupt and degraded priests who swelled the Jacobin ranks in the Assembly.

The sitting of the next day was stormy, but, after several hours' wrangling, the order of the day was carried without a vote being taken on the motion. The victory, nevertheless, remained with the Jacobins. The nation tacitly refused to proclaim itself Catholic, consequently an open breach had been made between it and the Church, and the faction which had determined on her ruin was henceforth dominant. The Catholics now fully realized the perils of their position and the fate which was in store for the Church at the hands of the Revolution. Thousands throughout the country made enthusiastic demonstrations of their attachment to the faith, and meetings were held in all the large cities. As a natural result of this excitement, collisions took place between the civil and military authorities, and murder, pillage and sacrilege prevailed in many districts for weeks together. At last martial law was proclaimed.

The Assembly was alarmed at the extent of the conflagration it had lighted, and the Ecclesiastical Committee saw that some measures must be found for arresting it before the whole country blazed into civil war. The spoliation of the clergy had thrown them on the world without a career, and, in the great majority of cases, without a livelihood; their position as the first of the three estates of the realm was abolished; the Assembly had reduced them from the condition of independent proprietors to that of state functionaries, and it now became incumbent on it to regulate their situation in accordance with the new organization, and to frame an entirely new system. Camus supplied this demand by bringing forward his famous *Constitution Civile du Clergé*, a scheme which was destined to become the most terrible agent of crime and misery in the wide programme of the Revolution. The adoption of the *Constitution Civile*, in fact, inaugurated the real Reign of Terror, to which the disendowment of the Church and the disorder and dismay caused by that measure, had been only a prelude. The Assembly, without the smallest reference to the Holy See, proceeded to legislate for the Church with a high-handed insolence that was no longer restrained by any authority, divine or human. Fifty bishops were suppressed at one blow, the boundaries of dioceses. and

parishes were abolished. The entire ecclesiastical organization was broken up. Bishops were henceforth to be elected by the people *without reference to Rome*. Things were, said the Assembly, to be remodelled on the Church of primitive apostolic times. Camus and Treilhard discoursed, with the assurance of orthodox theologians, on the doctrine and discipline of this Church of their imaginations, bewailed the lamentable abuses which had grown up out of the abandonment of apostolic customs, and discussed the reforms that were to be effected in the Church of France. This eventful debate was one of those farcical touches that every now and then gleam like a ghastly joke on the blood-red tragedy which was in process of enactment. The spectacle of these improvised politicians setting up for divines, quoting the Fathers, laying down the law concerning things spiritual and ecclesiastical, contending for the bringing back of the Church of Christ to the austere simplicity of the apostolic discipline must have raised many a laugh, provoked many a scathing sarcasm from the wits of the Right, while inflicting many a pang too deep to find utterance in satire.

The chief aim of the Civil Constitution, as is apparent at the first glance, was to destroy the authority of the Holy See and sever the Church of France from its guidance and jurisdiction. The bishops elected by the clergy were not even to be allowed "to address themselves to the Bishop of Rome to obtain from him any confirmation." They were to owe their institution solely to the metropolitan, who in his turn was to be controlled by his clergy, and not permitted to refuse institution without having their sanction for so doing.

"It was mere sophistry, it was simply disingenuous," says Mr. Jervis, "to pretend that changes such as these were mere external details, which the civil power had a right to regulate at its pleasure. Rightly or wrongly, the vast majority of Catholics were convinced that spiritual authority, spiritual jurisdiction, spiritual mission, reside in the person and office of the Pope. In their view this was a primary article of faith; and none knew better than the Ecclesiastical Commissioners that, in attempting to abolish that belief, they were doing what must deeply wound the consciences, not only of the bishops and the clergy, but of all the more religiously minded laity throughout France. *But it was precisely in this point that they resolved to take summary and signal vengeance for the "Unigenitus" and all the miseries which had resulted from it for seventy years past.*"

The concluding passage, which we have italicized, contains one of those verdicts which historians of a certain school are prone to deliver on ecclesiastical enactments; but in Mr. Jervis's case his habitual capacity and rectitude of judgment make this erroneous

estimate concerning the *Unigenitus* and its consequences surprising. Indeed, it is hard to believe that Mr. Jervis is quite serious when he credits the uproarious Revolutionary Parliament, intent first on upsetting and then on obliterating every vestige of spiritual authority in the kingdom, with troubling itself about an old theological dispute, and making haste "to take signal and summary vengeance" on behalf of the discomfited Jansenists of seventy years before. The zeal of the Assembly was turned in another direction. True, it allowed, as we have seen, the Jansenist element, strong at that period amongst the lawyers, to enter largely in that mock tribunal entitled the *Comité Ecclesiastique*, but was not this rather because Camus and Treilhard were to the fore as obvious instruments, eager to do the work in hand and serve the Revolution by their hatred to the Church? It was not that the Revolution hated the Jansenists less, but that it hated still more the Church of Rome, whose bitter enemies they were, and it surmised shrewdly enough that to aid and employ those who aimed at separating France from the spiritual jurisdiction of Rome, was a sure and short way towards stamping religion out of the country altogether. If Mr. Jervis were to represent the suppression of the Jesuits by the Parliament of 1762 as an act of vengeance brought about by the Jansenists of that day, there might be some show of reason for the assertion; but to represent the Civil Constitution of the Revolutionary Parliament of 1790 as a tit-for-tat at the *Unigenitus*, is to commit himself to an argument which is refuted by its own absurdity. The bull *Unigenitus* was not the triumph of Jesuitical, but of Catholic doctrine, the doctrine which had never changed, but had been taught by the Church from the beginning. Jansenism was, in reality, a form of the old Novatian heresy, presented in a modern dress to the Pharisees of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and it had been tormenting the Church of France for sixty years before the Holy See formally condemned it. Amongst those who, with Louis XIV. and the Jesuits, had been earnest in demanding that condemnation, were St. Vincent de Paul, M. Olier and the community of St. Sulpice, Bossuet and the doctors of the Sorbonne, Cardinal de Bérulle, etc., in a word all that was most eminent in the Church of France for piety and learning.

The bull *Unigenitus*, which condemned the heresies of Port Royal concerning grace, sin and justification, in no way threatened or entrenched upon the liberties of the Gallican Church; but it was the policy of the Jansenists to pretend that it did, and to set themselves up as the champions of those imperilled liberties. It was in this character that they stood forward in the Assembly. They aimed at breaking up the entire ecclesiastical constitution,

and establishing in its place a "National" Church. The very name witnesses to the fallacy of the idea. A national church is as great an impossibility as a national sun. As God hung the sun in the material heavens that its beams might lighten the whole world, so did He place the Church in the spiritual heavens that it might shine equally to all the nations, irrespective of races, nationalities or governments. The Church can be neither national, nor royal, nor imperial, because Christ made her catholic and universal.

It was at this character of divine and universal supremacy that the Jacobins attempted to strike, when they decreed the sundering of the hierarchy from its dependence on the Holy See. The prelates and Catholic deputies denied, and many of them eloquently disproved, the right of the Assembly to lay hands on these spiritual relations, for it was mere paltry and transparent hypocrisy to pretend that they were not touching the spiritual, while thus tampering with the temporal jurisdiction of the Holy See. The destruction of the former was what they aimed at in attacking the latter. The point at issue was not how many bishops there should be and who should consecrate them, but whether the civil power had not the right to impose laws on the spiritual, and thus uproot, by violating them, the very foundations of the divine organization of the Church.

The champions of the Church fought manfully to avert this sacrilegious violation, urging on the Assembly that to confound the civil with the spiritual jurisdiction would be fatal to both. But the very force of the argument constituted its weak point. The destruction of the spiritual authority, as vested in the Holy See, was precisely what the Jansenists aimed at, while the Jacobins aimed at the overthrow of all authority.

The Civil Constitution was framed with the direct intention of detaching the higher clergy from their lawful head, and exciting a spirit of insubordination amongst the lower clergy towards the higher, than which nothing could be more fatal to the spiritual and social well-being of the Church, nor, consequently, better fitted to work out the purpose of the Assembly.

The Jansenists, had they been accused of complicity with the Revolution in this purpose, would have denied it; but it is none the less certain that in trying to establish a national church on the ruin of the Church universal, they made themselves the active and voluntary agents of the Jacobins. The Abbé Grégoire warned the house to beware of throwing the kingdom into a schism, but admitted that "it was the intention of the Assembly to reduce the authority of the Pope to its proper proportions." The Assembly needed not to be urged in this direction. After several weeks spent in wrangling over the stipends to be allotted to the clergy,

and other minor details, the Civil Constitution was voted with all its clauses on the 12th of July, 1790. All the bill now lacked to give it force of law was the royal sanction.

Louis XVI. was already in communication with Rome on the subject; but steam and electricity had not yet annihilated space, and the answer was necessarily slow in coming. The King, meantime, could scarcely have had any doubt as to what that answer must be. No Catholic instructed in the catechism could suppose that the Holy See would sanction a law which declared monastic vows illegal, which despoiled the clergy, secular and regular, repudiated the authority of Rome altogether in the spiritual and temporal organization of the Church. Pius VI. had up to this point refrained from interfering with current events in France, but he intimated to the King that this silence was not to be construed into indifference or approval, and that he would raise his voice as soon as he felt the moment had arrived for doing so with effect. The King strove to stave off the signing of the Constitution until the promised utterance should have been delivered; his whole soul recoiled from complicity in a deed which was equally repulsive to his conscience as a Catholic and his dignity as a sovereign. Powerful influences were used to strengthen this repugnance and fortify the wavering will of the monarch; Marie Antoinette and the Princess Elizabeth joined with eminent and holy prelates in dissuading him from the fatal concession; but Louis lacked the high-spirited courage of the Queen and that strength of principle which would have enabled him to stand out against the overbearing dictates of the Assembly and the increasing clamor of public opinion. On the 24th of August he signed the death-warrant of the Church of France.

Mr. Jervis points, with an emphasis which implies a certain discreet blame, to the fact that the official condemnation of the Civil Constitution did not come from Rome until the following March. He forgets, in the first place, that a hundred years ago diplomacy was not served by the magic agents now at its command, that a considerable time elapsed before a message could be conveyed from Paris to Rome, and again before an answer could be returned. The question at issue was one of the most momentous which had been raised in the history of the Church, and, before judgment could be delivered, it was essential that every move of importance should be accurately reported and clearly defined, that results, even, to a certain point, should be developed.

He forgets, moreover, that patience and long-suffering silence have been the immemorial policy of that august and supreme power, which is represented by its enemies as ever ready to overrule the legislation of governments and the liberty of nations, and to intermeddle uninvited in mundane affairs. He forgets, again, that the



Mighty Mother does not narrow her vision of human events to the present hour, or limit her scope and action to one place, or time, or people; but, taking her stand upon the watch-tower of eternity, views them as they will affect the great family of the nations to the end of all time.

Without going back to the great Revolution of '93, we see this majestic attitude of the Church exemplified in the petty revolutions of a later date. We see her always Christ-like in her gentleness towards the erring, in her forbearance towards the renegades and the rebels, hoping for their repentance, waiting for their return, believing in them when they have ceased to believe in each other, or in themselves, reckoning with human weakness, human vanity and passion, as no earthly power reckons with them; shrinking to the verge of weakness from irritating the self-love of her enemies, lest it should stand in the way of their return by making submission more painful and difficult. This has ever been the policy of the Church, a policy whose triumphs, even in this world, sometimes illustrate with divine illumination the truth of the beatitude.

Had Louis XVI. waited before signing the Civil Constitution until Rome had formally condemned the revolutionary principles which it embodied, would this abstention have modified the current of events and checked the nation in its headlong downward course? It is impossible even at this distance to venture on an answer to this question. It seems easy, indeed, to speculate in the light of subsequent results on the chances that were in favor of the monarchy, had the King at this critical moment asserted his rights and courageously exercised the royal veto; there was chivalry in the heart of the nation still, both to the throne and to the altar, and a bold and heroic appeal from Louis might have even now turned the tide and saved him—perhaps.

The new system began its operations appropriately enough by violence. The See of Quimper, in Brittany, became vacant, and the electors were at once convoked to proceed to the nomination of a new bishop. The cathedral chapter naturally refused to accept the nominee (who was no other than a member of the Ecclesiastical Committee which had brought about the system under which he was elected), and continued to administer the diocese, *sede vacante*. In a neighboring district an incumbent was presented to a vacant benefice; the local magistrates closed the church door against him, the population broke it open and installed the new pastor triumphantly. These scenes were repeated all over France. The Assembly saw that it had raised a spirit of resistance too widely diffused to be dealt with locally or in individual cases, and that some strong general measure of coercion must be applied.

This resolution took effect in the form of an oath of allegiance

to the Civil Constitution, which was to be compulsory on every ecclesiastic in the kingdom. This oath, which was to include a pledge of "fidelity to the nation, the king, and the new constitution," was to become obligatory within a week from the date of the decree; it was to be taken publicly by every priest throughout France having cure of souls, and was to be administered in all the parish churches at the end of mass, in the presence of the municipal authorities, who were to attest the fact in due form. Any ecclesiastics refusing, or inciting others to refuse to take the oath, were to be punished by the forfeiture of their stipends, to be deprived of their civil rights and declared incapable of any civic function. The words "*Constitution Civile du Clergé*" were to be kept out of the formula, which was perfidiously worded with a view to entrapping the unwary into the belief that they were performing a mere act of adherence to the political constitution, which involved no disloyalty to the spiritual or ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and consequently no surrender of principle in that direction. Mirabeau, in a speech of extraordinary power and rancor, supported the oath. The Abbé Maury denounced it as an act of illegal persecution, and warned the Assembly of the danger of making martyrs of the clergy. Camus followed with a brilliant vituperation of the Papacy, and declared that "the Pope had no right to any authority in the Church of France."

The debate closed, of course, by the adoption of the oath, November 27th, 1790. Louis XVI. was once more called upon for his signature. Helpless, weaker and more bewildered than ever, he implored for a delay, but the Assembly was in no mood to grant it. Marie Antoinette threw herself at his feet with the saintly Princess Elizabeth, and entreated him with tears to withhold his sanction from this last treacherous attack on the faith and conscience of his subjects; but Louis had no strength left but the strength of inertia and despair. He signed the decree. What it cost him to do so was expressed in his bitter exclamation on the morrow: "I had rather be king of Metz than king of France on these conditions; but it must soon come to an end."

The Abbé Grégoire, the day after the royal sanction had been obtained, mounted the tribune and said he was ready to take the oath. He was followed by sixty curés. Talleyrand and Gobel, bishop of Lydda, were the first members of the hierarchy to follow this initiative. The bishop of Clermont arose and proceeded to say that he would take the oath on the distinct understanding that it did not include the authority of the Assembly in spiritual matters. He was roared down at once. Cries of "The oath, pure and simple!" cut short every attempt he made to explain, and the house announced that the delay to "ecclesiastical public function-

aries" for taking the oath would expire the next day. That next day's sitting was a memorable one in the Assembly. Grégoire tried to rally the clergy to his side, protesting, amidst the suppressed murmurs of the house, that the oath was not incompatible with the integrity of principle, "as the Assembly did not pretend to judge men's consciences, or even demand an internal assent." The agitation at last grew so boisterous and threatening that it spread from the house to the street without, and Bailly, the mayor of Paris, was sent for to maintain order amidst the excited populace. More than two thirds of the clerical deputies refused to take the oath, "giving a noble lesson," says Mr. Jervis, "of faithfulness to the obligations of conscience at the expense of worldly interests, and winning an irrefragable title to the honors of confessorship." Mirabeau himself paid a tribute to their merit, exclaiming: "We have seized their property, but they have preserved their honor!"

One result was at once achieved by the compulsory ministration of the oath, it divided the clergy into two hostile camps—the *assermentés* and *non-assermentés*. The Revolution had now made the threatened schism a fact. It was announced that on the following Sunday the clergy of the metropolis were to take the oath. Bailly and his police officers repaired to Notre Dame in great pomp, to administer it to the clergy of the cathedral. The six vicars-general refused it in a body; the theological seminaries next followed, including the one thousand eight hundred doctors of the Sorbonne, and likewise refused to swear.

At St. Sulpice the clergy, forty-six in number, all refused the oath. The mob rushed into the church, violently maltreated the venerable curé, whom they dragged down from the pulpit and would have killed but for the timely help of some national guards. In other churches the clergy exhibited the same firmness and loyalty, and the mob the same savage violence. Similar scenes were enacted in the provinces. Everywhere the decree was enforced with ruthless severity. Those who refused the oath were not only deprived of office, but prohibited from officiating as priests at all, and any disobedience in this respect was to be visited with penalties which amounted to deprivation of all means of existence.

But the great difficulty of the new system had yet to be faced and overcome; this was the consecration of the new bishops. Nearly one hundred Sees were suddenly vacant, owing to forced resignations. It had been urged with emphatic iteration that, according to the custom of antiquity, the right of institution belonged exclusively to the metropolitan of the province, but now that the Assembly called upon the metropolitans to exert their fallacious right, they refused to do so. Finding every attempt to persuade them unavailing, the Assembly abandoned its strong

point of primitive custom, and decreed that any *assermenté* bishops throughout France might confer canonical institution on any *assermenté* priest without the consent of the metropolitan.

Cazalès courageously denounced in the house the monstrous absurdity and peril of this decree, which must lead inevitably "to the miseries of schism and religious strife. The people will begin to have doubts," he said, "of the validity of the sacraments. . . . You will see Catholics wending over the face of the country in pursuit of their persecuted ministers. . . . Ought you to hesitate to withdraw a decree which must needs produce so many and such great misfortunes?" But the time was long past for such warnings and appeals. The schism was already accomplished, the clergy were divided, and their flocks were already a prey to cruel and distracting doubts. On the whole, the majority was on the side of loyalty. Out of the fifty-two curés of Paris twenty-nine refused to take the oath, and out of the six hundred and seventy priests ministering in the capital four hundred and thirty did likewise. "This majority," observes Mr. Jervis, "is the more remarkable when we consider that, on the one hand, the clergy were plied with all the arts and cajoleries addressed to their natural feelings and self-interest, while, on the other hand, they were exposed to a system of intimidation, the effects of which became more formidable with each day's experience. It must be recollected in addition that no authoritative condemnation of the oath had as yet been promulgated by the Holy See."

The consecration of the new bishops was proceeding with what haste it could. Gobel, bishop of Lydda, the first with Talleyrand to take the oath, had been, as a reward, named to the Archiepiscopal See of Paris, but he could find no one to give him institution. He applied in vain to several of his brother prelates, who had themselves taken the oath, but recoiled from this open breach of ecclesiastical law and discipline. Gobel was finally driven to apply to the magistrates to help him, and they ordered Talleyrand to perform the function. Talleyrand had no more authority to confer the institution than the magistrates themselves, but he gave his services for the occasion, and "amidst salvos of artillery and an imposing parade of civil and military authorities," Gobel was solemnly enthroned as Archbishop of Paris at Notre Dame.

This notable performance closed Talleyrand's ecclesiastical career. He felt probably that the game, as regarded his priestly vocation, was played out, and that the time had come for discarding that rôle and starting in a new one.

Gobel, in his character of metropolitan, next imposed hands on Grégoire, who had been named Bishop of Cher-et-Loire. Mr. Jervis speaks of this ecclesiastic as "beyond comparison the most

distinguished member of the Constitutional episcopate, in respect of general ability and learning, and more especially as to the depth and consistency of religious principles." He assigns at best but a pitiable eminence to Grégoire in placing him at the head of those false or faint-hearted prelates who deserted to the enemies of the Church, either from the lowest motives of self-interest, like their leader, Talleyrand, or from cowardice, or wavering faith; but admitting that Grégoire was honest in the first instance, that he started, like other deluded enthusiasts, with a belief in the exalted motives and salutary purpose of the national movement, it is impossible to believe in "the depth and consistency of the religious principles" of the man who clung to the Revolution when it furled its flag of liberty and generous reform, plunged into unparalleled criminal license, and proclaimed itself the uncompromising enemy of God and religion.

When all the vacant Sees were filled up, the difficulty of finding *curés* for the vacant parishes still remained to be coped with. No orthodox priests would, of course, obey the call of the Constitutional bishops, but there was no lack of *assermentés* ready to take their places. "The elections were for the most part anomalous and disorderly. It was impossible to exercise anything like due discrimination; those who offered themselves were accepted without question, and the result was that the vacancies were filled by a motley crew of monks who had broken their vows and quitted their convents, of ex-professors, unsuccessful and inefficient schoolmasters, of needy adventurers, little troubled by considerations of principle or conscience, provided they could secure the means of subsistence, and of priests who for various causes had incurred ecclesiastical censure. Prudhomme, the new bishop of Mans, was reduced to such straits in order to complete his list of clergy, that he gladly welcomed a troop of young ecclesiastical students who had been dismissed from other dioceses for misconduct, and after a residence of a fortnight in his seminary admitted them to Holy Orders."

No wonder the populations fought shy of such pastors. In many localities the utmost efforts of the authorities failed to force the people to accept their ministrations, or enter the churches where they said mass. After some few months the Constitutional clergy fell into such discredit that in desperation they turned on the orthodox priests and accused them of exciting the faithful against them, whereas they themselves, the non-jurors, were the men who deserved to be denounced as traitors to their country, aristocrats and rebels. The non-jurors retorted by warning the faithful against pastors who had no valid authority for ministering to them, and whose commission was schismatical.

This antagonism soon vented itself in open violence. In Paris, the chapel of the Sisters of Charity, which was served by non-juring priests, was attacked by the mob, who scourged and beat the nuns and drove them out into the streets, mad with pain and terror. Similar outrages were perpetrated in many other quarters. The framers of the *Constitution Civile* began to perceive that they had raised a fiend who was too strong and too lawless to be trusted as an auxiliary. They saw with dismay that their splendid achievement met with approval only from a turbulent minority, that the bulk of the people stood aloof from it, aggrieved and hostile, and, what was more alarming still, that clearsighted partisans of the Revolution were already condemning it as a rash and fatal transaction. "Your detestable *Constitution du Clergé*," said Mirabeau to Camus, "will destroy the Constitution that we are making for ourselves."

This confusion and the disappointment of the authorities were further heightened by the appearance of the Papal brief, "*Caritas*," which Rome, true to her policy of magnanimity and patience, had withheld till April, 1791, four months from the date of the enforced oath to the Civil Constitution. The brief definitively condemns the principles of the *Constitution Civile*, the schismatical act of Talleyrand and those who followed his example in consecrating the schismatical bishops, and ends by an earnest exhortation to the orthodox clergy to remain bravely at their posts, and to the faithful to avoid all communion with the false shepherds who had been placed over them by illegal powers. This mandate from the Holy See was followed immediately by numerous recantations of the oath from those who had taken it under momentary weakness of conscience or judgment. The Assembly, frightened by the effect of this second brief, relaxed its tyranny against the Holy See, and took some steps to check, or seem to check, the onset of the Revolution against the Church. But its master move was the repudiation of the two briefs as false. They had not been addressed to the Council according to established custom, and there was no nuncio at Paris to act as medium of communication between the Holy See and the Church; these circumstances gave a coloring of truth to the charge of non-authenticity, and led to a confusion which disturbed the minds of honest people who had no direct means of assuring themselves of the orthodoxy of the documents.

Camus was too wise and well-informed to doubt for a moment the authenticity of the briefs, but he feigned to do so, and attacked the Papal utterances, declaring that, even if authentic, the Pope had no right to interfere in France or to condemn the acts of the Constitution.

Persecution grew bolder and fiercer every day. Enraged at the

preference of the people for the non-juring priests, the Assembly determined to take more wholesale measures for getting rid of them. A law was accordingly passed whereby, at the petition of any twenty residents, any such priest might be banished by the local magistrate within twenty-four hours, the least delay or opposition on the part of the priest to be visited with prompt and stringent penalties. The Jacobins knew that Louis would in all probability refuse to sanction this draconian decree, which was passed simultaneously with one disbanding the Royal Guard and ordering the formation of a camp of twenty thousand *fédérés* under the walls of Paris, "in hopes," says De Moleville, "that the King would reject them," and thus precipitate his own downfall.

Louis was, indeed, in a state of mind bordering on distraction. He had never been the same from the fatal moment when he signed the Civil Constitution, and now that resistance to further exactions was too late to avail, he found courage to resist. When the document was presented for his sanction, he affixed the royal veto to it, and dissolved the Cabinet. General Dumouriez, who remained in office some few days after his colleagues, used his influence to make Louis sign the decree, urging that, after having accepted the Civil Constitution, it was worse than folly to draw back now.

"Yes, I committed a great fault," replied Louis, mournfully, "and I reproach myself for it." And so Dumouriez pleaded in vain.

This veto of the King was almost the last act of royal prerogative exercised by Louis XVI. It was performed on the 19th of June, and was answered on the morrow by the *émeute* of the Faubourg St. Antoine. The mob invaded the Tuileries, burst open the doors of the King's apartment, and ordered him to recall the ministry and sign the decrees. In this extremity the kinghood rose up in Louis; he faced the rioters without quailing, and declared that violence should never extract from him a concession injurious to the welfare of his subjects. In less than two months later, he was deposed and a prisoner, and the Assembly ruled that the decrees which he had refused to sanction should have force of law.

Mr. Jervis here, as through the course of the whole history, introduces passages of the stormy debates of the house with a skill of selection which adds singularly to the brilliancy and force of his narrative; he makes us read on with the breathless interest that we feel in some actual occurrence of our own day, combined with the fascination of a powerful historical romance.

That must truly have been a sensational *séance* when Tallien arose, terrified the Assembly with the announcement that in a few days the soil "would be purged of the presence of every refractory priest," and Danton roared out in his stentorian tones: "Yes, the tocsin is about to sound the signal for a general onslaught on

the enemies of France." A scheme of wholesale massacre was, in fact, quickly set on foot. On the night of the 29th, two days after this sitting, domiciliary visits were made in Paris, three thousand persons, chiefly priests and religious, were arrested, and every prison filled to bursting. The butchery began on the 2d of September. The first victims were twenty-three priests, who were conveyed from the Mairie to the Abbaye and butchered there. At the Carmelite Convent of the Rue Vaugirard, one hundred and fifteen were slaughtered.

Next day, nearly one hundred priests were massacred at the Seminary of St. Firmin; others at La Force, and "six hundred were burned alive on the Place Dauphiné."<sup>1</sup> Throughout the provinces blood flowed in torrents during these dreadful days. The Revolution, like a drunken savage, seemed possessed of a demon of murder.

The Assembly, having now deposed the King, found itself in a difficulty concerning the civic oath. It was a palpable absurdity to make men swear "fidelity to the King," when royalty was abolished, so the formula was altered to a pledge to maintain, to the utmost of their power, liberty and equality. The question had now to be answered, whether this new oath was compatible with the conscience of a Catholic and a priest. It seemed, on the face of it, *no* more than an adhesion to the *political* principles on which the Revolution had first started. Many of the most respected of the orthodox clergy viewed it in this light, and were of opinion that it might be adopted. The venerable Abbé Emery took this view; but, with his usual docility to the Holy See, he declined to pronounce one way or the other until Rome had spoken, or at any rate until some directions could be obtained from the bishops. It was not, however, easy to obtain advice from either of these sources; distance, and the difficulties and obstacles and perils in the way of communication, interfered between the consulting party and the counsellors, and a decision had to be come to which admitted of no delay. Numbers of his holiest and most esteemed brethren entreated the Abbé Emery to take upon himself the responsibility of deciding for them, and to authorize them by his personal example to take the oath. If they refused it, there was nothing for them but the alternative of starvation or the plague-stricken shores of Cayenne, while their exile would be to thousands of Catholics the deprivation of all sacramental succor and spiritual consolation.

The Abbé, in sore perplexity, applied to those in the Assembly who had drawn up the new formula, and being positively assured by them that the terms "liberty and equality" were to be understood simply as the repudiation of a despotic covenant and invidious

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<sup>1</sup> We leave to Mr. Jervis the responsibility of this statement, which we have not been able to verify from any of the sources at hand.



privileges, he consented to take the oath without further hesitation. His example was followed by numbers of the vicars-general, the congregation of St. Sulpice, and the clergy of Paris. Unfortunately, this led to a controversy between those of the clergy who took the oath and those who refused to take it. These latter censured the Abbé Emery, who replied that he had done what his conscience dictated under the circumstances, and that he was ready to retract the moment the Holy See notified its disapproval. Meanwhile, the oath was taken by the majority of the *non-assermentés* throughout France. The Abbé Emery's conduct was no doubt justified by the advantages which the orthodox clergy thus acquired in the exercise of their ministry; but the compromise which resulted in these advantages also produced many evils. The clergy and the faithful grew perplexed on the subject of the oaths; many confounded the new formula with the old one, and the ministrations of orthodox priests were rejected because they were supposed to have taken the oath of allegiance to the Civil Constitution. Some of the clergy had taken both oaths, some had rejected both; some had taken the first and refused the second; others had rejected the first, while they complied with the second. This anomalous state of things had at any rate one good result: it showed up the proceedings of the Assembly and its ecclesiastical legislation as the farce they were, and made the Revolution appear grotesque as well as brutal in its excesses.

It soon became evident that those who had taken the second oath had made a useless concession, and that nothing short of apostatizing, and throwing in their lot with the Revolution, would appease its savage hate. Priests who had taken the oath were arrested, exiled, or guillotined. The Abbé Emery himself was in prison before many months, and was detained there for a year and a half, his name being day after day smuggled off the list of doomed prisoners who were called for to be tried for their life.

Fresh edicts were fulminated against the priests, surpassing in ferocity all previous ones. A general edict was issued ordering them to quit France within forty-eight hours. Those apprehended in the country after this delay, were to be executed within four and twenty hours. Priests were conveyed in batches on convict-ships to the deadly swamps of West Africa, suffering on the voyage every species of cruelty and indignity.

In contrast to this barbarous treatment at the hands of France and her government, the persecuted clergy met with boundless hospitality and sympathy in other countries. Some two thousand of them reached the Pontifical States, and received there from Pius VI. the welcome of a father and a prince. Catholic Spain opened her arms to the exiles, and her bishops and clergy gave to

the world a noble example of evangelical hospitality. The Austrian Netherlands were not behindhand in this generous competition, and such was the kindly zeal of the Swiss mountaineers that there were numerous instances of young men and women going out to service in order to make room in their straitened homes for the perishing wanderers from France. After citing abundant proofs of the kindness of other nations, it is permissible to quote the Abbé Barruel's testimony to the charity exercised by Protestant England toward the Gallican clergy. "It was necessary," says the Abbé, in his *Histoire du Clergé*, "to have lived three years in the midst of French Constitutionalists, Maratists, and Jacobins of every description, in order to appreciate the refreshment and enjoyment which the first aspect of these Englishmen imparted to our priests on their arrival." He enters into details of the hospitality tendered to himself and his fellow-exiles, and describes how crowds of strange but welcoming faces met them at the harbor, and disputed the privilege of entertaining them, "seeming," he declares, "more anxious about our means of subsistence than we were ourselves." Conveyances were placed at the exiles' disposal, and those who were anxious to reach London were taken there free of expense; country houses were opened to others, money was placed in their hands, and nothing was left undone to soften the miseries of their position. The number of the *émigrés* increased with such rapidity that it was soon found necessary to organize measures on a large scale for dealing with their wants. The royal residence at Westminster, called "King's House," was placed at the permanent disposal of as many French priests as it would hold, and a committee was formed for collecting funds under government patronage for their support. There were soon six thousand French priests in England and Jersey, but in proportion to the strain put upon the public generosity, the relief increased. The committee, in ministering to the needs of the exiles, bore witness to the courage, fortitude, and gentleness which they exhibited amidst their trials. "Not content with vying with each other in the most rigid parsimony," said the commissioners, "they have evinced an unintermitting anxiety to lessen, by every effort in their power, the weight of their charge upon the community." Mr. Bowdler, the Protestant president of the committee of relief, declared that the suffering clergy spoke of their banishment and privations "with the feelings of men, but with the piety and resignation of Christians."

In striking contradiction to this exemplary conduct of the persecuted priesthood of France abroad, was that of their Constitutional brethren at home. The majority of these latter had taken wives, or were leading scandalously immoral lives; many had thrown off the restraints of religious belief altogether, and openly professed

infidelity ; a certain number apostatized, and appealed to the Assembly for pensions, on the score that they had renounced the profession of lies and abominations by which they had been gaining a livelihood, and with which the Church had for centuries been demoralizing humanity. " We advance from miracle to miracle," wrote the commissioners Lequino and Laignelot, from La Rochelle, " eight functionaries of the Catholic worship, with a Protestant minister, *unpriested themselves* on Thursday last, in the presence of the whole population, in the temple of truth, heretofore the parish church. . . . They tested their oaths by burning their letters of priesthood in a vase full of incense. All the people, Catholics and Protestants, swore, with acclamations, to forget their ancient superstitions. . . . A large picture of the Rights of Man is about to replace the tabernacles of ridiculous and childish mysteries, and other pictures on the walls will commemorate the Constitutional act."

The abjuration of Talleyrand's anointed, the Constitutional bishop, Gobel, soon followed these disgraceful scenes. The unhappy old man was, in truth, but the tool of the Jacobins, and the victim of his own cowardly weakness.

Hébert and several of his confederates repaired in the night-time to Gobel's house, waked him up, and informed him that he must on the morrow go to the Convention and publicly abjure and deny Jesus Christ, and proclaim his religion a tissue of lies and absurdities. The terrified old man fell on his knees, and implored them not to exact this act of sacrilege from him ; he clung to them, he rolled on the floor in agonies of despair, but the answer to his cries was, " Thou must do it or die." He was not prepared for the alternative, so the next day he gave to the world the grotesque and monstrous spectacle of his public apostasy, and walked out of the Convention with a red cap on his head in place of the mitre which he had cast down and dishonored.

Twenty other Constitutional bishops followed Gobel's example, and publicly abjured Christianity in language of the foulest blasphemy. These personal apostasies were the prelude to the diabolical farce enacted at Notre Dame, when a naked woman was enthroned on the altar of the true God.

In the other churches of Paris similar abominations were perpetrated, notably in the venerable old church of St. Sulpice, where a blaspheming fanatic rushed into the pulpit and defied the Almighty to strike him dead for denying His existence. " He strikes not !" cried the maniac ; " therefore it is manifest that He does not exist !" The popular madness had now reached the flood-mark, which was the signal for it to pause and to recede. Robespierre saw this, and his political instinct, quickened by personal hatred of Hébert, the prophet of the Goddess Reason, prompted

him to stand forward and denounce this persecution that was being carried on in the name of Atheism. At a sitting of the Jacobin Club, November 20th, 1793, he made a speech in which he declared that Atheism was aristocratic, whereas "the idea of a great Being who watches over oppressed innocence and punishes triumphant wickedness is altogether popular. If God did not exist it would be necessary to invent Him."

The fête of the Supreme Being followed in June as the practical development of this blasphemous *credo*. Before the year was out Robespierre's head fell under the knife of the guillotine, and the Revolution received its death-blow.

Robespierre's death, which opened the prison doors all over France, came in time to save the Abbé Emery, who had been for seventeen months in daily expectation of being led to the scaffold. During all that time the old paladin priest had been doing the work of an apostle amongst his fellow-prisoners in the Conciergerie, instructing, converting, consoling, and encouraging them. Writing to the Holy Father after his liberation, the Abbé Emery assures him that numbers of the Constitutional priests who were in prison with him, and left it for the scaffold, died penitent, retracted their oath before the tribunal, and were through his ministry reconciled to the Church. Of the eight schismatical bishops, including Gobel, who died by the guillotine, the majority made their confession and recantation into the Abbé Emery's hands. The Revolution had been mortally stricken when Robespierre fell, but it was not yet killed; it lingered on like a wounded wild beast, convulsed and still infuriated in its agonies. Tallien, Barras, Fouché, Thibaudeau, and Barère were not inclined to repeal the draconian edicts of the Terror. The Jacobin clubs and committees, that had held the country gagged, bound, and bridled, a contemptible minority tyrannizing and terrorizing an overwhelming majority, were still in force, and the Directoire which replaced the Convention carried on its work of anti-Christian persecution with undiminished malignity, though with a change of formulas. The Goddess Reason and the Supreme Being were deposed, and the churches were opened in certain places. The first day that the Holy Sacrifice was offered up openly in the great cities is fitly described as "a day of general resurrection." But the Republic, which proclaimed that it "recognized no form of religion and took no account of priests," was not to let this joyous dawn grow into the full light of noon. Just as the Church and the faithful were beginning to breathe, the *coup d'état* of 18th Fructidor (September, 1795) came to dash down the cup of peace and unsheathe the sword once more. The use of church bells was forbidden, and vast numbers of priests were again seized and thrown into prison; the Decade

was substituted for Sunday, the Gregorian calendar was abolished, a new oath was exacted from the orthodox clergy, incompatible with their conscience, and other intolerable conditions were imposed on them.

Things seemed on the point of plunging into more inextricable confusion than ever when the remnant of the Constitutional bishops who had escaped the guillotine, had recourse to the idea of a national council which was to discuss and adjust all differences between the orthodox and schismatical clergy, and between both these again and the state. This curious assembly, of which the Abbé Grégoire was to be the moving spirit, was inaugurated with great pomp at Notre Dame on the feast of the Assumption. A mock attempt was made to obtain the co-operation or approval of the Holy See; but naturally Pius VI. ignored the whole proceedings. The Directoire avenged the national council for this affront by at once ordering the French troops to seize the Pontiff, then in his eighty-third year, paralyzed and stricken with many painful infirmities, and to remove him from Rome to Valence. Throughout the journey of sixty days the "citizen Pope," as the Republican escort styled him, was treated like a convict of the lowest class, lodged in rooms which were purposely ornamented with engravings of loathsome immorality, and reduced to such straits of poverty that he was obliged to sell the silver buckles off his shoes. He reached Valence in the last stage of exhaustion and suffering, lingered there for a year in captivity, and died with a blessing on his lips.

It seemed now truly that the gates of hell had prevailed, that the Papacy was destroyed forever, and the triumph of the Revolution secure. But once again that triumph was to be frustrated. A Nemesis was at hand in the person of the brilliant young captain, whose victorious fame had clothed him with the prestige of a demigod in the dazzled eyes of his countrymen.

Bonaparte, with the electric instinct of genius, felt that the Revolution had run its course, that France, in stamping the Church out of her midst, had, to use Talleyrand's expression, "taken out our bones," and that the first step towards reconstructing this maimed and mutilated body was to put the bones back again. The *coup d'état* of the Orangerie put the young hero at the head of the nation, and he set promptly to work to quell the strife of parties and passions that was still raging fiercely all over the country. Flushed by victory, with a sense of universal power, he proceeded to sweep away the vexatious laws and barriers that had been created by the Jacobins. The absurd Decade was abolished, as well as the oath of hatred to royalty. The churches were opened definitively and the priesthood relieved from the harassing legisla-

tion which had so long pursued them. Bonaparte, who had the unerring intuition of a born ruler of men, knew that men were only to be ruled by that curb of inward assent to a divine law, without which outward barriers are of little avail. "Men who have no God are not governable," he said long after at St. Helena. "I saw those men at work in '93; you don't govern them; you shoot them down." He meant to govern Frenchmen, so he determined to call in the Church as the most efficient of police to assist him in the task. For this purpose he opened negotiations with the Holy See in order to find a *modus vivendi* which should reconcile the new order of things, mended by him, with the immutable exactions of the Church. Pius VII. was far more desirous to bring about this reconciliation than Bonaparte himself, and Cardinal Consalvi was promptly dispatched to Paris to treat with the man who held the destinies of France in his hand. Bonaparte received the Papal legate with the utmost cordiality, but when it came to adjusting the rights and principles of the Church with the requirements of his own despotic policy, the First Consul unmasked his batteries and showed the real motive of his conciliating overtures. His conduct throughout the whole transaction offers an example of violence, bad faith, insolence, and audacity unparalleled in history. Lying was a weapon that Bonaparte had always used as freely as grape-shot, so much so that "to lie like a bulletin" became a popular saying in the *grande armée*, and this weapon he employed unscrupulously in dealing with the Holy See.

The history of the Concordat is ably and interestingly summarized by Mr. Jervis, and with remarkable appreciation of facts and characters. He shows us, on the one side, Consalvi, shrewd, lofty-minded, patient, courteous, eager for conciliation and ready to embrace it at every cost save that of principle, and imbued with a faith in the good faith of his adversary which from a noble nature must have called out a worthy response; and, on the other hand, Bonaparte, treacherous, imperious, and violent, demeaning himself by turns like a maniac, a mountebank, and a hypocrite, indulging in outbursts of frenzied rage, in tricks and threats and cajolery, ignoring every principle but expediency, crushing every argument by his overpowering personality, and having recourse to deliberate fraud in the end when every other means had failed him. A copy of the treaty, which had received the approval of Bonaparte himself and of the Papal legate, was about to be officially signed by both, when luckily Consalvi discovered that the document had been falsified, and laid down the pen with an exclamation of dismay. Bernier, Talleyrand, and Portalis sheltered themselves behind the First Consul, whose characteristic defence of the fraud was that so long

as a document was not signed "one always had a right to make changes."

The grand obstacle that stood in the way of a final arrangement was the question of the new hierarchy which was to replace the ancient one suppressed by the Revolution. Ten metropolitan and fifty suffragan sees were to be created, and the Cardinal Legate was to be empowered to give canonical institution to the new prelates. But here an insuperable difficulty presented itself, *i. e.*, that of bringing about a compromise between the orthodox clergy and the *assermentés*, between the confessors who had bravely stood to their colors, and risked all and lost all save life in their loyalty to the Church, and those faithless servants who had deserted her in the storm. These latter, it is true, professed themselves penitent and were humbly petitioning to be received back to their allegiance. Both Consalvi and the Abbé Bernier were prepared to go to the utmost limits in admitting the sincerity of their repentance and the honesty of the alleged motives which had led them astray; but it was indispensable before they could be appointed pastors over the faithful that they should make not merely a sincere but a public and complete recantation of their errors.

Bonaparte and the Jacobins fought with all their might and all their authority to save the Constitutionals from this bitter humiliation; but Consalvi was implacable. "They must confess and retract their errors," he maintained, "and declare that they accept the decrees of the Holy See relating to the affairs of France, that is, the briefs condemning the civil constitution and the unlawful ordinations which took place under its sanction."

With this ultimatum the Cardinal Legate quitted Paris and returned to Rome to submit the long-contested treaty to the Holy See. Pius VII. had been prepared from the starting to make every concession within the limits of theological possibility in order to restore France to Christianity and heal the breach made between the nation and the Church by the Revolution, but when it came to actually signing the Concordat his courage almost failed. He held the pen in his hand for a moment, and exclaimed with unconcealed emotion: "I will sign it, but in doing so I am going to the very gates of hell!"

The mighty and momentous transaction received the Papal sanction on the 15th of August, 1801, and Cardinal Caprara was dispatched with the document to the First Consul in the capacity of Papal Legate.

No signature, however, could insure Bonaparte's good faith, or bind him to the loyal fulfilment of his plighted word. He at once opened out again the burning question of the recantation of the Constitutionals, and the battle that had been so long and painfully

contested, had to be fought all over again. The result was that five months elapsed between the signing of the Concordat by the Pope and its presentation to the Chambers. When finally it was submitted to them, it was not in its integral form as it had come from Rome, but with a superadded text called *Articles Organiques*, an appendage which, as Consalvi remarks in his *Mémoires*, "almost entirely overturned the new edifice which we had taken so much pains to build up. Whatever the Concordat had exacted in favor of the liberty of the Church and its worship was once more brought into question by means of the Gallican jurisprudence, and the Church of France had good reason to fear that she might soon find herself reduced to slavery."

The indignation of Pius VII. on learning the swindle that had been practiced upon him was equal to his dismay. He at once protested solemnly in the Consistory against this fresh manoeuvre of the First Consul, to whom his protestation was speedily transmitted. But Bonaparte ignored it. He coolly issued a proclamation summoning France to rejoice at the restoration of the Catholic Church, and a solemn festival was forthwith held at Notre Dame to celebrate the reconciliation of the nation with the Holy See.

Pius VII. was deeply wounded by this conduct and wrote an autograph letter to the First Consul, in which he appealed to his honor and good faith to cancel the enactments which the Holy See was credited in France with having sanctioned, while it condemned and deplored them. To this, Bonaparte returned an evasive answer, but assured the Pope that the Organic Articles could in no way interfere with the execution of the Concordat. This assurance was both treacherous and untrue. The Organic Articles were a petty, vexatious and ridiculous piece of legislation, framed, not, we will grant, for the express purpose of impeding the execution of the Concordat, but as a means of escaping from it, and counteracting it in case of need. For instance, Art. 1 rules, "No bull, brief, decree, mandate, provision, signature serving as a provision, nor other expeditions from the court of Rome, *even concerning individuals*, can be received, published, printed or otherwise put into execution, without the authorization of the Government."

Art. 3. "The decrees of foreign synods, even those of the General Councils, cannot be published in France until the Government shall have examined them," etc.

Art. 4. "No national or metropolitan council, or diocesan synod, no deliberating assembly can take place without the express permission of the Government."

Art. 11. "Archbishops and bishops may, *with the authorization*



of the Government, found Cathedral chapters and seminaries in their dioceses, but all other ecclesiastical establishments are prohibited."

Art. 12. "Archbishops and bishops may take the title of citizen or monsieur, but all other qualifications are forbidden."

Art. 17 rules that every nominee for a bishopric "shall be examined in doctrine by a bishop and two priests named by the First Consul, the examiners to send up a report of the examination to the councillor of state charged with matters concerning worship."

Art. 20. "Bishops cannot leave their dioceses without the permission of the First Consul."

Art. 25. "The bishops are to send in every year to his councillor of state the names of those seminarists who are destined to the ecclesiastical state."

Art. 26. "The bishops can ordain no one until the person to be ordained shall have been approved by the Government."

Art. 39. "There is to be but one liturgy and one catechism for all the Catholic churches of France."

These few extracts from the *Articles Organiques* will suffice to show the drift and animus of the instrument which was presented and printed as "*une Convention passée le 26 Messidor, an IX., entre le pape et le gouvernement français*," and which Protestant writers are apt to speak of as having been recognized and accepted by the Holy See. The Pope, as we have seen, indignantly denounced the imposition from the first, and never ceased to denounce it. His successors have repudiated the Organic Articles with the same absolute and unqualified denial; they have been willing to let them fall into oblivion, as a law that has become obsolete without having been repealed, but from time to time the voice of the Holy See has continued to be raised in protest against them as an illegitimate and intolerable piece of legislation, calculated to interfere at every step with the dignity and freedom of action secured to the Church of France by the Concordat.

Having thus *posed* himself as the patron of the Holy See and the restorer of religion, Bonaparte claimed his reward. He invited Pius VII. to come and crown him Emperor of France. The invitation, though couched in a style of filial deference, was in reality the command of a despot who meant to enforce it. Pius VII. was willing to acknowledge the benefits which his high-handed patronage had secured to the Church, but what chiefly inclined him to condescend to the imperial demand, was the hope of obtaining the suppression of the *Articles Organiques*, a bait that was held out to him from France, and which those around him were of opinion he should make every possible sacrifice to secure. The Pope, moreover, was anxious to apply a salve to the wound, as yet but partially closed, between the two classes of the clergy, and to con-

sole the faithful, sorely tried by the schism, which still lingered on and disturbed the peace of many. These various motives combined to decide him to accede to Bonaparte's request.

The story of the Papal visit, from the moment the Sovereign Pontiff set foot on French soil to the day he left, reads like a chapter from some mediæval romance, in which fact and fiction, the sublime and the ridiculous, the pathetic and the grotesque, are curiously interwoven.

An initial ceremony, which Pius VII. insisted upon as an indispensable prelude to the gorgeous apotheosis of the coronation, was the religious marriage of Bonaparte with Josephine. With great reluctance the Emperor-elect consented to the ceremony, but exacted that it should be performed with the utmost secrecy, at midnight. The darkness, the mystery which presided over the whole scene, the nervous anxiety of the wife, already trembling for her position at the moment when it was, to all appearances, being magnificently assured, her entreaties for the certificate, which Cardinal Fesch was so strangely reluctant to deliver, the passionate throbbing of two human hearts diversely agitated with ambition and with love, with trust and treachery, all this is as the drama within the comedy, "the life within the life," and lends a touch of nature to the semi-barbaric pageant in which the two were to play their splendid rôle on the morrow.

The sun rose merrily on the 2d of December, 1804, and it was under a cloudless sky that the hero of a hundred fights wended his way to the old cathedral and took his seat on the golden throne prepared for him. The rite proceeded amidst artillery and music. The Pope, who had come from the Eternal City on purpose to place the crown upon his head, raised the symbol of sovereignty from the altar, but Bonaparte took it quietly from his uplifted hands, and laid it on his own head.

Pius VII. having so far condescended to the wishes of the Emperor, looked anxiously for the compensations he had been led to expect, but they were not forthcoming. When he demanded the fulfilment of the promise that the Catholic religion should be declared dominant in France, he was answered that such a measure would be imprudent, and was, moreover, unnecessary, seeing that the fact of the imperial family being Catholic constituted the national religion Catholic. As to the suppression of the Articles, it was not even to be discussed.

Pius VII. returned to Rome, after a sojourn of five months in France, without having gained the smallest political advantage in any direction. The only substantial concessions he obtained from the newly-crowned successor of Charlemagne, were the re-establishment of the Christian Brothers, the Marists, and the Sisters of

St. Vincent of Pául, and an increase in the stipend of the lower clergy.

As soon as the Sovereign Pontiff had left his dominions, Napoleon gave him to understand that his position henceforth was to be that of chief almoner to the empire, and his duty to assist the Emperor to govern the conscience of the French nation through the instrumentality of the Holy See. He began by styling himself "Emperor of Rome," in addressing the Pope, and proceeded to make the most extravagant claims of sovereignty; amongst other things, he exacted that all subjects of those nations with whom France was at war, should be expelled from Rome, and their vessels ordered out of all the Roman ports. To this preposterous demand Pius VII. gave an emphatic refusal. He replied that he recognized no distinction of nationalities; those who were at war with Napoleon were just as much his children as those who were at peace with him. Threats and promises having failed to move him from this principle, Napoleon had recourse to his usual natural argument of brute force. On February 2d the French troops entered Rome, planted their flag on the Castle of St. Angelo and a battery in front of the Quirinal, took the Pope prisoner, and carried him away to Savona.

When, however, he had got thus far, Napoleon, to his surprise, found that there was a fortress within the fortress which refused to surrender to his arms, that he had come into collision with a will as resolute as his own. The Concordat was the listed field where these opposing wills once more met and pitted their strength one against the other. In the Concordat it was provided that the bishops who were named by the Emperor should receive institution from the Pope, a prerogative which had been violated by the civil constitution, and whose violation had been the chief cause of calling down the anathema of the Holy See on that scheme. A number of sees were now vacant, and the nominees of the Emperor awaited the sanction of the Pope, who refused to grant it. This resistance lasted ten months. At the end of that time there were twenty-seven sees vacant, among them the Archiepiscopal See of Paris.

The Emperor brought the whole weight of his influence and authority to bear on Pius VII. in order to compel his approval of the prelates-elect, but in vain. The Pope replied that he was a close prisoner, deprived of all assistance from his legitimate counsellors, cut off from communication with those sources of information that should guide his judgment; he was bereft even of the services of his secretary; under these conditions he could not, in conscience, accede to the imperial appeal. Napoleon, upon this, determined to fill up the vacant sees without more ado. He

sent for Cardinal Fesch to Fontainebleau, and ordered him to become Archbishop of Paris.

"Sire," replied the Cardinal, "I must wait for canonical institution from the Holy Father."

Napoleon, exasperated by this combined opposition to his will, flew into one of his imperial rages, and commanded the Cardinal to obey him.

"Sire, *potius mori!*" was the sturdy reply; whereupon the Emperor, purposely misunderstanding him, retorted:

"*Potius Mori?* You would rather have Maury? Very well; you shall have Maury!"

Maury, who had been the champion of the Church, and confessed to the faith when both these acts of courage put his life in imminent peril, Maury bowed to the iron will of Cæsar, took the metropolitan see, and held it in defiance of the Papal brief refusing him institution.

But the Emperor was becoming too impatient to go on thus coping with the recalcitrant prelates one by one; he resolved to compel submission from all by a measure highly characteristic of the man. He called a council, intimating to the bishops, "*mes évêques*," as he styled them,—regarding the princes of the Church pretty much in the light of so many prefects and generals, high functionaries under his command—his order to pass a decree empowering the metropolitan to give institution without reference to Rome. The bishops, cowed by his overmastering violence, and dreading the consequences of an open breach, justified but too fully his estimate of their docility. The venerable old Abbé Emery alone stood out with a noble boldness, which won from Napoleon the tribute of his respect and admiration.

"That Abbé Emery is the only man I am afraid of!" exclaimed the conqueror of Europe, proving once more how supreme is the dominion of a noble character over all other powers and agencies.

The Emperor's struggle with the Holy See involved him in deeper difficulties as he went on. While the council of bishops was endeavoring to effect a compromise which might adjust, even temporarily, the difficulty concerning canonical institution, Napoleon was intent on another question of momentous interest to himself; this was the dissolution of his marriage with Josephine. The Court of Vienna having refused to entertain his suit for the hand of an Austrian archduchess until a brief from Rome should declare this marriage null and void, it became essential to obtain the brief at all costs. Napoleon convened "his bishops" again, and ordered the whole of the sacred college to come to Paris and hold a council for the purpose of granting him a divorce. Twenty-

nine cardinals answered to the call. Thirteen out of that number, including Consalvi, were of opinion that there were no grounds for declaring the former marriage void, and protested that they could not sanction nor appear at the approaching nuptials of Marie Louise and the Emperor.

Fouché exerted his utmost influence in vain to change this resolution. Consalvi, whose approval the Emperor held to be above all, declared that no power on earth should induce him either to retract his condemnation of the divorce, or to lend the countenance of his presence to the coming marriage. He and his colleagues made good this assertion ; but the divorce was wrenched from the divided and hesitating council, and on the 2d of April, 1810, Napoleon led his young bride to Notre Dame amidst the thunder of artillery and the clanging of marriage-bells. The next day, the thirteen absentees presented themselves at the Tuileries to take part in some official reception, but while they were waiting, amidst all the dignitaries of the Empire, for the entrance of their imperial host, a chamberlain entered and informed them that they must withdraw, as the Emperor declined to receive them. On the morrow they received notification of the entire confiscation of their property, private and ecclesiastical, and their degradation from all external rank and dignity, including the suppression of their title of cardinal, and a sentence of exile to various remote districts, where they were to be under *surveillance* of the police. Consalvi was banished to Rheims, and kept there a prisoner until the fall of the tyrant, four years later, set all his victims free.

But the cup of Napoleon's iniquities towards the Church was not yet full. Unable to conquer "the old man of the Vatican," and seeing that the prolonged struggle with the Holy See was entangling himself and his bishops in deeper and more inextricable perplexities, he determined on once more summoning an ecclesiastical commission. The measure was a mere mockery, seeing neither privacy nor independence were insured to the commissioners. Napoleon broke in upon their sittings unannounced, attacked the questions under discussion, stormed and ranted when his judgments were disputed, and demeaned himself with his habitual violence and insolence towards the assembled prelates. Finally, on the 17th of March, he burst out into a tirade which surpassed all previous exhibitions of the kind, declared that, if the Pope persisted in his obstinacy, he, Napoleon, would tear up the Concordat, that in fact he considered it as no longer existing. The assembled prelates "maintained a scandalous silence," says Consalvi, who was informed by many present at the scene ; "it was reserved for a humble priest to save the honor of his order. This priest was the Abbé Emery." When Napoleon, ignoring the whole assemblage

of cardinals and bishops, addressed the Abbé directly as the one man whose judgment he thought worth suing for, the old priest stood up, and answered him with the simplicity and boldness of a confessor, challenging his opinions, disproving his conclusions, and finally extracting from him a tacit admission of their fallacy in the exclamation that he muttered to himself, "Oh! yes: the catechism! the catechism!" . . . .

But this tribute of respect to the Abbé Emery, whose voice was heard on this occasion for the last time amongst his brethern, was not followed by any practical recognition of the principles which the venerable ecclesiastic had so valiantly defended. The Commission was dissolved, a national council was convoked, and a deputation was sent to Savona to cajole or bully the captive Pope into granting a brief empowering the metropolitan of the vacant sees to grant institution. The deputies, consisting of eight bishops and five cardinals, brought all their influence to bear on the Pontiff to induce his consent to the Emperor's demands; no argument was left unemployed to calm his scruples and persuade him that the best interests of the Church of France, the peace of the clergy and the salvation of souls throughout the Empire, united to counsel the concession. A fortnight passed in these conferences, and then the Pope yielded. He was broken in health, and his mental powers severely shaken by his long captivity and great bodily sufferings.

"In proportion," writes Mr. Jervis, "as by their skilful intervention they (the deputies) succeeded in removing the doubts and prejudices which had tormented his sensitive conscience, he showed himself infinitely relieved and comforted. His countenance resumed its natural expression of serenity; and when the affair was brought finally to a conclusion, 'he testified,' writes the prefect de Charleroi, 'a joy like that of a child who has just been delivered from some great infantine trouble.'"

But this large concession of the persecuted Pope failed to satisfy the insatiable despotism of Napoleon. The deputies, instead of being praised for the success of their mission, were received with reproaches and blame. The Emperor considered the brief far too independent in its tone and too restricted in its conditions; it was couched in terms offensive to the imperial supremacy, the Church of Rome was mentioned as "the Mother and Mistress of all churches;" in fact, the long-desired reconciliation which it had cost so much to bring about was as far off as if the Holy Father had sent away the deputies briefless.

But events, which were to have a momentous effect on the destinies of Napoleon himself, were hurrying on the issue of his quarrel with the Holy See. He set out on his fatal expedition to Moscow, and all other interests and events were for the time laid aside, when

suddenly, his attention was again directed to the captive of Savona. A plan seems to have been arranged between England and Austria for carrying away Pius VII. and placing him in a safe asylum, either in Sicily or Malta; the Pope himself being a consenting party to the scheme. Before, however, it could be carried out, the secret was discovered by the French police, Napoleon was informed of it, and an order was issued for the immediate removal of the prisoner to Fontainebleau. The utmost secrecy was to be observed concerning the journey, and the details as to the manner in which it was to be performed were written by the great captain himself from Dresden, where he happened to be when the news of the Anglo-Austrian plan reached him.

Pius VII. was hurried away from Savona in the dead of the night, on the 10th of June, 1812, and transported across the mountains with such haste and discomfort that he fell dangerously ill, and was compelled to halt for three days at Mont Cenis. He reached Fontainebleau on the 19th, utterly prostrated by fatigue and illness. Here his external sufferings, at least, came to an end. The *Moniteur* announced that the "Pope was now free," and the hearts of the faithful were thrilled with a momentary joy in the delusive belief that the end of his humiliation and the sufferings of the Church had come. The splendid suite of apartments that he had occupied when he came to crown the Emperor were again placed at his disposal, the high dignitaries of the empire hastened to pay their court to him, and prelates flocked to kiss his feet. The autumn passed in comparative peace. On the morning of the 17th of December came the startling "29th bulletin of the Grand Army," announcing to France that the invincible soldier and his conquering legions had been overtaken by an appalling disaster. The Emperor hurried back to Paris. Even in this extremity of distress and failure and dismay, his thoughts turned to the captive at Fontainebleau as to an object of supreme and immediate importance. He arrived unannounced at the palace, and held a conference of several hours with the Pope. The account of that interview has been variously told. The belief prevailed long and generally that Napoleon had given way to personal violence, that in his ungovernable passion he had struck the infirm and aged Pontiff; but the assurance of Pius VII. himself clears Napoleon of this culminating disgrace. What remains to his charge is bad enough. That his demeanor was brutal in its fury of unrestrained violence is certain. He used the language, the tone, the insolent threatening gestures of an infuriated jailer bent on forcing a feeble and helpless captive to succumb to his will. When the Pope, unmoved by his fulsome professions of filial attachment and promises of eternal devotion, muttered with a smile, "Commediante!" the Emperor sud-

denly threw off the mask, and stormed and menaced, vowing that he would crush the Church under his heel, and pull down the Vatican on the heads of those who defied him. Pius looked up once more and muttered, "Tragediante!"

But, though his courage remained undaunted, his powers of resistance were broken down. Alone, with no one to advise him, betrayed into the belief that the clergy were eager for him to grant the concessions which would bring about a genuine reconciliation between the Empire and the Church, harassed almost into delirium, he signed the new Concordat which the Emperor presented to him. No sooner, however, was the magnetic influence of Napoleon's presence withdrawn, and the Pontiff set free from the overpowering pressure that had been exercised on him, than his presence of mind returned, and with it a sense of remorse and misery which threatened to destroy his already enfeebled reason. He refused to eat, lost his sleep utterly, and declared himself unworthy to celebrate the Holy Sacrifice. Cardinals Consalvi and Pacca obtained access to him, and reassured him by suggesting that a prompt and public retraction of the deed which had been wrenched from him in secret, and without his free agency and almost without a full knowledge of what he was doing, would repair the error, and prevent the weak and unfortunate concession from taking effect. The Pope was at once consoled by this suggestion, and, with the assistance of those able advisers, a letter was drawn up in which the recent treaty was distinctly and absolutely annulled. This letter is full of pathos, and constitutes a magnificent act of faith and humility, which reveals to us the beauty of holiness as it dwelt in the soul of Pius VII., his childlike simplicity, his entire unworldliness, the martyr-like meekness and the strength of principle which had sustained him under such long and manifold personal trials.

Napoleon felt that he was checkmated, but he concealed his anger, and endeavored through the instrumentality of Cardinal Maury to induce the Pope to recall his recantation. The attempt failed utterly. Maury was peremptorily dismissed from the Papal presence. The relative liberty which Pius VII. had, up to this period, enjoyed at Fontainebleau was now withdrawn, and his intercourse with his friends and councillors subjected to the most despotical and irritating restrictions. He had, however, regained all his wonted calmness of mind and serenity of fortitude, and now awaited his deliverance at the hands of Almighty God, satisfied to remain in bondage until His good pleasure should restore peace to His Church and liberty to His Vicar. This moment of deliverance was drawing rapidly near. Napoleon, seeing that fortune had betrayed him, and was not to be won back, that the powers of Europe, exasperated by his warfare of aggression and spoliation, had



coalesced to defeat and crush him, turned round and sought to make friends with the one solitary power that he had both wronged and robbed, and failed to conquer. He sent word to Pius VII. that he had serious thoughts of allowing him to return to Rome; but the Pope replied that these things were in the hands of Providence, and forbade the subject to be further mentioned to him.

The allied armies, meanwhile, pursued their triumphal march, and it became evident, even to Napoleon himself, that his star had set. He determined to take a last revenge on his enemies by restoring the Papal States to their lawful sovereign before they fell into possession of the powers. But this offer, which was made with an assumption of magnanimous generosity, met with cold rejection from Pius VII. He could not, he said, accept as a gift to be secured by princes or treaties, the dominions which belonged to him by right, and of which he had been unjustly despoiled.

"It may be," added the Holy Father, "that my sins have rendered me unworthy to see Rome again, but be assured that my successors will recover the whole extent of the territories which rightly belong to them." Unabashed by this rebuff, Napoleon, two months later, issued a decree announcing that the Pope was about to resume possession of the Papal States, and ordered that he should be sent back to Rome. Pius VII. immediately left Fontainebleau. But the allied armies were now in France, and it was necessary to conduct the Holy Father by a circuitous route to Savona, whence by the Emperor's orders, he was escorted under military guard to the advanced posts of the Austrian and Neapolitan forces. This took place on the 23d of March. On the 31st the allied sovereigns entered Paris. Two days later Napoleon was deposed.

The fall of Napoleon, like the death of Robespierre, came to France like the relief from a burden that had become intolerable; it was the signal for the opening of prison doors to many whose only crime had been that of standing by their principles in defiance of the despot; it was the signal for the recognition of rights that had been outraged or usurped, for the restoration of many things which had been unlawfully abolished or withdrawn; it was the signal for the Church of France to lift up her head like one from whose neck a heavy yoke had fallen.

The Restoration lost no time in proceeding to repair the evil which had been done during those memorable years—from 1801 to 1814—that the struggle had lasted between the Church of France and the Emperor. The Concordat of 1801 was set aside and that of 1516 re-established. Dioceses and parishes which had been suppressed or left vacant were reconstituted and provided with pastors; thirty sees were added to the hierarchy, thus raising

them to the number of eighty; seminaries were reopened, and an impulse given to religious activity, ecclesiastical and secular, which was hailed with joy by the Catholic heart of the nation as the dawn of a new national life.

While France was rejoicing in her deliverance, and Pius VII. giving thanks for the omnipotent mercy that had steered the bark of Peter through the tempest, Napoleon, like a lion chained to a rock in mid-ocean, was beating up and down the narrow span of his prison, uttering passionate complaints of the scant courtesy shown him by his captors. These lamentations woke no more response from the allied sovereigns than from the waves that broke upon the desolate shores of St. Helena. What claim on their pity had the tyrant who had never shown mercy to any man except when expediency or self-interest prompted him to feign it, who had overthrown dynasties, made footstools of thrones, and deluged Europe in blood for the sake of his ambition?

One sovereign alone took pity on him and lifted up a voice in his behalf. This was Pius VII. Years of cruel wrong, imprisonment, persecution and insult had left no trace of rancor in the soul of the magnanimous-hearted Pontiff. When the mother and three brothers of the deposed Emperor were compelled to fly from France after Waterloo, the Pope received them in Rome and extended to them a generous hospitality, and when, through them, he learned the sufferings of the exile, whose health was said to be impaired by the climate of St. Helena, he made an effort to obtain a change in his condition. A letter which came to light for the first time in Consalvi's memoirs, and in which the Pope pleads for the man who had so deeply wronged him, is one of the noblest and most touching examples of Christ-like benignity and forgiveness of injuries ever presented to our imitation. ". . . The pious and courageous initiative of 1801," says the Holy Father, "has caused us long ago to forget subsequent injuries. Savona and Fontainebleau are merely faults of the understanding, aberrations of human ambition; the Concordat was an act of Christian and heroic restoration. The mother and family of Napoleon have made an appeal to our compassion and generosity. . . . We are sure that we meet your wishes in charging you to write in our name to the allied sovereigns to entreat them to mitigate the sufferings of such a prisoner. It would be a source of unbounded satisfaction to us to have contributed to diminish the miseries of Napoleon. He can no longer be dangerous to any one; it is our desire that he should not be for any one a subject of remorse."

Singular and triumphant irony of fate! The Church was the sovereignty that Napoleon had most deeply wronged and most fiercely striven to overcome, and it was the only one that in the

extremity of his humiliation he could turn to for help. He had come to learn by experience that lesson which the Church has been teaching the world these eighteen hundred years, *i. e.*, that she conquers to save, not to destroy. He had warred against the Papacy, and it had defied him, standing like a fortress on a rock while the tempest raged round it, waiting in its calm strength until the word should come forth, bidding the power that had let loose the winds and put the waters in a roar, stand back, and, in its turn, bow down and do homage to a power mightier and more august. When the storm fell, and with it the enemy of the Church, the mighty Mother opened wide her arms in pardon and protection to the vanquished and prostrate foe.

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### AN OLD BIBLICAL PROBLEM SOLVED AT LAST.

*Carmina Veteris Testamenti Metrice; Notas criticas et dissertationem de re metrica Hebræorum adjecit Dr. Gustavus Bickell. Oeniponte in libraria academiciæ Wagnerianæ. 1882.*

**A**MONG the publications, treating of Biblical Science, which in late years have appeared from the pen of Catholic authors, one of the most important and interesting is certainly the book on Hebrew Metres, which Professor Bickell, of the University of Innsbruck, has just given to the learned world.

By this work, we are convinced, a very old and difficult problem has at last found its long-desired solution. There is not, and there cannot be, any doubt that the Hebrew language, like its sister languages, the Syriac and Arabic, has the capacity of forming both metres and rhymes, for the metrical capability of the Hebrew is clearly shown by the Jewish literature of the Christian era, which contains a vast number of metrical works, not less artfully composed than some of the most celebrated Arabic poems. *Jehudæ Charisi*, for instance, has translated the well-known Makamas of Harriri into Hebrew verses, specimens of which are given by De Sacy,<sup>1</sup> and he himself has composed a very good Hebrew imitation of the Arabian poet in his Tachkemoni.

But it is quite another question whether the old Hebrew poets ever availed themselves of this undoubted aptitude of their lan-

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<sup>1</sup> In his Harriri Preface.

guage, and especially whether the authors of the poetical parts of the Bible constructed their verses and strophes according to a strict metrical law or syllabic measure. Three years ago this was denied, or at least seriously questioned, by nearly all Biblical scholars. "Hebrew poetry," says Franz Delitzsch,<sup>1</sup> "knows only that rhythm which is the unaffected step of thought; a harmony which slips away from under all the laws by which one would bind it; a melody of language which is a charm only for those who feel it." Since that time, however, one of our greatest Orientalists has surprised the world with, as we think, evident proof of the existence of metre in Hebrew. Men of high scientific authority, like Lamy, Gutberlet, and Rohling have already declared in favor of Bickell's metrical system. But it has also been attacked severely, although not by strong arguments,<sup>2</sup> and the controversy is, by no means closed; on the contrary, it bids fair to be carried on perhaps with greater activity than before. Under these circumstances the present paper on the question of Biblical Metrics and its solution by Dr. Bickell may prove not unwelcome to the readers of the REVIEW, to whom we need not explain the great importance of the subject, not only in philological and literary, but also in critical, exegetical, and theological respects.

Bickell, in the introductory dissertation to his *Metres*, makes only a few and, according to his custom, very short remarks about the intrinsic probability and historical certainty of the existence of Hebrew metre. These, especially the testimony of the ancients, have been and are still undervalued and very frequently misunderstood. It will, therefore, not be useless to cast a glance at the *a priori* side of the question and to consider more attentively the pertinent historical tradition, before we explain the principles and give some specimens of the new metrical theory. We know full

<sup>1</sup> Cfr. Thalhofer Psalmen Einl. XIX. "Der Hebräische Vers ist nichts abscheulich, gleichsam in Musik gesetzte Prosa." Delitzsch, l. c.

<sup>2</sup> Among others, the following wrote against Bickell: *Dr. Schlottmann*, of the University of Halle, whose objections Bickell refuted in *Z. D. M. G.* (periodical of the German Oriental Society), 1879, pp. 701-706; *B. Shafer*, in *Lit. Handweiser*, 1881, Nr. 281, and a certain *Dr. Jacob Eckert*, in the same periodical, 1882, Nr. 320. Cfr. also, Schuerer-Harnack, *Theol. Lit. Zeitg.*, 1880, p. 550. Among those who wrote in favor of his metrical system, besides the above-mentioned, were in Austria the Jesuits *J. Heller* and *Matthias Flunk*, in *Zeitschr. f. Kath. Theologie*, 1879, N. 1, 1882, N. 2; *P. Placidus Steininger*, O. S. B., *Theol. practische Quartalschr.*, 1882, N. 4; in Germany, the learned interpreter, *Jos. Knabenbauer*, S. J., in his "Erklärung des Propheten Isaias," 1882, p. v., 41; *J. Gielmann*, S. J., in *Stimmen aus Maria Laach*, 1882, N. 2; *Ludwig von Harmann*, *Magazin f. d. Lit. des In- und Auslandes*, 1882, N. 46, and anonymous critics in the periodical, *Theol. Lit. Blatt.*, 1882, N. 36, and *Beweis d. Glaubens*, 1882, N. 8; in England an anonymous writer in the *Athenaeum*, 1879, N. 2678; finally, in France, *P. Edmund Bouvy*, O. S. Aug. (*Lettres Chrétiennes*, 1880, N. 3, 4; 1881, N. 5, 9); and *Fr. Vigouroux*, in the *Monde*, 1882, N. 257.

well that this question cannot be decided satisfactorily by tradition, but only by the evidence shown in the sacred text itself. Still, it is nevertheless true, that theories which are entirely new meet, although sometimes without deserving it, more distrust and opposition than theories which may be satisfactorily traced to the past, and which present themselves as the reproduction, development, or improvement of older doctrines. Bickell's theory is new, so far as it is the first and only perfect metrical system comprehending all the poetry of the Old Testament, explaining it according to the philological and grammatical standpoint of our time, from which it can and even must be understood and proved without paying any attention to the statements and hypotheses previously advanced in regard to this matter. But it stands also in close connection with the ancient testimonies, which are splendidly justified and, what had never been done before, explained by it. And besides, tradition, in turn, casts the weight of its authority, whose scientific value only prejudice could ignore, into the scale, inclining it in favor of the newly broached theory, the results of which must be acknowledged also by those who cannot examine for themselves the original texts of the sacred poets.

#### I. THE EXISTENCE OF BIBLICAL METRES IS HIGHLY PROBABLE A PRIORI AND BY THE NATURE OF BIBLICAL POETRY.

First of all, very naturally arises the question, Is there nothing indubitable and *a priori* certain relative to this problem? Poetry as a fine art essentially requires, indeed, its proper sensible form, which corresponds to the poetic spirit as the body corresponds to the animating soul; but does syllabic measure belong to this essential form? Metre and rhythm flow quite naturally and, so to say, by a higher spiritual organic process, from the intrinsic power and fertility of the poetic genius; they are only the expression and external manifestation of that harmony and beauty which lie in the depth of the poetic ideal, and are vividly apprehended by the poet. As the flower from the bud these blossoms come forth, when the required conditions in human life and history, and especially if the sufficient development of language and mental culture, are present and available. Then is heard the voice of song, then arise in all nations the forms of poetry, which by imitation soon become the common recognized rules. "Man is both a Poet and a Musician by nature. The same impulse that prompted the enthusiastic Poetic style, prompted a certain melody or modulation of sound suited to the emotions of Joy or Grief, of Admiration, Love or Anger. . . . Music and Poetry had the same rise. . . . The first poets sang their own verses, and hence the beginning of what we call Versification, or words arranged in a more artistic order than

prose, so as to be suited to some tune or melody. The liberty of transposition or inversion which the Poetic style would naturally assume, made it easier to form the words into some sort of numbers that fell in with the music of the song. Very harsh and uncouth, we may easily believe, these numbers would be at first. But the pleasure was felt, it was studied, and versification, by degrees, passed into an art." In this manner one of the best and most sober English writers at the end of the last century, Hugh Blair,<sup>1</sup> represents the origin of poetical forms. Yet in this process of development there are many stages. What must have been the properties of poetical language, both in its primitive and in its more developed state? Certainly, poetry must have been always distinguished from the common language of daily life, not only by frequent figures and tropical expressions, by more rare words and a general more careful regard to euphony; but also by a special peculiar arrangement of syllables, words, and sentences. Hence, it is certain *a priori*, as we boldly venture to state, that true poetry, and therefore also Hebrew poetry, has never been, as some hold, a mere "poetry of things," but has been a "poetry of sounds and words" as well. A bare rhythm of thoughts had never sufficed for the essential requirements of poetical form. It must have been harmonious, melodious, rhythmical. But also metrical? No one can prove that metre is strictly essential and necessary to it. Hugh Blair asserts in the work already quoted (p. 81) that the language of poetry "is formed *most commonly* into regular numbers, because, though versification be in general the exterior distinction of poetry, yet there are some forms of verse so loose and familiar as to be hardly distinguishable from prose; such as are the verses of Terence's Comedies; and there is also a species of prose so measured in its cadence and so much raised in its tone, as to approach very near to poetical numbers, such as the Telemachus of Fenelon and the English translation of Ossian. The truth is, verse and prose, on some occasions, run into one another like light and shade. It is hardly possible to determine the exact limit where eloquence ends and poetry begins." What Blair advances here in regard to modern and classical literature, is by no means out of place in our discussion; for if we clearly see that metrical versification is not essential to every poetical production, we must also pay attention to the fact, evident in literature, that only a few kinds of poetical art-forms are excepted from the common law of metre, and these bear no resemblance to what is called Biblical poetry. It may be granted, that such a kind of poetical prose is found in the Prophets and in some other portions of the Bible. But it cannot be presumed that this intermediate form, which is generally an exception in lit-

<sup>1</sup> Lectures on Rhetoric, London, 1813, vol. iii., p. 84.

erature, is the predominant rule in the lyrical and didactic books of the sacred volume, and therefore in the whole of Hebrew poetry. If any species of poetry demands metre, it is assuredly the lyrical. A measured rhythm founded on the arrangement of the elementary parts of the verses and corresponding to the musical melody, seems to be necessary to the art-form of song; and whatever may have been argued to the contrary, this opinion remains highly probable, both from the very nature of the lyric in itself and—what is of the greatest weight—from universal analogy.

The common use of metre in the song is not founded on arbitrary choice or some accidental impulse. What Dr. J. Jungmann appositely remarks in his work on *Beauty and the Fine Arts*,<sup>1</sup> is very true. "The exercise of art depends on the liberty of man, but not its rules; these are altogether necessary laws, founded upon the nature of things." Art in its development imitates nature in some way or other, it does what it can, not absolutely of course, but relatively; that is, according as circumstances may favor. If a tree has branches and green leaves, it will also have buds and blossoms in due time. If the poetical literature of the Old Testament possesses not only that general beauty of form which is proper to true poetry, but also rhythmical harmony and a careful arrangement of the single numbers in reference to the whole, it must also possess metre.

But is not this conclusion too bold? The conditions, both subjective and objective, under which the forms of poetry are developed are so numerous, and many of them are entirely uncontrollable. What a hidden mysterious thing to us is the genius of the old languages! What great mistakes may be made here by transferring our own notions and our own taste far back into antiquity! Let us suppose some votary of song in the thirteenth century knowing, by chance, very little of Latin except a few ecclesiastical hymns, but well acquainted with the beautiful poetical effusions of his time, to ask himself whether the songs of the old Romans and Greeks were rhymed or not. He deems rhyme to be a necessary requirement of poetical language. Without consulting a better informed man, or the ancient poets themselves, he will scarcely doubt that their poems were rhymed. Are we not similarly prepossessed, judging metre to be necessary in lyrical poetry, and hence led into a similar erroneous conclusion? We opine not. For we think metre far more closely connected with the essential character of poetical, and especially lyrical, language than is rhyme.

Since the organs of voice depend for their motion upon those of respiration, human speech has always its natural *arsis* and *thesis*,

<sup>1</sup> Schoenheit und schoene Kunst nach den Grundsätzen d. socrat. u. christl. Phil. Innsbruck. Wagner, 1866, p. 265.

and moves itself by a continual alternation and through different degrees of tone, rising and sinking, now remaining upon a long syllable and then hastening rapidly over a short one. In common language that alternation is effected without rule or order, but in higher language it must be regular and is commonly called rhythm, so far as it insures a harmonious and a well-proportioned arrangement of words, either in prose or in poetry. In the song there is unquestionably the natural tendency to perfect the rhythm and to extend the regularity of the alternation of accented and unaccented, or long and short syllables, to the very elementary parts of the sentences. This implies a strict measure of syllables, *i. e.*, metre. Nothing can be connected more closely than rhythm and metre in the song, and we see no reason at all why this connection should have been less close, less natural in the Hebrew than in other languages. Since the time of Herder it has, indeed, been repeated a hundred times that Hebrew poetry is very simple, and in its noble simplicity it does not care much about external ornaments or the more subtle laws of art. "The thoughts," says Ewald,<sup>1</sup> "are sufficient to themselves and like best to stay in their own simple grandeur." Everybody will grant that Hebrew poetry has not the variety and rich external ornament of the Greek; that a psalm is very different from a tragic chorus or an ode of Pindar; but those who in asserting its simplicity go so far as to exclude every kind of metre from Hebrew poetry evidently exaggerate. Why? Is there no art in that arrangement of perfect strophes which you can very often distinguish in the translation and still more frequently, or rather always, in the original text? Take, for instance, the magnificent epinicion of Moses (Exodus xv.); what fine and exact structure of the strophes! what a perfect harmony between the single members and the whole! And the same you can see on a first attentive glance in a great many other Bible poems.

This reason seemed sufficient to Hugh Blair to assert the metrical character of Hebrew poetry. He says:<sup>2</sup> "There is not the least reason for doubting that the poetical works of the Bible were written in verse or some kind of measured numbers, though as the ancient pronunciation of the Hebrew language is now lost, we are not able to ascertain the nature of the Hebrew verse, or at most

<sup>1</sup> Die Poesie des hebräischen Volkes verglichen mit der anderer Voelker erscheint wie aus einem noch einfacheren, jugendlichen Zeitalter der Menschheit, von innerer Fuelle und Anmuth ueberwallend und noch wenig bekuemmert um aeussere Schmuck und feineres Kunstgesetz. Freilich die Unbefangenheit, diese um aeussere Reitze unbekuemmerte Freiheit einer uebrigens edlen Poesie ist nur da moeglich, wo die Gedanken, welche dem Dichter entgegenkommen, von solcher Erhabenheit und Wuerde, Innigkeit und Staerke sind, dass sie sich selbst genuegen und am liebsten in ihrer einfachen Grosse bleiben.—Die poetischen Buecher d. a. Bundes, i., p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> L. c., p. 166, seq.



we can ascertain it but imperfectly. Taking the Old Testament in our own translation, which is extremely literal, we find plain marks of the original being written in a measured style, and the 'disjecta membra poetæ' often show themselves. Let any person read the historical introduction to the book of Job, contained in the first and second chapters, and then go on to Job's speech in the beginning of the third chapter, and he cannot avoid being sensible that he passes all at once from the region of prose to that of poetry. Not only the poetical sentiments and the figured style warn him of the change, but the cadence of the sentences and the arrangement of the words are sensibly altered; the change is as great as when he passes from reading Cæsar's Commentaries to read Virgil's *Æneid*."

Another, and surely not the least weighty reason favoring our opinion lies in *Parallelism*. Parallelism is a prevailing law noticeable in all the poetical passages of the Old Testament. It has often been called a "rhythm of thought." Yet it would be very wrong to understand this expression to mean that Parallelism regards only the ideas or things. Parallelism is essentially a *form of art*, regarding both the exterior and interior, matter and form of the songs; it implies an external agreement and rhythmical harmony of the members or *στίχοι*. This correspondence or equality of the parallel members is very easily explained by metrical laws. But this explanation is very difficult and perhaps impossible in the theory of the free rhythm. Parallelism shows evidently that the sacred poets had a very great and constant, and, therefore, conscious tendency to regularity. Did not this tendency influence, nay, direct them in the construction of the verses? What! Syllabic measure was the very best way to obtain the uniformity or equality of their lines, and yet they did not discover the secret, nay, they avoided it habitually, studiously, as it were of set purpose? We cannot help thinking all that highly improbable, nor can we see how this improbability would be removed by any supposed difficulty in finding out the metrical laws in the present Hebrew text. If, therefore, the Fathers not unfrequently employ the word *στιχηρής*, when referring to the poetical books of the Bible, we may be allowed to understand this term in the same sense in which it was understood by the Greeks, in contradistinction to prose composition, *i. e.*, in the sense of metrical versification.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> St. Gregory of Nazianzen, for instance, says ad Seleucum :

Ἐξῆς στιχηρὰς πέντε σοὶ βίβλους ἐρῶ,  
Στεφθέντος ἀδλοῖς ποικίλων παθῶν ἰῶθ  
Ψαλμῶν τε βίβλων, ἑμμελῆς ψυχῆς ἄκος,  
Τρεῖς δ' αὖ Σολομῶντος τοῦ σοφοῦ, Παροιμίας  
Ἐκκλησιάζστην, Ἄσμα τε τῶν ἀσμάτων.

Opera Omnia, Parisiis Vivès, T. ii., p. 1103.—Fr. Epiphan.

<sup>2</sup> De mensuris et ponderibus. Mign. Patrol. gr. l. T. 23, p. 1134.

Hitherto we have considered Hebrew poetry only as a production of human art, and have had no regard to its higher supernatural character; for, indeed, we think the question of Biblical metrics touches the ecclesiastical doctrine of inspiration very little. For as grace generally exalts, always ennobles nature, and never destroys it, the *gratia gratis data* of inspiration raises and directs the genius of the sacred writer to higher aims, without destroying his peculiarities or hindering the connatural development and perfection of human art. However far Biblical inspiration might be held to extend in regard to the expression and external form of the inspired writings, still the influence of the primary Author of the sacred books, "who ordereth all things sweetly," certainly would not exclude or abridge the freedom of the hagiographer in following his peculiar style and structure of sentences. This we can see in each page, if not in each line of the Bible. Therefore, it is undoubtedly erroneous to hold that inspired metrical poems are an impossibility or an incongruity; and if so meritorious an interpreter as B. Schaefer<sup>1</sup> was inclined to maintain that incongruity, it may, indeed, surprise us, but it cannot deter any one from expecting to find Biblical metres even more artfully constructed than the Sapphic and Alcaic, which St. Jerome saw in the Old Testament.

## II. THE EXISTENCE OF HEBREW METRES IS HISTORICALLY CERTAIN.

This great probability is raised to certainty, we think, by historical tradition. The existence of a true and properly so-called metre in the poems of the Old Testament is not only sufficiently but even abundantly testified to by the ancients. *Flavius Josephus* relates that Moses composed his articles metrically,<sup>2</sup> and that the Psalms of David were written either in trimeters or pentameters.<sup>3</sup> Of no less weight is the testimony which Philo repeatedly offers in his writings, *De Vita Contemplativa*<sup>4</sup> and *De Vita Moysis*. In the former work he

<sup>1</sup> He says in *Literarischer Handweiser fuer das kath. Deutschl.*, 1881, No. 281, "Es klingt fast komisch, dass die Inspiration des hl. Geistes sich habe in die Fesseln des Hexameters bannen lassen!"

<sup>2</sup> Μωυσῆς ὁδὸν εἰς τὸν θεὸν ἐγκώμιον τε καὶ τῆς εὐμενείας εὐχαριστίαν περιέχουσαν ἐν ἑξαμέτρῳ τόνῳ συνῆλθεν.—*Archæol.* l. ii., 16, 4. . . . ποιῆσαι ἑξάμετρον αὐτοῖς ἀνέγνω ἢ καταλέλοιπεν ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τῷ ἱερῷ πρόβρην περιέχουσαν τῶν ἱσομένων.—*Ibid.*, liv., 8, 44.

<sup>3</sup> Δαυίδης. . . . ὡδὴς εἰς τὸν θεὸν καὶ ᾠδὴς συνετάξατο μέτρον ποικίλον. Τούς μὲν γὰρ τριμέτρους τοὺς δὲ πενταμέτρους ἐποίησεν.—*Archæol.*, l. vii., 12, 3.

<sup>4</sup> Etiam cantica hymnosque in Dei laudem componunt vario metrorum carminumque genere rhythmis concinnatos in augustiorem et religiosam speciem.—*Opera Philonis Jud. exegetica* Antwerp; J. Keerberg, 1614, p. 616. . . . Praeses assurgens hymnum in laudem Dei primus canit aut recens a re compositum aut desumptum ab aliquo vatium veterum; existunt enim hujus generis carmina prisca versus trimetro et hymni cum suis accentibus inter sacra canendi ante altaria vel a stantibus vel a choreas

describes the religious assemblies of the Therapeuts and their songs, "partly composed by them, partly taken from one of the old prophets." There are such old songs composed in trimetrical measure of syllables and hymns sung according to their accents at the sacrifices before the altar. All these songs were strophically arranged. Some of them were of different metre; many of them were sung alternatively by two different choirs, or had what we call responsoria—certain verses repeated at the end of the strophes, which were sung by the whole congregation, like the responsoria in our litanies, or the Unithas in many Syriac hymns.<sup>1</sup>

These testimonies have often been declared worthless, and only last year Bernard Schaefer boldly asserted<sup>2</sup> in regard to Josephus: "Everything he says is simply false, and Josephus should not be quoted any more in this question." The same is said of Philo. But why? In other, in a hundred other, questions, these writers are treated with much more respect and less suspicion. Here we are told that they adduce neither proof nor illustration for their assertion. But we must be content that they said something about this matter, and can not expect in their writings much in regard to our doubts and difficulties. William A. Wright says in *Smith's Dictionary of the Bible*:<sup>3</sup> "The value of Philo's testimony on this point may be estimated by another passage in his works in which he claims for Moses a knowledge of numbers and geometry, the theory of rhythm, harmony, and metre, and the whole science of music, practical and theoretical." It may be that Philo is not always perfectly reliable in his account of the education of Moses at the Egyptian court, because he seems sometimes to exaggerate and follow the manner of a novelist; yet we cannot see any consequence following from that against his historical credibility in regard to facts and circumstances of which he could have and really had the evidence at his time, most probably by his own knowledge of his national language and literature. Other writers,

ducentibus moderatas flexibus et reflexibus. Præsulem mox imitantur ceteri decenti ordine omnibus intente et quiete auscultantibus præterquam in fine hymni extremaque clausula; tunc enim universi vocem extollunt sine sexus discrimine. . . . (Post-cœnam.) Ubi omnis consurrexere, duo chori fiunt in medio coenacula alter virorum alter feminarum, cuique suus incensor præficitur, honore præstans et canendi peritus. Deinde cantant hymnos in laudem Dei compositos variis metrorum carminumque generibus, nunc ore uno nunc alternis non sine decoris et religionis gestibus atque accentibus, modo stantes modo prorsum retrorsumque gradum moventes utcunque res postulat. Denique . . . unum chorum faciunt promiscuum . . . (similiter ac Israelitæ) in rubri sinus litore accepto insigni et insperato beneficio, correpti numine viri pariter ac mulieres et in unam choream conglomerati hymnis gratias Servatori Deo canebant proreclinante viris Mose propheta Mariamne vero prophetide feminis. Ad horam maxime imitationem hic therapeutorum therapeutidumque compositus.—l. c., p. 622, seq.

<sup>1</sup> Cfr. Bickell, *St. Ephraemi Carmina Nisibena*, p. 32.

<sup>2</sup> *Literarischer Handweiser f. d. kath. Deutschl.*, 281.

<sup>3</sup> *Smith's Dictionary of the Bible*, 1863, *sub voce* Poetry.

especially such as treat of the history of music, find not the least improbability in these statements of Philo,<sup>1</sup> which are confirmed by many other historical circumstances. We think, therefore, that the passage in the *Vita Moysis*,<sup>2</sup> far from diminishing the historical weight of Philo's testimony in his treatise on the Therapeuts, still further augments it. For what is most likely the reason that Philo attributes to Moses the knowledge of rhythm and metre? Doubtless the very contents of Genesis 49, Exodus 15, Deuteronomy 32 and 31, and other portions of the Pentateuch, in which Philo had found metrical poems.

But the most common objection is that the quoted sayings must be ascribed to the particular national tendency of these authors. Again Wright says: "Josephus and Philo labored to magnify the greatness of their own nation and to show that in literature and philosophy the Greeks had been anticipated by the Hebrew barbarians. This idea pervades all their writings."<sup>3</sup> How? Are we allowed to extend this suspicion quite arbitrarily to any statement of these writers which may incline to a more favorable view of Israelitic culture? We think not. There is nothing in the context nor in the form and style of those testimonies which could positively support such a suspicion. On the contrary, if they had spoken prompted only by such a tendency, they would have expressed themselves more generally, praising in vague phrases their national poetry in comparison with the Greek. They would scarcely have spoken so decidedly and determinately of definite songs and definite metres as they plainly did. Besides, Philo's treatise on the Therapeuts has always been regarded as a faithful historical source of information regarding that sect. We think, therefore, that the above-mentioned suspicion has no other foundation than the difficulty felt in bringing these ancient testimonies into harmony with the fixed prejudice that the Hebrew cannot have had a metre, otherwise it would have been found out long ago!

After these testimonies of the two most renowned Jewish writers, comparatively near the time when the Hebrew was a living language, writers so well acquainted with their own language that they wrote Hebrew books, we must find it natural that the Christian teachers of the first centuries were of the same opinion on this subject. It is wrong to explain the sayings of the Christian writers only by their dependence on Josephus or Philo. Some of them, and even those who exercised the greatest influence and were of remarkable authority in such questions, were very well acquainted with Hebrew. As we learn by St. Jerome, the great

<sup>1</sup> For instance, Aug. Wilh. Ambros, the ingenious author of the *Geschichte der Music*; Breslau, 1862, p. 165.

<sup>2</sup> Philonis Opera, p. 421.

<sup>3</sup> Diction. of the Bible, l. c.

*Origenes*, the father of critical and exegetical science, attests the metrical character of Hebrew poetry. In that he seems only to follow the opinion of his most learned predecessor at the School of Alexandria; for *Clemens Alex.* (*Strom.*, vi., c. 11), thinks the forms of the old Doric hymns to be even imitations of the Psalms of David. "We may regard," he writes, "David as an exemplar (*παράδειγμα*) of musical art; for he is both singer and prophet, and praises God in harmonious songs. . . . So the harmony of the Hebrew psalter became quite a model for Terpander for his Doric melody."<sup>1</sup> And, then, in order to confirm his assertion, he quotes a passage from Terpander, which is the more interesting as it bears a striking resemblance to the trochaic hexasyllabic metre occurring, according to Professor Bickell, very frequently in the Psalter. It is historically certain that Terpander collected many foreign, and especially Asiatic, melodies and applied them to Greek songs.<sup>2</sup> The Doric melody had a solemn religious character. *Τῆς Δωρίου (ἁρμονίας) τὸ σεμνόν*, says Lucian.

Clement speaks directly here of the melody, but does he not presuppose also metrical analogy or similarity, according to common Greek notions? There is no *melos* without metre. We may remember that Josephus speaks of the *ἑξάμετρος τόνος*, which signifies both metrical and musical rhythm and tone. But, what is more remarkable is that the song quoted really shows a metrical agreement with the Hebrew hymns.

Zeṓ πάντων ἀρχά,—  
πάντων ἀγῆτος,  
Zeṓ σοι πέμπω—  
ταῦταν ὕμνων ἀρχάν!

Let the reader compare these spondees with the trochees in Psalm iv., 1-2, which Bickell scans in the following manner:

‘ — | ‘ — | ‘ — |

Lámma rág'shu góyim  
Úl'ámmim jehgá rig?  
Títjacç'bu mal'khè arz  
Vróz'nim nós'du jáchad.

<sup>1</sup> Ἐν τῆς μουσικῆς παράδειγμα ψάλλον ἑμοῦ καὶ προφητῶν ἐκεῖθι Δαβὶδ ἔρῳν τὸν δὲν ἡμελῶς. . . . Ἡ τοίνυν ἁρμονία τοῦ βαρβάρου ψαλτηρίου τὸ σεμνὸν ἐμφαίνουσα τοῦ μέλους ἀρχαιοτάτη τυγχάνουσα ἐπιδείγμα Τερπάντῳ μάλιστα γίνεται πρὸς ἁρμονίαν τῆν Δωρίον. ἔρῳν τὸν Δία ὡς πῶς.

Zeṓ πάντων ἀρχά, πάντων ἀγῆτος,  
Zeṓ σοι πέμπω ταῦταν ὕμνων ἀρχάν!

—Clement Alex. Opera, Lugd. Bat., 1616, p. 474

<sup>2</sup> Cfr. Ambros Musicgesch., Breslau, 1862, p. 248. Emil Naumann, Musicg., Stuttgart, 1880, p. 120.

The omitted auxiliary vowel in אֵרִי need not disturb anybody. Also Origenes writes קִרְ for *xapv*.

Eusebius, the Father of Church History, expresses himself very decidedly on this subject. He says, in his *Præparatio Evangelica*, xi., c. 5: "The Hebrews also have their metrically composed works; for instance, that great canticle of Moses and the 118th Psalm of David, both of which contain the metre that the Greek call heroic, for they say that these poems consist of hexameters of sixteen syllables. Their other songs are believed to be composed in trimeters and tetrameters, according to the nature of their language."

In the fourth century, or rather throughout the whole of antiquity, there are heard, as it seems, only two voices gainsaying the statements alleged. The first is no great authority, either in literary or historical matters, viz., Cæsar Julianus, the Apostate, who remarks against the testimony of the learned bishop of Cæsarea: "Among the Hebrews there were neither laws of state nor a form of judgment, nor any practice of the fine arts, except a very miserable and barbarous one, although that rascal Eusebius makes them have some kind of hexameters."

Besides, St. Gregory of Nyssa is quoted also by W. A. Wright, *I. c.*, as a decided adversary of Hebrew metre. But what does he say? St. Gregory, in his interesting treatise on the Inscriptions of the Psalms, *denies* that the sacred songs were artfully arranged like the works of the heathen poets, like the classical songs.<sup>1</sup> If this saint had really denied the existence of metre in the original text of the Psalms, his opinion would not be of great weight, because it is too singular and in opposition to older and stronger testimonies. But he does not deny anything of the kind about our subject. It is not necessary to say, as some<sup>2</sup> have said, that the holy doctor excludes only the metres of classical art, as, for instance, such ones as were founded on quantity of syllables. St. Gregory does not speak at all here of the Hebrew text. This is clearly shown by the context of the passage cited. What, asks he at the beginning of the third

<sup>1</sup> Neque enim hoc levi brachio prætereundum est, nempe, has nostras melodias non esse factas eo modo, quo externorum et a nostra disciplina alienorum carmina condita sunt; nam melos et modulus in dictionum sonora serie non consistit; quemadmodum apud illos videre licet, quibus rhythmus conficitur ex accentuum apta compositione, tono in sonis nunc elevato, nunc depresso, nunc breviato, nunc producto; sed nullo studio quæsitum comparatumve divinis verbis *melos* innectitur, quod ipsa vocis confirmatione secundum intensionem et compositionem subjectum verbis sensum quoad fieri potest revelat. — Mign. Patrol. gr. i. T. 24, p. 252.

<sup>2</sup> Cfr. Natalis Alex. in iv. mundi ætatem; Laurentius Veith, Mign. S. S. Curs. T. iv., p. 585.

chapter of his treatise,<sup>1</sup> what is the cause of the great pleasure which all—young and old, men and women, churchmen and laymen—commonly find in the Psalms? One cause, he says, is natural and is at once discovered,—the sweet melody and musical modulation of these sacred songs. This musical character was given to the Psalms already by their inspired author, David, and, we may add, it has been preserved in some way also by the Church using the translated text. There is a great mystery in music, continues St. Gregory. The ancient wise men knew that well. He refers to Pythagoras, and applies ingeniously his characteristic musico-philosophical principles to Christian ethics. Music symbolizes and reveals to the human heart the harmony of the universe, established by God himself. The Psalms especially, with "the veiled riddle of their melody," signify the harmony of a virtuous life. For that purpose the Psalms are the more fit, as it is very easy to understand and remember their melody. For it is not so artful as the melody of the Greek songs, and is in its noble simplicity very much adapted to express the edifying sense of the Psalms by a fit accentuation and harmonious modulation of the voice. The question whether the Hebrew text was metrical or not, is here quite out of place. The rhythm of which St. Gregory speaks is chiefly the *ῥυθμὸς μελωδίας*, the musical, and the *ῥυθμὸς λέξεως*, the rhythm of words only so far as it is necessary to the expression of the sense, but by no means as far as it is connected with metre. That, of course, would be an absurdity in regard to the Greek text. The ancients were used to distinguish accurately metre and rhythm, and rhythm of words and sounds (*φθόγγος*).<sup>2</sup> Therefore this passage of St. Gregory of Nyssa, the only one, as it seems, sometimes quoted against Biblical metre, does not prove anything against it; it may be interesting for the history of song, but it has nothing to do with the metrical question.

But the chief authority in this matter, upon which the tradition of the Christian schools relied for many centuries, is *St. Jerome*. Long before he went to live in Palestine this Saint had learned Hebrew from a native Jew in the Chalcidic Desert, and afterwards while living in Bethlehem he improved his knowledge of that language

<sup>1</sup> Tam vero et convivia et nuptiales hilaritates philosophiam hanc (scil. Psalmorum) ut partem lætitiæ, suis jucunditatibus adiscunt ut taceamus divinam illam in nocturnis pervigiliis per psalmos institui solitam hymnodiam ecclesiæque in his decantandis accuratam sedulitatem. Quæ igitur causa ineffabilis illius voluptatis, qua cantus suos magnus David perfudit? . . . Fortasse cuivis promptum fuerit causam dicere. . . . verborum melodiam aptamque concinnitatem. L. c., p. 250.

<sup>2</sup> Aristides Quintilianus says, I., 31, apud Ambros Musikgeschichte, p. 405: *ῥυθμιζέσθαι δὲ ἐν μουσικῇ κίνησις σώματος, μελωδία, λέξις*, Cfr. also Aristoteles de anima, I., 4: *Μουσική δὲ ἀξεῖς ἅμα καὶ βαρεῖς, μακροὺς δὲ καὶ βραχεῖς φθόγγους μίξασα ἐν διαφόροις φωναῖς μίαν ἀπετέλεσεν ἁρμονίαν*. St. Gregory characterizes the more recitative character of the ecclesiastical psalmody.

in a high degree. His translation of the Old Testament is acknowledged as a masterpiece, "which surpasses all other ancient versions by its accuracy and fidelity."<sup>1</sup> As we learn from his Preface to the Book of Job, he consulted the most renowned teachers among the Jews and had regard also to the other Semitic languages, Chaldaic, Syriac, and Arabic. By his Hebrew teachers he became well acquainted with many valuable traditions of the Rabbinical schools, traces of which we frequently discover in his writings,—most probably also when he approaches our subject. As we see from the Preface to Jeremias, he tried himself to elaborate a metrical translation of the Lamentations, and his diligent and pious disciple St. Paula was used to sing the psalms in Hebrew "without the accent and peculiarities of her mother tongue." If, therefore, the testimony of any one of the Fathers is very reliable, it must be that of St. Jerome, whose erudition, conferences with the Jews, and great interest in special studies on this question, give to his opinion a great weight both philologically and historically. In the Preface to Job,<sup>2</sup> he states first the existence of a regular metre in this poem, which he says mostly resembles classical hexameters, although not quite corresponding with Greek or Latin metres, on account of the different character of the Hebrew language. According to his opinion, only sometimes and by exception, there occurs a kind of a free rhythm, instead of the regular metre generally observed. Then he confirms his assertion by the remark that there are metres in nearly all the poetic parts of the Bible, which is testified to also by the authorities already quoted. It is strange that B. Schaefer could see in this passage a confirmation of what he thinks to be "the truth," viz., the system of free rhythm, which St. Jerome expressly calls an *exception*, occasionally found in Job. There is no doubt St. Jerome thought the Hebrew poetry to be properly metrical, whatever his metrical system may have been. This is evident also by what he says in the

<sup>1</sup> As the Protestant Keil says, Hist. Crit. Einleitung ins A. T.

<sup>2</sup> Memini me ob intelligentiam hujus voluminis, Lyddæum quendam præceptorem qui apud Hebræos primus haberi putabatur, non parvis redemisse nummis; cujus doctrina an aliquid profecerim, nescio; hoc unum scio, non potuisse ne interpretari, nisi quod autem intellexerim. A principio itaque voluminis usque ad verba Job, in quibus ait, pereat dies in qua natus sum et nox in qua dictum est conceptus est homo, usque ad eum locum, ubi ante finem voluminis scriptum est: Id circo ipse me reprehendo et ago penitentiam in favilla et cinere hexametri versus sunt, dactylo spondæloque currentes et propter *linguæ idioma* crebro recipientes et alios pedes non earundem syllabarum sed eorundem temporum. *Interdum* quoque rhythmus ipse dulcis et tinnulus fertur numeris pedum solutis, quod metrici magis quam simplex lector intelligunt. . . . quod si cui videtur incredulum metra scilicet esse apud Hebræos et in morem nostri Flacci græcique Pindari et Alcæi et Sappho vel Psalterium vel Lamentationes Jeremiæ vel omnia ferme scripturarum cantica comprehendere legat Philonem, Josephum, Origenem, Cæsarium, Eusebium et eorum testimonio me verum dicere comprobabit.—Præfatio in Job.



Preface to the Chronicon of Eusebius,<sup>1</sup> and in the Epist. xxx. ad Paulam relating to the Alphabetic Songs.<sup>2</sup>

Some understood the terms here used by the holy doctor (Hexameter, Alcaic, Sapphic, etc.) in the strict meaning of classical Greek or Latin metres. Such a mistake, of course, must naturally have led them to hold that the statements of Josephus as well as that of St. Jerome were based upon mere imagination, and hence were entirely wrong. Whereas St. Jerome obviously meant only a certain resemblance and not an exact similarity to the classical metres. For, like Eusebius, he pointedly reminds the reader of the peculiar character of the Hebrew (*linguæ idioma*, cfr. the quoted passage of the Preface to Job). He says that the first and second Lamentations of Jeremias are composed in *quasi* Sapphic metre. Why? Because three verses are concluded by an *heroic comma*, *i. e.*, by a dactyl and trochees or spondees, like the heroic verse or hexameter. From what he says in the Ep. xxx. ad Paulam we think that he arranged, for instance, Threni I., 1 seq., as follows :

Ekha yasheba badad rabbati 'am,  
Hayeta kealmana rabbati baggoim  
Saratî behammedinot—  
Hâyêtâ lâmmâs!

Bickell shows that the Lamentations are written in trochaic verses of twelve syllables, which metre appears also in some Psalms (136, 119), and in the Prophets, and even Jeremias (18, 13-17; 12, 7-12; 50, 23-29). He scans :

<sup>1</sup> Quid Psalterio canorius quod in morem nostri Flacci et græci Pindari nunc jambo currit nunc Alcaico personat nunc Sapphico tumet nunc semipede ingreditur? Quid Deuteronomii et Isaïæ cantico pulchrius? Quid Salomone gravius? Quid perfectius Job? Quæ omnia Hexametris et Pentametris versibus, ut Josephus et Origines scribunt, apud suos composita decurrunt. Hæc cum græce legimus aliud quiddam sonant, cum latine penitus non hærent.—Præfatio in Chron. Euseb. Mign. Patrol., T. xxviii., p. 128.

<sup>2</sup> Priusquam de singulis disseram, scire debes, quatuor psalmos secundum ordinem Hebræorum incipere elementorum, centesimum decimum et centesimum undecimum et hunc, de quo nunc scribimus (118) et centesimum quadagesimum quartum. Verum debes scire in prioribus psalmis, singulis litteris singulos versiculos, qui trimetro jambico constant esse subnexos. Inferiores vero tetrametro jambico constare, sicuti et Deuteronomii canticum scriptum est. In centesimo decimo octavo psalmo singulas litteras octoni versus sequuntur. In centesimo quadagesimo quarto singulis litteris singuli versus gemini deputantur. Sunt qui et alios hoc ordine putent incipere, sed falsa eorum opinio est. Habes et in lamentationibus Jeremiæ quatuor Alphabeta e quibus duo prima quasi Sapphico metro scripta sunt, quia tres versiculos, qui sibi connexi sunt et ab una tantum littera incipiunt, heroici comma concludit. Tertium vero Alphabetum trimetro scriptum est et alternis litteris, sed iisdem terni versus incipiunt. Quartum Alphabetum simile est primo et secundo. Proverbia quoque Salomonis extremum claudit Alphabetum, quod tetrametro jambico supputatur ab eo loco, in quo ait : Mulierem fortem quis inveniet.—Mign. Patrol., T. xxii., p. 442.

Ékha yásh'ba bádad háir rábbatí 'am,  
Háyeta k'almána rábbatí baggóyim  
Saratí behámmedínót háy'ta lámmas.

It would be unwarranted to presuppose that St. Jerome could not have had any notion of metres, based not exclusively on the quantity of the syllables, but on the accentuation. He certainly knew the accentuated hymns of the Greek Church; besides, he was very well acquainted with Plautus, who was long his favorite author in hours of recreation, and whose versification is very different from that of Virgil or Ovid, in that it follows the accent and pronunciation of popular language.

From all this we conclude that a certain traditional knowledge of the old Hebrew metres had been preserved down to the fourth and fifth centuries, when the metrical character of Hebrew poetry was generally maintained by scholars, as we learn from St. Augustine.<sup>1</sup> In some way, however, this knowledge had lost its accuracy, as we can easily see by comparing the metres of Bickell with the statements of St. Jerome.

But we find, although indirectly, the latest trace of this knowledge in the celebrated Syriac school of Nisibis in a passage from Junilius, an African bishop in the sixth century. This father wrote a kind of introduction to the Bible (*De partibus legis divinæ*). In the ninth chapter of the second book of this work he treats of our subject in his peculiar manner: "D. (discipulus) Modi scripturæ divinæ quot sunt? M. (magister) Duo. Nam aut metris hebraicis in sua lingua conscribuntur aut oratione simplici. D. Quæ sunt metris conscripta? M. Ut<sup>2</sup> Psalmi et Jobi historia et Ecclesiastes et in Prophetis quædam. D. Quæ simplici oratione conscripta sunt? M. Reliqua omnia. D. Quare apud nos iisdem metris conscripta non sunt? M. Quia nulla dictio metrum in alia lingua conservat, si vim verborum ordinemque non mutet."<sup>3</sup>

Now, Junilius tells us (præf. lii., ad Primasium) that his chief authority in Biblical matters were the instructions obtained from a certain Paulus, a native Persian. The work of Junilius is almost a copy of what Paulus had taught and dictated to his disciples. But this Paulus had studied in the school of Nisibis, "where the divine law was taught by public teachers, according to a certain method and rule, just as among the Romans grammar and rhetoric

<sup>1</sup> Quibus numeris constant versus Davidici non scripsi, quia nescio. Neque enim ex hebræa lingua, quam ignoro, potuit etiam numeros interpretes exprimere, ne metri necessitate ab interpretandi veritate amplius quam ratio sententiarum sinebat digredi cogeretur, certis tamen constare numeris credo illis qui illam linguam probe callent.—Ep. 103, ad Memorium episcopum.

<sup>2</sup> The text is corrupted. We may read perhaps: opera poetica, or carmina ut, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Mign., T. 68, p. 19.

were taught in secular schools," as Cassiodorus<sup>1</sup> says. Therefore we hear through Junilius the teaching of the most renowned Syriac school. Bickell shows that the metrical laws in the Syriac are nearly the same as in the Hebrew. Hence it was very natural that the knowledge of Hebrew metres was preserved the longest among the Syrians.

This unanimous agreement of Christian antiquity, founded, as we have seen, upon the testimony of even the greatest authorities in Biblical science among the Fathers, was naturally concurred in by the Christian schools of the following centuries and by the theologians. From Cassiodorus<sup>2</sup> to Cornelius à Lapide and Bossuet,<sup>3</sup> the metrical character of Hebrew poetry was the *sententia communis*, with no or very few exceptions. One of the first adversaries who arose against it was Joseph Scaliger, who attacked the statements of St. Jerome,<sup>4</sup> but was refuted by Martianay, the learned editor of St. Jerome's works. Richardus Simon denied every regularity of external form in the Bible poems (*Hist. crit. du V. T.*). The rabbins, at least from the end of the Middle Ages, also denied the existence of Biblical metres.<sup>5</sup> The more the study of Oriental languages, and especially of the Hebrew, was cultivated, the more frequent became the doubts in regard to this point. Already Calmet speaks very skeptically and thinks it impossible to find out the nature of Hebrew poetry.<sup>6</sup>

The worst of all was, that every attempt<sup>7</sup> to define and establish

<sup>1</sup> Migne, l. c., p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Migne, T. 70, p. 20.

<sup>3</sup> Migne, S. S. C., T. 15, p. 1052.

<sup>4</sup> Scaliger animadversionibus in Chronicon Eusebii Sanctum Hieronymum censoria virgula notat negatque in Psalterio ullum canticum esse metricis regulis adstrictum aut in Hebraico idiomate ullam metri speciem concipi posse, quia id natura sermonis non patiatur (!). Scaligerum viri eruditi pro meritis castigarunt inter alios Pfeiferus. Scaligero prævit Julianus.—Natalis Alex. hist. eccl. in iv. mundi æt. dissert.

<sup>5</sup> But Genebrardus testifies in Chronic. ad. an. mundi., 1306: "Hoc unum Hebræi agunt in tractatu Sopherim versus carminum biblicorum non paucos in suum statum *juxta mensuræ rationem* a scribis resitutos esse, cum antea fuissent a librariis confuse et permixte scripti."—Migne, S. S., T. iv., p. 586.

<sup>6</sup> He writes in regard to Job: "Hujus poesis metrum omnino nos latet et quamquam rhythmici vestigium aliquid referre videatur, utrum rhythmum semper servaverit certique syllabarum numeris adstricta fuerit, certo pronuntiari non potest. Denique hebraicæ linguæ peritiā et genuinā ejus pronuntiandi ratio majori ex parte periit, quare nemo sibi, quantumvis eruditus blandiri jure meritoque potest sese certi aliquid de natura poeseos veterum Hebræorum assecutum esse."—Migne, S. S. C., T. 12, p. 265, n. 2.

<sup>7</sup> One of the earliest was the theory of Gomarus, Professor at Groeningen (David's Lyra, Lugd. Bat., 1637), who attributed both metre and rhyme to the Psalms. Marcus Meibomius (about 1700) offered the mystery of Hebrew metrics, revealed to him by God, as he imagined, to the English government for 150,000 dollars, but found no purchaser, but a severe chastisement by contemporaneous scholars. Wetzel tried to scan the Canticum Mosis triumphale, Erlangen, 1758. Anton, Conjectur. de Metro Hebr., Lips. 1770. Lautwein, Versuch einer richtig., Theor. v. d. hibel., Verskunst. Tueb., 1775 (both accentuating). W. Jones, Comment. Poes. Asiat., 1774. Greve,

the laws of versification in the traditional Hebrew text had failed. The most significant of all these attempts in the past century had been made by Francis Hare, Bishop of Chichester. He published his "*Psalmorum liber in versiculos metrice divisus*" in London, 1736. It is remarkable that he had already seen some important laws of Hebrew metrics,<sup>1</sup> which are now proved by Bickell. But his metrical arrangement of the Psalms was rejected as unsatisfactory, arbitrary and inconsistent with itself. His attempt was criticised also by R. Lowth in an appendix to the renowned work "*De sacra Poesi Hebræorum prælectiones*" (Oxon., 1753).

This celebrated author had found, in the meantime, a very good touchstone and criterion of every metrical system in parallelism, whose laws and character were first clearly set forth by him. By that criterion it was easy to show that the metric systems hitherto proposed were faulty; but although he had thrown away every hope of a possible satisfactory solution of the metrical problem, he nevertheless maintained the credibility of attention having been paid to numbers or feet in the compositions of the sacred poets. We are convinced that if Lowth had seen the metres of Bickell and their perfect agreement with parallelism, he would have received them joyfully. It must surely be ascribed to the scientific moderation of Lowth, that among the English authors, the respect for the sayings of the ancients was not lost so soon and so generally as it was in Germany, and still many believed in the existence of a Hebrew metre. The same was the case in France. La Harpe says in his "*Discours préliminaire sur les Psaumes*," "*La poésie des Hébreux a généralement les caractères que dut avoir la poésie dans sa première origine chez tous les peuples qui l'ont cultivée. Née de l'imagination (car il ne s'agit pas encore de l'inspiration divine) elle est élevée, forte et hardie. Il est certain qu'elle était métrique, mais les Hébreux mêmes ignorent aujourd'hui qu'elle était la nature du mètre. Le mot de leur langage qui répond au carmen des Latins (mismôr), au vers des François, offre proprement l'idée d'un discours coupé en phrases concises et mesurées par des intervalles distincts.*" (*Discours prélim. sur les Psaumes*,

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Ultima capita Jobi, etc., 1791, tried to apply the Arabic versification to Hebrew, but vainly. Bellermann, Versuch. ueber d. M. d. Hebr., 1813. Morensystem. Cfr. W. A. Wright, l. c.

<sup>1</sup> "Bishop Hare maintained that in Hebrew poetry *no regard was had to the quantity of syllables*. He regarded Shevas as long vowels and long vowels as short, at his pleasure." Among the rules which he laid down are the following: In Hebrew poetry *all the feet are dissyllables and no regard is had to the quantity of a syllable*. Clauses consist of an equal or unequal number of syllables. *If the number of syllables be equal the verses are trochaic; if unequal, jambic*. Periods for the most part consist of two verses, three or four, sometimes more. Clauses of the same periods are of the same kind, that is, either jambic or trochaic, with very few exceptions. Cfr. Wright, l. c.

Migne, S. S., T. 14, p. 1052.) The traditional opinion was defended in Germany also, and the learned Jesuit Laurentius Veith calls it *sententia communis* (Migne, S. S., T. 4, p. 585). But on the other hand, the contrary opinion, *i. e.*, the theory of free rhythm, gained more and more defenders, owing mainly to the repeated failures of various metrical attempts, and was widely spread through the influence of Herder. In his "Geist der hebräischen Poesie," he exceeded the bounds of the prudent moderation of Lowth and boldly asserted that "the poetry of the Psalms had evidently only free measures<sup>1</sup> of syllables and allowed of little or no scanning, as now understood after our notion." "Free metric regions," he continued, "are hovering in the air (!), melody and affection generally determine their measure and changes, which is indicated by the frequent-occurring Sela."

Such expressions and phrases were repeated afterwards in numberless variations, some of which remind us of Goethe's words :

Eben wo Begriffe fehlen  
Da stellt ein Wort zur rechten Zeit sich ein.

Of course certain scholars felt themselves not at all embarrassed how to explain that supposed peculiarity or deficiency in Hebrew poetry. Were the Israelites so far from the state of semi-barbarism? Others appeal to some kind of extraordinary earnest and severity of the Biblical writers, partly caused by the Mosaic religion, partly arising from a supposed special property of their national temperament.<sup>2</sup> Neither must we wonder that even infidelity and atheism tried to profit by that circumstance and to blame religion and faith in God for that supposed want in the literature of Israel! whereas theological and dogmatical reasons were alleged by some conservative scholars. Some thought metrical composition less compatible with inspiration, as we have heard already. Jebb, in his *Sacred Literature*, thus ventured another explanation, or rather *a priori* deduction of the non-existence or incongruity of metrical composition in the Holy Scriptures: "Hebrew poetry is universal poetry,—the poetry of all languages and of all peoples. The collocation of words (whatever may have been the sound, for of this we are quite ignorant), is primarily directed to secure the best possible announcement and discrimination of the sense. Let, then, a trans-

<sup>1</sup> Geist. h. Poesie., Wien, 1820, p. 378.—Here he was in some contradiction with himself, for at the beginning of the quoted work, his Euthyphron speaks more cautiously: "Ist nicht der Parallelismus das simpelste Ebenmas in den Gliedern der Gedichte, Bildern und Toenen? Die Silben wurden noch nicht genau scandirt und nicht gemessen nicht einmal ueberall gezählt. Aber die Symmetrie ist in ihnen auch dem bloedesten Ohr vernehmbar." P. 33.

<sup>2</sup> J. Scherr says, in his notorious Allg. Literaturgesch: "Der Monotheismus der Hebraer hat der Hebräischen Literatur den Character der Monotonie verliehen."

lator only be literal, and, so far as the genius of his language will permit, let him preserve the original order of the words, and he will infallibly put the reader in possession of all, or nearly all, that the Hebrew text can give to the best Hebrew scholar of the present day.

"Now, had there been metre originally, the case, it is presumed, could hardly have been such. Something must have been sacrificed to the opportunities of metrical necessity; the sense could not have invariably predominated over the sound, and the poetry could not have been, as it unquestionably and emphatically is, a poetry, not of sounds or of words, but of things. Let not this last assertion, however, be misinterpreted. I would be understood merely to assert that sound, and words in subordination to sound, do not in Hebrew, as in classical poetry, enter into the essence of the thing; but it is happily undeniable that the words of the poetical Scriptures are exquisitely fitted to convey the sense, and it is highly probable (!) that in the lifetime of the language the sounds were sufficiently harmonious. When I say sufficiently harmonious, I mean so harmonious as to render the poetry grateful to the ear in recitation and suitable to musical accompaniment, for which purpose the cadence of well-modulated prose would fully answer, a fact which will not be controverted by any person with a moderately good ear, that has ever heard a chapter of Isaiah skilfully read from our authorized translation, that has ever listened to one of Kent's anthems well performed, or to a song from the Messiah of Handel." (!) By the expression "universal poetry," Jebb could not have meant anything else but the design of the Bible, as destined for the religious and moral instruction of mankind; for to this end were directed the poetical parts of the Bible, as well as those which are written in prose. But it is not difficult to see that Jebb extended that expression too far, viz., beyond the wants and limits of doctrinal instruction, to which the sacred books are destined, but as a means, yet neither as the only one, nor as the first and principal one. Besides, it is clear that the universal aim of the Bible, which Jebb presupposes, stands in close connection with that peculiar Protestant theory of the perspicuity and sufficiency of the Bible, in the advocacy of which some former Protestant scholars, as, for instance, John Buxtorf, senior, have extravagantly demanded the primitive existence and absolute correctness of the masoretic punctuation! This theory being but a bare, arbitrary, sectarian prejudice, the explanation of Jebb is as little satisfactory as the other ones above-mentioned. In short, against the existence of Hebrew metre, no objective reason can be alleged, no testimony, no fact, no quality of language; only the difficulty of finding it out experienced in all the metrical attempts hitherto

made. This objection being removed, nothing could be adduced against the Hebrew metre except, perhaps, some principle, which many would call prepossession, or compare to a rather subjective rule, ascribed to a certain class of European bureaucrats: *Quod non est in actis, non est in mundo.*

But this difficulty is now removed. Already, on the 2d February, 1879, a competent Orientalist wrote in the *Athenæum*, of London, reviewing Bickell's first metrical specimens, as follows: "We agree with the writer, that the Psalms and many other poetical pieces of the Old Testament are, without doubt, of metrical composition. We cannot see, indeed, why the Hebrew should form an exception in this regard to all other nations. But, whether Dr. Bickell has found the key to the rhythmical system in the Bible we cannot decide, till we see his system adapted with some regularity to all poetical pieces of the Old Testament."

Bickell has given this proof in the most complete and satisfactory manner, as we hope to show in another article.

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## FATHER FELIX VARELA,

VICAR GENERAL OF NEW YORK FROM 1837 TO 1853.

WHSOEVER has paid a visit to the Catholic Cemetery of St. Augustine, Florida, generally known among the people of that city by the name of "Tolomato," or "Tolomato Cemetery," will remember with pleasure, not unmixed with emotion, the pretty little chapel erected in its grounds by the Cubans to shelter the remains of their fellow-countryman, Father Varela, and perpetuate his memory.

The eloquent Father Baker, who had visited this chapel, alludes to it in one of his sermons,<sup>1</sup> and after paying deserved praise both to the beauty of the monument and to the goodness of the spirit which prompted its erection, found occasion to speak of the "holy and learned Cuban priest, who spent his whole life in the service of God and men, and who was at all times a perfect model of apostolic zeal and boundless charity."

The corner-stone of this beautiful monument was laid on the 22d of March, 1853, with imposing ceremonies, an account of which, printed in Charleston,<sup>2</sup> has preserved and transmitted to us the funeral oration delivered there by Rev. J. F. O'Neill, of Savannah, Ga., and the discourse of Don José Maria Casal, the Cuban delegate, who on behalf of his countrymen had purchased the ground and provided the means to build the chapel and the tomb.

The writer of this article, a pupil of Father Varela, actuated by a feeling of gratitude and patriotism, and by the more practical wish of recalling to the memory of the Cuban people the fruitful example of private and public virtue given by the great priest, and preventing his teachings from being lost at the very critical moment of the political reconstruction of the country, after the convulsions of the struggle through which Cuba had passed, undertook to write his life. It appeared in Spanish, in 1878.<sup>3</sup> The reception of the book, however undeserving as a literary performance, showed that the generous noble-minded youth of the island of Cuba, to whom it was dedicated, were not insensible to

<sup>1</sup> Sermons of Rev. Father A. Baker, with a Memoir of his Life, by Rev. A. F. Hewitt.

<sup>2</sup> Ceremonies at the laying of the corner-stone of a chapel in the Roman Catholic Cemetery in the City of St. Augustine, Florida, dedicated to the memory of the Very Rev. Felix Varela, D.D., late Vicar-General of New York, who died on Friday, Feb. 25, 1853. Charleston: Printed by Councell & Phinney, 119 East Bay. 1853.

<sup>3</sup> Vida del Presbitero Don Felix Varela, por José Ignacio Rodríguez. Nueva York: Imprenta de "O Novo Mondo," 39 Park Row, Times Building. 1878.



the appeal, and that the author, himself born in that privileged land, had struck upon a chord of feeling which cannot fail to produce good results.

A short synopsis of this book, by the lamented Father Finotti, was published in the *Catholic Telegraph*, of Cincinnati, Ohio, October 3, 1878, while other notices of it, published in sections of the country where the Spanish language is more generally known and spoken, extended the circulation of the work beyond the sphere for which it was specially intended.

But the influence which Father Varela exercised upon the development of Catholic interests in this country—where he arrived in 1823, poor and proscribed—and the love with which his memory has been preserved and cherished, as well in New York, among the people of the parish he founded and in which he exercised his sacred ministry, as in Florida, where he closed his life and labors, have been too great not to justify us in presenting to the readers of this QUARTERLY the most distinctive features of the character of that illustrious man.

From the day on which the first mass was said within the chapel of the cemetery, April 13, 1853, up to this time, a committee of five ladies, selected among the Catholic families of St. Augustine, have been in the habit of paying a visit to Father Varela's tomb every Monday afternoon; and the writer of this article has seen in New York several persons who still preserve as sacred relics a little piece of his cassock or a lock of his hair. He knows one gentleman in Harlem who undertakes every year a kind of pilgrimage to the city of St. Augustine and pays a visit to the tomb of his friend and confessor.

Father Varela was born in Havana, Cuba, on the 20th of November, 1788. He was baptized by the chaplain of the regiment to which his father and grandfather belonged, the former as a lieutenant and the latter as the lieutenant-colonel, and received at the baptismal font the names of *Félix Francisco José María de la Concepción*.

When Felix Varela was a child, public education in Cuba was entirely in the hands of the Church. Latin, Logic, Philosophy in all branches, Theology were taught, *always gratuitously*, in the convents of Saint Francis, Saint Dominic, Saint Augustine, and others; and the Fathers of the order of Saint Jerome at Belen maintained primary schools, the only public ones in the island, where children of all classes and conditions, white and black, poor and rich, free and slave, were admitted *gratuitously*, and taught reading, writing, and Christian doctrine, and the four elementary rules of arithmetic. Books and paper, pens and ink, slates, etc., were furnished *gratuitously* to those who could not pay.

While here in the United States, in our advanced state of civilization, under republican institutions, the idea of "mixed schools," where a negro child can be seated on the same benches as the white one, is not yet relished, in Cuba, in 1793, under monarchical rule, in a thoroughly aristocratic atmosphere, where no man had yet ventured to make a bill of rights, or any declaration of principles,—religion, holy religion, Roman Catholic religion, through the instrumentality of her monks and friars, spreading her merciful mantle over all classes of society, protected all alike without opposition, and afforded to all without distinction and *without pay* all the means that she possessed to raise up their hearts and enlighten their minds.

According to the obituary notice of Father Varela, which the New York *Freeman's Journal and Catholic Register* published March 19, 1856, his vocation for the sacred ministry was clearly shown from the very first days of his childhood. The writer says that the young Felix Varela, when scarcely fourteen years of age, declined a cadetship which was offered him in recognition of the services of his father and his grandfather, and that he accompanied his refusal with the statement: "I wish to be a soldier of Jesus Christ. My desire is not to kill men, but to save souls."

He was admitted at about that time, as a day scholar, in the seminary attached to the Cathedral of Havana; and there he completed his course of Latin, Philosophy, and Humanities, becoming in a short time the favorite son of that institution.

This *seminary*, founded in 1769, and always kept under the control of the Church, was the most brilliant and most fruitful educational institution that ever flourished in Cuba. Its history is connected intimately with all that has been grand, and noble, and advanced, and progressive in the culture of the country, and its high degree of intellectual development. The pupils were gratuitously and thoroughly instructed in rhetoric, the Latin language and literature, mathematics, logic, metaphysics and ethics, natural philosophy, theology, civil law, both Roman and Spanish, and canon law. A class of chemistry was established almost as soon as it became a distinct branch in Europe, and in 1820 a class of Constitutional law was also founded.

Young Felix Varela received the tonsure in 1806, and the degree of Bachelor of Theology in 1808, after having presented himself, with some others, as a candidate for the professorship, then called "of St. Thomas and Melchior Cano," and made a brilliant exhibition of his talent and learning in the competitive examination required by law.

In 1809 he received the four minor orders and the subdeaconship. He was ordained a deacon in 1811, and in the same year,

after another brilliant examination, he was appointed by the great Bishop of Havana, Señor Espada y Landa, to the chair of Philosophy in the Seminary.

In 1811 he was raised to the priesthood, and said his first mass in the church annexed to the convent of Carmelite nuns in Havana, where one of his aunts was a religious.

Father Varela, "the teacher," *el maestro*, as he was called in Cuba, soon became entitled to this appellation. There was no branch of human learning, cultivated at that time, with which he did not become familiar. Even in chemistry, then almost a new-born science, he went as far as any other had gone in the highest centres of civilization in Europe. God endowed him also with great musical talent, which he did not allow to be lost. He was a skilful performer on the violin, and took great pains in creating in Havana, in 1811, the *Philharmonical Society*, the earliest of its class ever established in Cuba.

The first philosophical work published by Father Varela was written in Latin, in the shape of detached sentences, or propositions, under the title *Propositiones variæ ad tironum exercitationem*. Each proposition was defended and argued in scholastic form. They were printed in 1812, to be used in his class and in the public examinations.

Soon after this, he published another set of propositions to be defended and discussed at the commencement of July 16, 1812. The title of this most curious pamphlet reads as follows :

*"Sub auspicijs Ill. D. D. Joannis Josephi Diaz de Espada et Landa, hujus diæccesis meritissimi præsulis, Regii conciliarii, etc., etc., has propositiones ex universa Philosophia depromptas tuebitur B. D. Nicolaus Emmanuel de Escobedo, in hoc S. Caroli Seminario Philosophiæ auditor. Discussio habebitur in generali gymnasio prædicti Seminarii, præside D. Felice Varela, Philosophiæ magistro, die 16 Julii, anni MDCCCXII. Typis Ant. Gil."*

This pamphlet, consisting of twenty-five printed pages in octavo, contains two hundred and twenty-six propositions relating to all branches of science, metaphysics, logic, moral philosophy, physics, chemistry, astronomy, etc. It was reprinted, with additions and great improvements, in 1813.

In the same year (1812) Father Varela, at the request of the Archbishop of Santo Domingo, printed in Latin, in two volumes, to be used as text-books in the Ecclesiastical Seminary of that island, the work to which he gave the name of "*Institutiones Philosophiæ Ecclesiasticæ ad usum Studiosæ Juventutis. Habana, MDCCCXII.*" The first volume contains a treatise on logic, and the second a treatise on metaphysics.

In 1813, as it had been announced that Spanish would be al-

lowed in the classes instead of Latin, but "not from any desire to introduce innovations," Father Varela published the same book in Spanish, supplemented by a short treatise on mathematics, and another on general physics. He added a volume, also in Spanish, under the title of *Ética* (ethics).

No other work on philosophy had ever been printed in Spanish, either in Spain or any one of the dominions which she at that time possessed.

The catalogue of 1813, published under the title "*Examen Philosophicum de correctione mentis*," was his last Latin work.

In 1814 he published in Spanish a "*Recapitulation of the Doctrines, both Metaphysical and Moral, taught in the College of San Carlos at Havana*," and also a catalogue of propositions on natural philosophy, under the title, "*Doctrinas Físicas*." These works embraced the whole course of mathematics, natural philosophy, chemistry, botany, zoölogy, physiology, and drawing, then generally taught.

Between 1812 and 1816 the popularity of Father Varela, both as a good priest and as an eminent scholar, in spite of his youth, had reached such a great height that no religious festival or public act of any importance was deemed complete unless Father Varela took some part in it.

Dr. Morales, of New York, Professor of Spanish language and literature in the College of that city, a cousin of the distinguished priest, has still in his possession, among other precious manuscripts, several sermons which Father Varela preached in Havana in 1812, 1813, and 1814, on public occasions. When the Constitution of 1812, proclaimed in Spain, was extended to Cuba, and the first election of representatives from Havana to the Spanish Cortes took place in that city on October 25th of the same year, the Mass of the Holy Ghost was said before the election, and Father Varela was invited to address the people. He complied with the request of his fellow-citizens, and, choosing for his text the words of the prophet, "*Veritatem tantum et pacem diligite*," exhorted his audience "not to listen to passion, and consider only the good of the country and the greater glory of God."

But no man, however gifted, can attain, when only twenty-six or twenty-eight years, that degree of maturity which gives a decided character and importance. The progressive spirit of Father Varela, stimulated and excited by the generous impulse and liberal views of Bishop Espada, could not rest within the narrow limits of the philosophy such as it was usually expounded at that time. Bishop Espada told him "to take the broom and sweep away from his lessons all that was not useful." Dr. Varela then began the work which secured for him the title of "Regenerator of Thought"

in the island of Cuba. His first production, after the remarkable injunction of the great prelate, was his *Elenco*, for the examinations of 1816. It was followed in 1818 by what he called "*Lección Preliminar*," a pamphlet of eight pages; by the "*Apuntes Filosóficos sobre la dirección del entendimiento humano*," a little book of more importance, and by the "*Miscelánea Filosófica*," of which three editions appeared, Havana, 1817; Madrid, 1821; and New York, 1827.

His great work, "*Lecciones de Filosofía*," subsequently published, completed this series. It was in three volumes, and has been for many years the text-book in logic, metaphysics, ethics, natural philosophy, and chemistry in the colleges of Cuba, Mexico, and other countries of Spanish origin.

Without including the editions in Mexico and other parts, Father Varela himself personally superintended five editions. The first was at Havana in 1818, the second at Philadelphia in 1824, and three at New York in 1828, 1832, and 1841. Each edition was enlarged and improved considerably.

There existed in Cuba at this time a meritorious organization, founded in 1793, under the name of *Patriotic Society*, and was afterwards called "*Economical Society of Friends of the Country*." Its brilliant career is the pride of Cuba, being the record of whatever progress has been accomplished in the island. Its deliberations, conducted always in the right spirit, and inspired by pure patriotism, always exercising great influence, were then, perhaps, owing to the circumstances of the times, more useful than ever. It is scarcely necessary to say that Father Varela was a member of that Society.

He was admitted January 24th, 1817; and the speech he delivered in the ceremony of his reception was "on the influence of ideology on the life of society, and the means of popularizing sound notions in this branch of human learning."

He was assigned to the Committee on Education, which was then the most important one in the Society, and there he rendered services of great value. Besides his efforts for establishing schools, and propagating primary instruction, he wrote many reports, among others, on the Spanish grammars of Father Laguardia, and of D. Mariano Velasquez de la Cadena.

Father Varela wrote also, by direction of the Society, a "*Colección de Máximas Morales y Sociales*," to be used as a reader in the schools of Cuba. This little book, which is now quite a bibliographical curiosity, enjoyed great favor, and is exceedingly interesting.

In 1818 he was made an *emeritus* associate.

It is a curious fact that the Cuban people are always happier,

and enjoy liberty and self-government under *absolute* monarchy better than under any of the so-called liberal governments which have ruled Spain since 1837. Modern Spaniards seem to understand liberalism only in the destructive, never in the progressive, spirit. And so it has happened that the terms, *liberal* and *oppressor*, have become so much alike, in the eyes of the Spanish masses, as to cause them, when rising up in arms in revolutionary contests, to cry out, much to the astonishment of unthinking superficial observers, "*Down with liberty! Long live the chains! We want him (the king) to be despotical!*"

Liberal rule abolished every local privilege, and all vestiges of local self-government. It put an end to all exemptions of taxes, rights of asylum, freedom from conscription, and all special rights and favors granted by grateful sovereigns to different towns and cities. Even those *fueros*, or local laws, so dear to the people, were either modified or suppressed. Instead of the old traditional machinery to which the people was accustomed, which it loved, and of which in many respects it had good reasons to feel proud, the *regenerators* of Spain established a system of well-studied centralization, with a one-hundred-armed bureaucracy, and succeeded in making Spaniards all equal, if not in rights, at least in misfortunes. To crown their work with an achievement not easy to be forgotten, they closed the convents, abolished the religious orders, of course, and confiscated their property. Finally, they committed in Madrid and other cities the horrible massacres of priests and friars of 1837.

Ferdinand VII. was loved in Cuba. To his *despotic* rule she owed the liberty of commerce, and a great many local privileges and liberties, of which she was deprived by the *liberal* government of the *divine* Argüelles and Queen Cristina. Her towns and cities were represented at court by proctors, or attorneys (*procuradores*), who could reach his ear, and who often obtained, without difficulty, all the favors desired. The Patriotic Society, anxious to give expression to the grateful feelings of the country, resolved to celebrate a public session in recognition and acknowledgment of the Royal favors. An oration, equal to the occasion, and worthy of its importance, was required; and Father Varela was elected to deliver it. To this circumstance we owe his *Eulogio de Fernando VII.*, delivered the 12th of December, 1818, which not only met the expectations of the Society, but has been always considered as a model of eloquence, and one of the most instructive papers on Cuban history.

In the same year Father Varela pronounced his magnificent oration at the funeral of Señor Valiente, the Intendant of Havana. This sermon was delivered in the cathedral of that city, on the

10th of March, 1818. His text was, "*Consiliarius, vir prudens, et litteratus.*" (1 Paral., xxvii. 32.)

Another magnificent funeral oration was delivered May 12th, 1819, on the death of King Charles IV. It was no easy task to eulogize that sovereign; but Father Varela avoided the awkwardness of the situation by beginning his sermon with the words: "I do not praise the man, but I do pray for the King. Yes, brethren, I pray the King of kings, who was pleased to put the sceptre in the hands of Charles, to pour upon his soul the abundance of His mercies, to overlook his human frailties, and to guide my thoughts in such a way as to remind you, properly and correctly, of all the good he did during the twenty years he sat upon the throne, and the numerous benefits he bestowed upon his people."

The political revolution which took place in Spain in 1820, and brought again to life the Constitution of 1812, induced the Patriotic Society, with the permission and consent of Bishop Espada, to establish in the Seminary a class of Constitutional Law. Bishop Espada, under whose protection the new class had been placed, being anxious to give it a right direction, decided that this chair should be filled by Father Varela, and commanded him to prepare himself for his new position. We say *commanded*, because the disinclination of Father Varela to enter into this new field was so great, and so manifest, that the Bishop felt it necessary to interpose his authority, to which, of course, Father Varela submitted. The course was opened by him on the 18th of January, 1821, before an audience of ninety-three scholars and a numerous public, with a magnificent inaugural address, which has been preserved. A little later he published his "*Observaciones sobre la Constitución de la monarquía Española,*" printed in Havana in 1821.

Father Varela enjoyed to so high a degree the public confidence, that it will surprise none to hear that he was elected to represent Havana in the Spanish Cortes at the coming session of 1822.

When he left Cuba and took leave of the Patriotic Society by a letter dated April 9, 1821, he did not suspect that he would never again see that land of his birth, which he loved so deeply.

His legislative services were such as had been expected. It would be long and somewhat out of place to enumerate them in this article; but it seems just to state that the Patriotic Society resolved to tender him a vote of thanks "for his zeal and his patriotism and for his efforts to promote every measure tending to the improvement and prosperity of Cuba."

When the French intervention of 1823 proscribed and condemned to death the members of that Cortes, Father Varela escaped from Spain, and found a shelter in Gibraltar. Thence he sailed for the

United States, on the brig *Draper*, and arrived in New York on the 17th of December, 1823.

He was for a long time undecided whether to settle in New York or in Philadelphia. He lived for some time in the latter city, where he published a Spanish magazine under the name *El Habanero*, but he soon removed to New York.

Before abandoning public affairs, and devoting his energies to the ministry, Father Varela endeavored to master the English language. He translated into Spanish, and printed for the use of the schools in Cuba, *Jefferson's Manual of Parliamentary Practice*, the *Elements of Chemistry applied to Agriculture*, by Humphry Davy, and several articles in reviews and magazines.

He collected also during this period of enforced rest the poems of his fellow-countryman, Don Manuel Zequeira, which he published in New York in 1829. He was also a contributor to *El Mensajero Semanal*, a magazine which Señor Saco published in Philadelphia in 1829.

The piety and erudition of Father Varela were soon known in this country. Ere long Bishop Connolly, of New York, became acquainted with his theological acquirements and with his great zeal and virtue; and to the great satisfaction of the proscribed Cuban, that prelate adopted him as a priest of his diocese.

At that time the Catholic Church had no shrines in New York except old St. Peter's, St. Patrick's, and St. Mary's, usually attended by six priests, and never by more than nine, the Bishop included, scarcely sufficient to meet the necessities of a Catholic population of 35,000 souls. Philadelphia had four churches, St. Joseph's, St. Mary's, St. Augustine's, and Holy Trinity; but they were so poor and so scantily attended that from December, 1821, to December, 1822, there were only 26 marriages, 116 baptisms, and 242 funerals in St. Mary's; 26 marriages, 100 baptisms, and 35 funerals in St. Augustine's; and 4 marriages, 90 baptisms, and 35 funerals in the Holy Trinity.

St. Mary's Church, in New York, was a little frame building, and St. Peter's was so small that the doors were often left open, to permit people to kneel outside, as it was impossible for all to find place within to hear Mass, and listen to the instructions.

Bishop Du Bois, who succeeded Bishop Connolly October 29, 1826, appointed Father Varela assistant pastor of St. Peter's; where, as stated by Archbishop Bayley, "he entered upon that career of charity and self-devotion which has made his name one of benediction in the city of New York."<sup>1</sup>

In 1827, through the influence of Father Varela, and at his re-

<sup>1</sup> A Brief Sketch of the Early History of the Catholic Church in the island of New York, by Rev. J. R. Bayley. New York, 1870.



quest, three Cuban gentlemen (Señors Lasala, Alfonso, and Garcia), advanced nineteen thousand dollars with which Christ Church, in Ann street, was purchased from the Episcopalians by Father Varela, and became the fourth Catholic church in the great metropolis. Bishop Du Bois appointed him pastor of this new parish.

Father Varela established schools for boys and girls, and became within the limits of his parish, and often also outside these limits, a true apostle of charity. This charity for the poor became a matter of praise and even of astonishment; and numberless anecdotes attesting its extent and character might be related which would almost be taken for pious legends. The poor and the sick were the principal objects of his affection and care. He went to them at all times, he gave them all that he possessed,—even the coat he had on, as he did on one occasion in winter, to a poor man who had been stripped in the street; and when the cholera was raging in New York in 1832, Father Varela may be said to have lived in the hospitals.

He established several sodalities and charitable associations in his church; organized a Sunday-school, in which he himself was the principal teacher, and established a library. It was then that he wrote a *Catechism of Christian Doctrine*, mentioned by Father Finotti in his *Bibliographia Catholica Americana*, several Catholic "Tracts" on Biblical subjects to counteract the "Tracts" of the Protestants, and his most interesting work, *The Protestant's Abridger and Expositor*, published by subscription, the purpose of which was to refute the weekly paper named *The Protestant*, which was then calling the Catholics "uncircumcised Philistines," representing their priests as impostors, and attacking every Catholic doctrine and institution.

In 1834, as Christ Church was pronounced no longer safe, Father Varela continued divine worship in a private house of the neighborhood temporarily fitted up for that purpose. In the following year a new church was begun, but on a different site, in James street, and Father Varela continued at its head until 1836.

The life of a Catholic priest in the United States was not at that time what it is to-day, and much less by far what it is in Cuba or other Catholic countries. That was a serious time of anti-Catholic agitation, of official prejudices, as well as of actual persecution. His *Cartas à Elpidio* show the many vexations, and sometimes insults, to which Father Varela was subjected in his visits to hospitals and asylums. That was the period of the destruction by incendiaries of the Ursuline Convent, Charlestown, of the anti-Catholic riots in Boston (when Father Varela happened to be present), and of the attempt to fire the Catholic Cathedral of New York. That was the period when such books as *Louise, or The Canadian Nun*;

*Rebecca Reid's Six Months in a Convent; The Awful Disclosures by Maria Monk*, and others, were making infamous charges and heaping calumnies and odium upon the heads of the Catholics. But Father Varela proved to be equal to the occasion. He was a man of great decision of character and of indomitable courage in the defence of truth. Archbishop Bayley says that "this slow but sure progress of the Church was not made without much opposition. The Rev. Dr. Varela, the Rev. Dr. Power, and the Rev. Mr. Schneller did good service;" and he praises particularly the articles that Father Varela published in answer to the attacks of the Protestants, and more especially of the celebrated Dr. Brownlee, of the Dutch Reformed Church.

It is stated that Father Varela was soon acknowledged to be a profound theologian, and the essay he published under the title: *The Five Different Bibles Distributed and Sold by the American Bible Society*, while one of the best papers ever written on the subject, unmasked that society and secured a great triumph for the cause of truth.

In an oral discussion with Dr. Brownlee, the latter, having nothing to say in reply to the formidable arguments of the learned priest, resorted to the expedient of announcing that the doctrines of Father Varela were not Catholic doctrines, and that *his Bishop* would at once disapprove and condemn them.

Father Varela took part in another controversy with the same Dr. Brownlee. One record of this discussion was printed in Philadelphia in 1833 under the title of *The Religious Controversy between the Rev. Dr. W. C. Brownlee on the part of the Protestants, and the Rev. Drs. John Power, Thomas C. Levins and Felix Varela on the part of the Roman Catholics*.

When the year 1836 came a new field was open to the activity and zeal of Father Varela. His record during the thirteen years he had spent in this country could scarcely be surpassed, yet it pales in comparison with his later labors.

The Catholic population of New York had enormously increased, but the pecuniary resources of the Church had not followed the same proportion. A new church was indispensable, but there were no means to build it. A financial crisis, one of those panics which from time to time make their appearance in the financial world, and bring utter prostration of business, had just been experienced, and rendered the work more burdensome. The new church, however, was the constant preoccupation of Father Varela, and God secured its erection.

Mr. John Delmonico, of New York, founder of the family of that name in the great metropolis, was one of the fervent admirers of Father Varela. One day when going through Chambers street,

on his way home, he happened to pass in front of a Presbyterian church, that was actually under the auctioneer's hammer. He took his stand among the bidders and succeeded in purchasing the building for \$56,000. A portion of this price was paid down by him, and the rest was secured by mortgage on the property. Signor Delmonico had the deed executed to Felix O'Neil and others as trustees, but the instrument declares that the money had been supplied by Father Varela.

The new church property repaired and arranged was dedicated on the 31st of March, 1836, under the name of *Church of the Transfiguration*. The people always called it "Father Varela's church."

Father Varela was appointed to be its pastor, and for a time had as assistant the learned Italian priest, Father Mupietti.

The difficulties with which Father Varela had to struggle on account of the heavy debt of his church scarcely admit description. A learned economist might perhaps have condemned the whole undertaking as unbusiness-like and "injudicious;" but Father Varela trusted in something else than the precepts of political economy, and often said: "Never mind, go on, the sun shines for all without distinction."

The church does not exist to-day where it was. It was demolished after the death of Father Varela and transferred to Mott street, where it now stands. The memory of its first pastor is still preserved among the people of the parish with the greatest love and veneration.

One characteristic feature of the religious spirit of Father Varela was his constant effort to associate Catholic faith with happiness, cheerfulness, hopeful views, consolation, and encouragement.

"Bear always in mind," he said, "that prayers are made to bring us consolation, not torture." "True religion brings happiness, and history teaches that most of human miseries have resulted from the attempt to substitute for its everlasting principles others both doubtful and inconstant."

It would be long to enter into any detailed account of all that Father Varela did between 1836, when he became the pastor of Transfiguration Church, and 1853, when he died. It suffices to say that nothing represents better the typical life of a good pastor than the life of Father Varela during this period of time. It was then when he displayed that extraordinary charity, zeal, and unbounded absolute self-denial which made him so conspicuous and universally loved and respected—when everything he had, his money, his watch, his spoons, his clothing, even the coverlets of his bed, which he on one occasion gave away through the window to avoid the scolding of the housekeeper, passed to the hands of the poor. It was then, also, that he founded what was

called the *Half-Orphan Asylum*, which he started with eight hundred dollars given him by a lady of his parish.

He wrote during this period many works, some of which have been published, while others still remain in manuscript or have been lost. One of his papers on the "distribution of time, maxims for human intercourse, and religious practices," written in Spanish for one of his penitents, has been inserted in his *Life*. He wrote, also in Spanish, a very interesting book, under the title of *Advertencia á los católicos, etc.*, specially intended to prevent Spaniards coming to the United States from becoming Protestants, and to warn them against heretical and infidel doctrines. This book was never printed.

He also wrote in Spanish *Entretenimientos religiosos en la noche buena* (never printed), and published two volumes of his remarkable work *Cartas á Elpidio*, bearing, the first on *Infidelity* and the second on *Superstition*. Both volumes were printed in Spanish in New York, the first in 1835 and the second in 1838. The first volume was reprinted in Madrid, where it was received with great favor. A third volume, on *Fanaticism*, has never been printed.

His dearly loved Cuba was never forgotten by Father Varela, who, in the midst of his numerous and overwhelming labors, always found the means to do something conducive to her benefit. He contributed to the *Revista Bimestre Cubana*, the best review ever published in the Spanish language, according to the authority of Quintana; he corresponded with the most distinguished and prominent men of Cuba at that period; he exhorted them to keep always in the right path; and when a philosophical discussion on Eclecticism and the then popular doctrines of Victor Cousin was carried to such an extreme in Cuba as to become one of the events of the period, Father Varela wrote his celebrated letter of October 22, 1840, which was read by all with admiration, and is still considered as a magnificent exhibition of sound doctrines blended with charity and patriotism.

In 1841 Father Varela undertook, in union with Doctor Charles Constantine Pise, the publication of a monthly magazine known as *The Catholic Expositor*. Its first number was issued in the month of April, 1841, and it continued for several years.

In the third Provincial Council, held at Baltimore, in April, 1837, Father Varela attended as *procurator* for New York.

In the same year he was appointed Vicar General of that diocese; and when a coadjutor was proposed to Bishop Du Bois, in 1837, the name of Father Varela was mentioned for that position. He never worked as hard as he did on this occasion to prevent his appointment.

In 1841 the Faculty of Theology of St. Mary's College, of Bal-

timore, conferred upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Theology; and in 1846 he attended another Provincial Council which met at Baltimore, and whose inaugural session was held on the 10th of May. He went as theologian to Bishop Hughes.

A life of constant work and self-denial, attending sick-calls at all hours, day and night, in every description of weather, always on foot, and never well protected—continued assiduity, and voluntary deprivation of all comfort, and even of the most necessary things—that *watching when all sleep*, as he said in one of his letters to a friend in Havana—with incessant mental activity, could terminate in but one result. Father Varela's health was undermined and ruined; and in 1846 he found himself prostrated, and unable to do the slightest work. He used to say, with a pleasant cheerful smile, half in jest and half in earnest, that he had three or four diseases at the same time, all struggling to break him down.

At this time some friends in New York carried him to Florida, to the city of St. Augustine. The genial climate of the land of Ponce de Leon, its sea-breezes, its tropical atmosphere, benefited the great priest. He was forced to remain there by the injunctions of his prelate and the requests of his friends; but in July, 1849, he thought he had recovered sufficiently to come back to his parish. He was mistaken, however; as soon as the winter set in he was disabled. He could neither lie down, nor assume a recumbent position. It seems that his lungs were gone.

His friends hurried him back again to St. Augustine; and there, after two more long years of suffering, he died in the month of February, 1853.

When the sad news of his death reached New York, a feeling of consternation prevailed among the Catholics. It seemed as if they had lost their best friend and protector.

The *Freeman's Journal* of March 12, 1853, published an account of his death, with the letter of Father Stephen Sheridan announcing it, and explaining its circumstances.

The feeling in Florida, among whose people he had lived for about seven years, was so full of love and admiration as to render impossible the transportation of Father Varela's remains, either to Cuba or to New York. The opposition of the people was so great, when either project was discussed, that a riot was feared, and they had to be abandoned.

Father Finotti says in a letter, written by him to the author of this article in 1875: "Nowhere will his labors be more appreciated than in the United States. His name is now a household word with our clergy." We shall say in our turn that his name is also a household word with every one who feels love and admiration for real greatness, superior intellect, and Christian virtues.

## CAPITAL AND LABOR.

*Del Comunismo, Esame Critico Filosofico e Politico.* P. Valentino Steccanella. Roma, 1882.

*Communism in America*; the Yale John A. Porter Prize Essay for 1878. Henry Ammon James, B.A., of the Law Department of Yale College. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1879.

*Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration.* Carroll D. Wright. Boston: Rand, Avery & Co., No. 117 Franklin Street, 1881.

COMMUNISTS and Socialists are at one in their views of private capital. They consider it the most fruitful source of the poverty and crime that have afflicted the world, and the chief obstacle in the way of that millennium to which they would lead modern society. Capitalists, they tell us, are a class who reap where they have not sown, who live in idleness and luxury, corrupt themselves, and corrupting all around them. They are parasites, that draw life and sustenance from society, without giving it anything in return. They are usurers, extortioners, and robbers, who, in a thousand ways, despoil the laborer of the fruit of his toil, and condemn him to lifelong want and suffering. This is the burden of the charges brought against capital by socialistic writers and orators, and which they emphasize with that cheap explosive rhetoric with which we are all familiar, and which seldom fails to dazzle and excite the selfish and unthinking, who are brought under its influence.

The socialist, then, would "suppress" the capitalist, and would do so by withdrawing the "means of labor," that is, factories, workshops, raw material, machinery, and the capital necessary to employ them, from the control of private individuals, and make them the property of the state, or the commune. He would, indeed, give the individual private property in his direct earnings, that is, he would permit him to exchange what he had produced from the soil for other equivalent products (Steccanella, page 107), or pay him in certificates that would be exchangeable for commodities, depriving him, however, of all opportunities of personal enrichment (James, *Communism in America*, page 53). This shadowy individual ownership can hardly be said to modify, in any appreciable degree, the communistic principle that underlies every socialistic theory.

But, does the capitalist merit the opprobrious epithets heaped upon him by socialistic writers and orators? Is he, really, the *hostis humani generis* they represent him? He may, indeed, be a

drone, he may gather where he has not sown, he may be a sensualist, he may be an extortioner, a usurer who will take his pound of flesh when he can get it, but is he necessarily such? Is he such, because he is a capitalist? It were simply absurd to say so. Wealth, it is true, is a very dangerous acquisition. "For many have been brought to fall for gold, and the beauty thereof has been their ruin." It is, nevertheless, no crime to be rich. "Solomon exceeded all the kings of the earth in riches," yet, "he loved the Lord, walking in the precepts of David his father." It is forbidden to amass wealth unjustly, to love it inordinately, to spend it wastefully or for evil purposes. But to acquire and enjoy it without injury to others or one's self, is no sin. If it be, where does the sin begin? At fifty, or a hundred thousand? At a million, or at ten millions? Your socialistic moralist would, I fear, find it no easy matter to name the guilty figure. Good and bad are to be found in every class of society, among the poor as well as among the rich, among workmen as well as among employers and capitalists. But can the capitalist, even when he receives what is generally considered only a fair and just return on his investments, be said to do an injury to society, and, especially, to the working-man? Certainly not.

Every service we render others calls for a proportionate compensation. This is a truth which no one can gainsay. The capitalist rents his lands to farmers, who are thus provided with homes for themselves and their families, and who, if thrifty and economical, can not only pay their rent, but, in the course of a few years, put aside enough money to buy farms for themselves. He rents his houses to tenants, who are unable or unwilling to buy houses of their own. Does he not render to both these classes a real and very substantial service for which they owe him an equivalent return? He invests his money in bonds or in stocks, and, by so doing, helps the government to pay its debts, and private corporations to commence and carry on business. Does this aid which they solicit and receive from him give him no claim to his interest and his dividends? He lends it to individual merchants or manufacturers, who, by business talent, tact, and thrift, realize on it twenty per cent., and give him half this amount. Must he be deemed a robber because he accepts this interest? If so, he must be a strange sort of robber, indeed. He is a robber whom very many persons like to meet, and are generally the better for having met. He is a robber whom thousands go in search of every day in our cities and towns. He is a robber who helps men to fortune instead of depriving them of it, and who, by developing the industries of the community, and the resources of the country in which he lives, establishes a claim to the gratitude and respect of

both rich and poor. There are, it seems to me, very few cities in this or any other country where distinguished robbers of this class would not be welcome to spend their booty in adding to the number of their mills and factories.

Then, the capitalist, instead of lending his money, might himself use it in business, and thus gain not ten but twenty per cent. on his investment. He might spend it in works of charity or philanthropy, or to gratify his tastes, or his pleasures. But by lending it he puts it out of his power, for a specified time, to make any use whatever of it. He thus subjects himself to a very serious inconvenience for the benefit of others, for which in the nature of things they are bound to compensate him.

Again, loans generally involve risks, and when they do, compensation, in proportion to the risk run, can, in justice, be asked and received.

Nor need any apprehension be felt for the so much talked of concentration of capital, in our day, in the hands of a few. I may be mistaken, but I have the impression, received from a desultory reading of general history, that capital was never as generally distributed as now. To the slaves and serfs and dependents of former days, has succeeded a numerous and well-to-do middle class of comparatively recent growth. Manufacture is more centralized now than in the past, owing to the introduction of machinery; but this cannot be said of agriculture or trade, at least in this country. In these two departments of industry, the gradations between poverty and wealth are more numerous than at any previous time. Dire distress is still to be met with in some places, but when was the world without it? With a population of more than fifty millions, we have in this country, perhaps, a dozen men of colossal fortunes—merchant princes, railroad and mining kings, who certainly have great power for evil as well as for good. But there is no reason to fear them. Their treasures are not locked up in vaults, but invested in wealth-producing industries that benefit the masses as well as their possessors. Here property is not entailed. In a little while, these autocrats of the Stock Exchange will pass away and their fortunes will be divided amongst their heirs, who, in the majority of cases, will spend them in less time than it has taken to accumulate them.

Great corporations, such as railroads, telegraph and express companies, representing, as they do millions, and sometimes hundreds of millions of capital, may, it is true, use the power this capital gives them to the injury of particular classes, of private individuals or of smaller corporations. But this, it seems to me, must be the exception, not the rule. Those who are thus injured are very few indeed, compared with the vast multitudes benefited by these bodies.



It is clearly the interest as well as the duty of these companies to deal fairly with the public. Their charters, their rules, their rates, are in the hands of all. If there be aught in their organization or their management that infringes the rights of individuals or of the community, the remedy is with the representatives of the people or with the courts. They owe their existence to law. It governs them. They are as amenable to existing laws as any individual in the land. Our legislatures and our courts should be able to keep them to their observance. If they do not, then elect representatives and judges that will. If this be thought impossible, why advocate legislation that would put the vast interests involved in these corporations at the mercy of bodies you declare to be irreclaimably corrupt? Would it not be wiser to leave them, as far as possible, under the control of those who own them, the bond and stock holders, and of their officers who best understand their management, than to put them in the hands of men who will be sure to use them for partisan purposes and personal profit, and thus make their securities valueless and bring ruin on the thousands whose means are invested in them? Is it not notorious that the worst managed business in this or perhaps any other country, is that over which our municipal, state and federal governments have control? If we cannot have honest and competent legislators, the fewer laws are made the better. If we can, their first care should be to interfere as little as possible with the freedom of individuals or of corporations, limiting their enactments to such statutes as are necessary to carry out and enforce the fundamental law.

The corporations under consideration are not state or philanthropic organizations. They are business concerns. They may be common or public carriers, and as such control highways. They may supply other public wants of the community. But whilst such functions bring them more immediately under government supervision than other organizations less directly connected with the public welfare, it does not make them cease to be, in other respects, private corporations. They were formed, they are owned and managed, by private individuals. They are bound to fulfil any specific obligations they may have contracted towards the public, but beyond holding them to this, the government has no control over them and should not interfere with them, unless where their stocks are owned and the companies are controlled by the state. And even where they received land-grants or other subsidies from the government, these, it must be presumed, in the absence of express stipulations to the contrary, were not intended to secure for the government, control in their management, but simply to encourage their formation as a means of settling its wild lands and increasing its revenue. These advantages are more than sufficient to compensate

the government for any favors of this kind bestowed upon them. Bouvier (*Law Dictionary*, page 409) says in this connection: "It makes no difference in regard to the rights of the corporation that it may have received large grants of land or other property from the state or sovereignty conferring the charter. Unless the stock is owned by the state, or the appointment and control of the principal officers are retained by the state, so as to create it a public corporation, its essential franchises are inviolable to the same extent as other private rights of a pecuniary character, and its functions are equally independent of legislative control, as are those of any natural person."

Corporations are managed by men, and their managers, like the rest of men, will sometimes exhibit the ordinary frailties of human nature. They will, now and then, be indiscreet, overbearing, vindictive, selfish. In violations of the rules of their companies, they will occasionally engage in branches of business along their lines, and give advantages to those with whom they are thus connected, which they deny to others. Different roads will pool their earnings, to the exclusion and prevention of such healthy competition as would be of advantage to the public. In their desire to extend their operations, they will contract debts they are unable to carry, and which depreciate the value of their securities already issued. This, of course, is all wrong, but it does not justify legislation that would embarrass the action of the companies themselves, prevent their development, or curtail their legitimate profits.

Who does not know that, in our day, railroads are everywhere, and especially in this country, one of the chief factors of material prosperity. They give employment to hundreds of thousands, and to men of almost every class and profession. They stimulate invention in many of the useful arts. They minimize the cost and the hardships of travel. They develop the natural resources of the country as no other agencies could do. They meet the immigrant as he touches these shores, and carry him swiftly and cheaply to the soil that has waited for his plough from the beginning of the world, and give him a home on terms that make it almost a gratuity. They transport our minerals from the lakes and from the territories to our manufacturing centres, and our beef and bread-stuffs from the Rocky Mountains and the Plains to the Gulf of Mexico. Without them, the West would be to-day a hundred years behind the point it has reached in material development.

But they do more than this. They are great conservative forces in our society. In every state they have vast interests at stake. In every legislature they have, as they should have, an influence in proportion to the numbers and the capital they represent. They are thus enabled, and in self-defence they are often obliged, to

keep legislation within proper limits, and defeat the schemes of unscrupulous lobbyists and wirepullers to fleece the public. Whilst protecting themselves, they protect others.

They are, also, a bond of union between the different states and sections of this confederacy. The more extended their operations, the greater their influence, the stronger that bond becomes. It is the interest of the roads, it is the interest of all those who hold their securities, to do what they can to avert civil strife, and discountenance whatever would even remotely threaten the integrity of the Union. Slavery had much less to do in bringing about the late civil war than the sectional interests of the South, and its desire to build up a great southern empire. The rapid changes in the avenues of trade and commerce, taking place in our day, may put a like temptation in the way of other parts of this country sooner than we think for. Professional patriots and politicians are not to be relied on in such a crisis. Men who systematically rob their country, will, it is to be feared, not hesitate to divide it when it becomes worth their while to do so. So, in such a contingency, our chief hope would be in our great corporations, and, especially, in our railroads. Had Northern roads and Northern capital had, relatively, as much influence in the South before the war as they have now, or are destined to have in the near future, the rebellion might not have occurred. But, be this as it may, it is certain that great railroad companies, extending their lines, as ours are soon destined to do, from ocean to ocean, and from Canada to the Gulf, are, in themselves, the best guarantee we can have of national unity in the future. They will prevent secession, which, were it to occur, could be remedied only at the cost of much blood and treasure.

Whilst providing, then, as far as possible, against abuses, on the part of corporations, they should be dealt with in a friendly, not a hostile spirit. Laws intended to affect them should be framed with the greatest care, and by lawyers of acknowledged ability and integrity. "Tidal-wave legislation," in their affairs, might be productive of very serious consequences before it could be repealed. In trying to remove the evils of "monopolies," we should not have recourse to remedies that would be worse than the disease. The danger to be apprehended, just now, is, it seems to us, not the growing strength of private corporations, but the undue interference of the state in their affairs. The effects of this interference on municipal affairs, where it is less reprehensible than in the case of private corporations, and the motives that inspire it, may be gathered from the following paragraph from the *Philadelphia Ledger* of a recent date:

"State commissions appointed to do municipal work, are always at variance with sound principles of local government or home

rule; but the Delaware legislature, by appointing a water commissioner to take charge of the water supply of Wilmington, hitherto under the control of the city government, has made this abuse of power so clear, that it may serve for future illustration of more obscure cases. The sole motive of the change appears to have been partisan; there is no allegation of local mismanagement, but the majority of the city council differs in political faith from the majority of the legislature, and by creating the commission, power and patronage are transferred from one party to the other. Even the partisan advocates of a commission ought to be able to see, however, that it is unjust to take from the people of Wilmington the control of the water works, which they alone use and pay for, and to give that control to the agents of members of the State legislature from all parts of Delaware. Philadelphia has suffered grave injuries from just such abuses of legislative power. Not even in Ireland is there more reason for the existence of a party of 'Home Rulers' than there is, in many instances, in American cities."

But it is not alone the capitalist, technically so called, that is anathematized by the apostles of Socialism; the manufacturer, and all who profit by the labor of others, fare no better at their hands. According to Lassalle, Marx, and Proudhon, all that remains to the manufacturer, after having paid the cost of production, or, in other words, his net profit, belongs not to him but to his workmen. The reason of this is, they say, and as the Socialist Society of German Workmen stated in their address, in 1875, that "labor is the source of all wealth, and of all culture," and that, as the difference of value between the raw material and the manufactured article has been caused by labor, to the laborer it belongs, after the necessary expenses of production have been deducted from it.

This is truly a startling claim, but, happily, it is as absurd as it is startling. Labor is, indeed, a source of wealth and culture, but it is not the only one. There are many others, needless to mention here. In the cases under consideration there are, ordinarily, three sources or efficient causes of the profit realized,—capital, directing skill, and labor. With us the manufacturer generally represents the first two. He provides the means necessary to build the mill or factory, to furnish it with the necessary machinery, to purchase the raw material, and pay the hands. The workman converts the raw material into the manufactured article that is to be put upon the market. These three causes are indispensable factors of this sort of production, but all are not equally important. Common labor is easily procured, and what is common and easy to procure is, in the nature of things, cheap. Skilled labor, because more rare, commands a higher price. But rarer than skilled labor is

the intelligence that enables a man to provide the money and material necessary to run a mill, or a large workshop, to superintend its various departments, and find a market for its products. Such a man does not work with his hands, but his brain works, how ceaselessly you may tell by his haggard looks, and the anxious days and the sleepless nights he is doomed to pass. He is the guiding spirit of the establishment over which he presides. It is he who gives unity and direction to its different departments. The workmen are intelligent instruments in his hands, by which he forms the fabrics on which they are engaged. Surely, then, he has a right to an important share in the profits of the work to which he contributes so much.

Capital is harder to command than either labor or superintendence. It is, in itself, fruitful of good to its possessor. It gives him a right to the domestic and social enjoyment it procures for him. Should it cease to benefit him when, instead of spending it on himself, he invests it in business? Capital is not treasure-trove. It is presumed to be, and usually is, accumulated savings. It represents the labor, the privations, the thrift of years on the part of the manufacturer. Why should the fruit of so much toil, of so many privations be enjoyed by others without paying for it? The thing is preposterous. The manufacturer, then, representing two of the three causes of production above mentioned, that is, the money and the brains of the establishment, has a right not only to a share in the profits, but to a share proportionate to the influence he had in realizing them. The effect belongs to the cause or causes that produced it. What remains belongs, for the same reason, to the workmen.

This being the principle that underlies the matter, to know precisely how much of the profit should go to the manufacturer we have only to determine what should be considered a just compensation to the laborer. Can this be done? It can; though at times not without considerable difficulty. One reason of the difficulty is, that the value of labor is not absolute, but to a great extent relative. It is affected by a variety of circumstances; by the kind and quality of the labor, by the amount performed within a given time, by the law of supply and demand, by the cost of living. Brumidi, who frescoed the dome of the Capitol at Washington, had a right to better pay than the man who swept the floor beneath him. The mechanic who does twice the amount of work of a given kind done by another, and does it as well, is entitled to twice as much wages. When laborers are few higher wages are offered, and may be accepted, than when they are plenty. In our day, a bill-poster is better paid than was Domenichino in the sixteenth century, when at work on his greatest masterpieces. But, if labor

was cheap then, so also were the necessities of life. Labor, according to Ricardo, and other political economists, has its natural and its current prices. The natural price is that amount of compensation that enables the workman to support himself and his family. The current price is the wages he actually receives, and which is regulated by the law of supply and demand. The workman must live and make suitable provision for his wife and children. He can do this only by his labor. His labor, then, is worth to him what will give him and his the means of support. He can ask this amount of compensation for it, but no one is bound to give it to him, except in virtue of a contract made with him. Wages suppose a free contract between laborer and employer, a contract of bargain and sale. It is the contract that gives the laborer a claim to his wages. Antecedently to this contract he has no claim to receive the amount of them from the employer or anybody else. No employer is bound to engage his services. Society does not owe him a living, except in the sense that it cannot prevent his obtaining it by honest means. He can ask the natural price for his labor, he can refuse to take less, but he cannot compel others to give it to him. His labor is worth it to him, but it may not be worth it to the employer. Generally speaking, it is; but, under certain circumstances, it may not be. There are some laborers, at every trade, who "are not worth their salt." The employer is not bound to pay the natural price for labor when the price of the article to be manufactured will not enable him to do so. When it does, he should pay that price, for justice requires that a man should give an equivalent for what he receives. In this matter, however, the employer should consider not only the actual, but also the prospective value of the article. Some articles fall in price to rise no more. Others are subject only to periodical fluctuations in value. When the employer foresees that he can carry these through a period of depression, and sell them at a large profit, the labor that produces them is worth more than the current price, and he is bound to pay more. Immense profits are made by individuals and by corporations with large capital, who can afford to manufacture extensively when prices and labor are low, and wait to sell till prices are high. This can hardly be done without injustice to the workman.

What is certain, then, in this matter, is this, that when labor is worth its natural price, the employer is bound to pay it. When it is worth more, he should pay more. In like manner the workman cannot exact more for his labor than it is worth to the employer. Each is bound to give a just equivalent for what he receives. But who shall decide what that equivalent should be? It is certainly within the competency of government to legislate on

the labor question. In every country this question greatly affects the public welfare, and, occasionally, even the peace of society. It is, therefore, a proper subject for legislation. And, in point of fact, governments have in all times legislated on it. There is, however, one difficulty connected with it with which they have been loath to grapple, and which they have for the most part approached only indirectly, and it is this: how to regulate future rates of wages, so as to make them at once equitable and satisfactory to laborer and employer, and be able to enforce their observance. In the Middle Ages the maximum price was sometimes fixed by law, and it was made punishable for the employer to give or for the laborer to receive more. In our own day boards of arbitration and conciliation have undertaken to deal with this and other difficulties growing out of the labor question, and they have done so with very considerable success. Of these boards Joseph D. Weeks, Special Commissioner of the State of Pennsylvania, says in his report to the Bureau of Statistics of Massachusetts in 1881:

"Boards or courts of arbitration and conciliation, for the settlement of certain or all disputes or differences between employers and employed, have existed generally in the industries of France and Belgium since early in the century, and in England, for certain trades, for twenty years. The constitution and method of these boards, and the success that has attended them, can be learned in detail from the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor for 1877, or from a report of an investigation, with their practical workings, made to the Governor of Pennsylvania in 1879, by the writer. It is sufficient here to remark that, in France, in 1878, there were brought before these boards, the *Conseils des Prud'hommes*, which are established at unimportant trade centres, and which are quasi-judicial bodies, with legal sanctions for their awards, 35,046 cases, of which 25,834 were heard in private without a formal trial, and 71 per cent. settled without a public hearing. Of the entire number of cases 21,368 were relative to wages, 4733 to dismissals, and 1795 to matters relative to apprentices.

"In England where these boards are purely voluntary, without any legal existence or sanction to their decisions, their success in removing causes of difference between employer and employed, or in settling disputes, should they arise, has been most marked in those trades in which the principle has been fairly tried. In the hosiery trade of Nottingham, in which a board has been in existence for twenty years, there has been no general strike since its organization. In the manufactured iron trade of the north of England, where the board has a history for ten years, it is also true that in that time there has been no general strike; though in both of these trades, prior to the establishment of these boards,

strikes and other labor troubles were exceedingly frequent, and though, further, the nature of these trades is such as to render the settlement of questions of wages extremely difficult.

"In this country formal arbitration and conciliation in the sense that these words are understood in, in England, has a very meagre history. The cases are very few in which boards have been organized on a basis similar to the English boards, and formal arbitration attempted; and in only a single instance have these boards outlived the first attempt to settle a dispute or difference.

"Industrial arbitration is both the name of a principle and the specific application of that principle. As a principle, arbitration is a method of settling disputes or differences between employers and employed, by a reference of the matters at issue to a board composed of representatives of each of the two parties to the question, the representatives of each being elected or appointed by the parties themselves, the board to have power to hear testimony and decide the question, or, in the event of a failure of the board to decide, with power to call in one or more parties, whose decision in the case shall be final, and binding on both parties represented in the board." . . . .

"I am thus careful in defining arbitration, as the term has been applied to a practice in this country, which, however commendable it may be in itself, is not arbitration. This is the custom that exists in some of the labor organizations, of choosing a committee, composed entirely of the members of the organization, that is termed an arbitration committee, before which all or certain disputes between employers and employed are brought. . . . Whatever such a principle may be called, it certainly is not arbitration. It is no doubt a very commendable proceeding to endeavor to investigate fairly both sides of a dispute, rather than rush headlong into a strike; and there is no doubt but that in such cases the board, or committee honestly endeavor to arrive at a just conclusion; but notwithstanding this, the act and decision are not those of a board of arbitration. In a word, it is as impossible for one party to a dispute to arbitrate, as it is for one man to fight a duel." . . . .

"Conciliation is not formal; it does not sit in judgment. It does not necessarily imply a board or a court, although the best results follow when the conciliation is systematic, under the influence, direction and authority of a board. . . . While there has been little or no conciliation in this country, such as exists in the trades of England, that is, systematic through the medium of permanent committees organized for the purpose, there are certain forms of conciliation that have a history, that if it could be told would be the brightest and the most hopeful chapter in the indus-



trial history of our country. . . . They are worked out in the quiet of the counting-house and office, where employer and employed meet as equals, and as man should meet man, and then and there, in all kindliness and good feeling, settle their differences before they become disputes. . . . There is, however, a form of conciliation that has been practiced in centres where certain industries have gathered, of which we *have* the history. A committee representing the organized labor in these industries has met a similar committee representing the manufacturers in the same industry, and between them they have agreed upon future rates of wages, and settled their differences. This is notably the case in the iron industries at Pittsburg." (*Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration*, page 106.)

In this report, compiled by Carrol D. Wright, Chief of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics, will be found a detailed account of the organization of arbitration boards, and of the results obtained by them in different places.

They have not accomplished all the good that was to be desired, but, in our opinion, they have done all that could have been reasonably expected of them. Neither they, nor any organization that could be framed, would be able to furnish a solution of the wage-question that would be acceptable in all cases to the parties interested. And the reason is, that in a free country neither boards nor government can compel men to work for wages they deem insufficient, or oblige employers to pay wages they consider too high. There is nothing of which men are as absolute masters as of their labor and their capital. You can no more settle this question absolutely and definitely than you can any other question of bargain and sale, or for the matter of that, any other moral question connected with the Decalogue. Nevertheless, boards of arbitration can do much in this direction, and when an evil cannot be wholly removed, its diminution may at least make it cease to be formidable. These boards are, presumably, composed of experts in the matters brought under their cognizance. Representing, as they do, both employers and employed, they have at heart the interests of both. They know the requirements of trade, the price of the raw material, the cost of manufacture, the state of the markets, and the profits that should accrue to the manufacturer. They are acquainted with the character, habits and condition of the workman, and can best tell, at any given time, how much he needs to maintain his family in a manner suitable to their condition, to educate his children and lay up something "for the wet day and the sore foot," for times of enforced idleness, for sickness, and for old age. And knowing all this, they are best able to decide what the em-

ployer can afford to give, and what the workman should be contented to receive for his labor.

Further than this they cannot go. "They can lead the horse to the stream, but they cannot make him drink." If the employer is unwilling to pay the amount of wages fixed by the arbitrators, he can put out his fires, and shut up his factory. If the laborer will not accept it he can quit work and go on a strike.

And thus, it is evident that behind this question of wages there is a moral question, or rather there are moral questions on which it ultimately depends for settlement. If workmen are not sober, industrious, and economical; if they indulge tastes that are extravagant in persons of their condition; if they are too eager to rise above their condition in life, no amount of wages will satisfy them, and the more they get the more they will try to exact. If, on the other hand, employers are bent on making rapid fortunes, or live beyond their means, they will seldom give the laborer any more than they can help, and not unfrequently try to cut down his wages to the starvation-point.

Both workman and employer must be persuaded that there is another life better than the present, and a happiness this world cannot give. They must believe and feel that there is trouble and danger as well as joy in wealth, that "a rich man shall hardly enter into the kingdom of heaven," and that "they who hasten to become rich, fall into temptation and into the snare of the devil, and into many unprofitable and hurtful desires, which drown men in destruction and perdition." It is only such considerations that can restrain men's cupidity, and make them deal justly and charitably with each other. Money ministers to all the passions, to pride, ambition, avarice, sensuality and luxury, and it is only the strongest religious convictions, and confirmed habits of virtue, that can keep men from seeking it inordinately, and acquiring it by dishonest means. *Pecuniæ obediunt omnia*. Destroy or unsettle their belief in a hereafter, in a future state of rewards and punishments, and justice and every other virtue will lose for them its motive and its meaning. They will recognize no moral law, for there can be no law without a lawgiver, and a judge to apply and enforce it. They may believe in "the survival of the fittest," but, if they do, rest assured each one will believe that *he* is the fittest to survive, and that he will try to do so as best he can.

The London *Spectator* has lately said, with truth, that "real poverty is least among the causes of socialism. Its causes are rather to be sought in the spread of knowledge, and the decay of faith. Education is sharpening men's faculties, giving them new desires, making them more apprehensive as to the future, and more envious of the rich, at the very time that the increase of skepti-

cism, by depriving them of the hope of immortality, and destroying the ideas of duty, renders them more resolute to enjoy the present."

This is the real trouble. The principle of authority, indispensable in the acquisition and development of every kind of knowledge, has been rejected in matters of faith and morals. The immediate result of this has been the appearance of some two hundred jarring Christian sects in Europe and this country. Is it any wonder that, having been "blown about by every wind of doctrine" for three centuries, the masses outside the Church, should feel inclined to steer clear of all doctrine for the future? God and His law are ignored by nearly every civilized government of the present day. The highest law they recognize is the will of the monarch, or of the majority, for the time being. Religious teaching has been excluded from elementary schools, and positive infidelity has been taught in colleges and universities. For more than a century millions of all classes have drunk in the poison of a literature in part atheistic, in part immoral. Parents having no religious convictions themselves have considered it a duty to prevent their children receiving any till their reason should be matured, and they would be able to choose for themselves. Such children, it is needless to say, have seldom or never adopted any form of religious belief that would put a restraint on the passions they had indulged, and the habits they had formed during the most susceptible period of their lives.

All these causes combined have produced the effect that should have been foreseen: "Truths are decayed from among the children of men." "The time of our life," they say, now, as they said of old, "is short and tedious, and in the end of a man there is no remedy, and no man hath been known to return from hell. For we are born of nothing, and after this we shall be as if we had not been; for the breath in our nostrils is smoke, and speech, a spark to move our heart. Which being put out, our body shall be ashes, and our spirit shall be poured abroad as soft air, and our life shall pass away as the trace of a cloud, and shall be dispersed as a mist, which is driven away by the beams of the sun. . . . Come, *therefore*, and let us enjoy the good things that are present, and let us speedily use the creatures as in youth. Let us fill ourselves with costly wine, and ointments, and let not the flower of the time pass by us. Let us crown ourselves with roses before they be withered; let no meadow escape our riot." (Wisd., c. 2.)

And, if the roses do not grow in their own gardens, you may be certain these advanced thinkers will pluck them from those of their neighbors.

Another advantage of boards of arbitration would be, that they

would enlighten public opinion as to the merits of any existing controversy about wages between employers and workmen, and thus enable the general community to see to which side its sympathy was due. This, no doubt, would do much towards bringing all such controversies to a speedy and peaceful, if not always a mutually satisfactory settlement. Their views, too, and recommendations would be of the greatest value in framing legislation in regard to the other conditions of labor, such as the hygienic provisions to be made in factories, the precautions to be taken to prevent accidents to workmen, the kind and amount of employment proper for women and children, and other matters affecting the well-being of the laboring classes.

As to the organization of these boards,—whether they should be partly judicial, as in France, or wholly voluntary, as they are at present in England,—opinion here is divided. The tribunal provided by the Wallace bill, lately passed by the legislature of Pennsylvania, is, in its inception and submission of cases, voluntary, but legal in its procedure and awards. Many favor, others condemn it, whilst others still, who have not fully made up their minds in regard to it, are for giving it a fair trial. This would seem to be the more prudent course to adopt. Time will soon tell whether or not its compulsory provisions should be retained, and thus show the utility or the inutility of legislation in regard to labor disputes in this country. This point once settled, the way will be open for the introduction of purely voluntary tribunals like those of England.

With the question of wages is intimately connected that of strikes. Some political economists justify, others condemn these combinations. For my part, I do not see how their legitimacy can be questioned, provided those engaged in them ask only what is just, keep the peace, and do not interfere with the rights of others. Men's labor is at their own disposal, and they have a perfect right to refuse to work for less than what they consider a just compensation. They can do so, if they please, and even work for nothing; but they cannot be compelled to work for any amount of wages. No one questions the right of merchants and manufacturers to refuse to sell their goods at too low a figure, and to hold them for a higher market. Why should not workmen be allowed to do the same with their labor? Some contend that strikes cannot affect wages, as these are regulated solely by the law of supply and demand. This, however, is a mistake, as wages may be increased by lessening the profits of employers. W. T. Thornton, in his work on labor, published in 1869, argues that the trades-unions have raised the wages of laborers in general, and estimates the addition thus made to the aggregate earnings of the workingmen of the

United Kingdom at £9,000,000 per annum. From this it is evident that, if strikes have often failed to accomplish the object aimed at, they have, on the whole, met with very considerable success.

But strikes, it is said, if successful, raise the price of products for the general public, and, whether successful or not, disorganize very often branches of trade with which the strikes have no direct connection, as is particularly the case in regard to strikes in the coal-mines, and on railroads. This is, no doubt, true. Nevertheless, it does not deprive workmen of their right to strike. The public has no more right than their immediate employers to require them to work for insufficient wages, and, as long as their demands are just, it is very often their employers, not they, who are to blame for the rise in prices, and the other disorders referred to. Were employers always satisfied with a fair profit, strikes would be obviated, or soon terminated. This men will hardly do, who, beginning with little or nothing, look forward to being able to retire from business at thirty-five or forty years of age, on a fortune of a quarter or half a million of dollars. The profits that would enable men to do this, are not in the legitimate trade, except under very rare circumstances.

And here we would remind workmen that employers are not always or alone, responsible for the hardships they may have to endure, or the struggles they may be obliged to make, in the battle of life. The landlord, the baker, the butcher, the grocer, and all who furnish them the necessities of life, may be quite as much in fault as they. Nay, even should the workman obtain an advance of wages, even to the very highest figure the employer can afford to pay, extortionate rents, and extortionate prices for provisions and other necessities, may make his condition as bad as and worse than it had been before such an advance had been given. Wholesale dealers usually sell on what they call a very narrow margin, trusting to the extent of their sales for a proper return on their investment, but the profits of retailers are sometimes nothing less than startling. In a late number of the *Philadelphia Ledger*, its well-informed New York correspondent says: "As everybody knows, there has been, within the past few weeks, a very decided shrinkage in the prices of many leading articles of domestic consumption, but, up to this time, consumers, it is certain, have derived little or no benefit from it. The retailer gets all the profit, and the profit, in some cases, is simply enormous. Take coffee, for example: While Rio is selling at  $7\frac{3}{4}$  to 8 cents per pound, the retailer receives from 23 to 28 cents; Maracaibo, 10 cents at wholesale, retail 25 to 30 cents; Java, 15 to 16 cents at wholesale, retail 30 to 35 cents. It would be nothing but fair if the retailer were to divide his profits with the customers; but, as far as can be ascer-

tained, there is but little disposition to do this. In sugar and tea, the difference between the wholesale and retail prices is not so marked, but is one, nevertheless, which leaves a largely disproportionate profit to the retailer."

And retailers not only demand and take these extortionate prices for the necessities of life, they combine to prevent their customers from obtaining them at lower rates. They would "boycott" the wholesale merchant who would sell them to private families at wholesale prices.

Now, as this state of things may exist in any and every city and town in this country, might it not be well for trades-unions to give it a share of their attention? Certain it is that, as long as it does exist, the only persons likely to derive any real advantage from strikes, or from a rise in wages, are landlords and shop-keepers. But if workmen will persist in fighting the battles of these gentlemen, under the delusion that they are fighting their own, that is their affair.

Though allowable and right in principle, strikes are sometimes wrong in practice. Those engaged in them, whilst asserting and maintaining their own rights, should not assail those of others. This they do when they attempt, by force, to prevent men working at lower wages than they themselves are willing to accept. Every one has the natural right to hire his labor on any terms that are satisfactory to himself, and no man, or set of men, can deprive him of his right. This is a plain truth which workmen should be the very last to call in question.

Strikers have, in the absence of positive laws or ordinances to the contrary, as much right to parade the streets as any other bodies of men assembled for a lawful purpose. Nevertheless, parades of this kind may lead to trouble, especially in cities and towns unprovided with a sufficient police force. It is not to be presumed that those who organize them intend any violation of the peace. They, generally speaking, have too much sense for anything of the kind. But they should remember that it is not in their power to control the idle and excitable crowds that such demonstrations bring together. Would it not be well, then, on prudential grounds, to abstain from displays of strength, that, at best, can do little or no good, and that may bring discredit on the cause they are intended to serve? In a free country, the rioter is detested only a little less than the rebel. We have not policemen at every street corner. We have not soldiers in every city and town, whose very presence would be sufficient to overawe would-be disturbers of the peace. But he who would infer from this that the American people are indifferent to its preservation, would mistake them very much. Tolerant, often too tolerant, of other vio-

lations of law, the one crime they will not overlook is, open resistance to civil authorities. Whether its emblem be the national flag, or a tin star on the breast of a special policeman, they will uphold that emblem, and at any cost. Cowardly mobs may strike down the few representatives of civil authority to be found in our cities, but, in so doing, they strike at a nation that, in turn, will trample them under foot, and hold to a strict account the men and the organizations that gave occasion to their lawlessness. With us the humblest officer of the law represents the majesty and power of the whole American people, and this people can send to his support any force that may be necessary to uphold him in the discharge of his duty. If the local police cannot do this, the State militia are at hand. If these do not suffice, a roll-call of regulars and volunteers, longer than that of the Army of the Potomac, is in the hand of the chief magistrate. It is, then, as foolish as it is criminal in mere mobs to assail an authority which, however weak it may seem in its immediate representatives, is, in its reserved power, simply irresistible.

We do not flatter ourselves that the views here advanced on the relations of capital and labor will meet with universal or unqualified approval among employers or employed. We had not hoped that they would. In what we have written, our sole aim has been to bring out some of the principles that underlie this important subject, and, by so doing, throw as much light as we could on the difficulties it presents to ordinary thinkers. There are men who "love darkness rather than the light," and who, if the light be forced upon them, will sin against it. There are employers and workmen who will take advantage of each other, whenever or howsoever they can, regardless of well-understood right and duty. On men of this class, reason, argument, is thrown away. "They will not understand that they may do well." And even when they do understand, they will do wrong. Knowledge is power, but it is not virtue. It is power for evil as well as for good. There are others, and we would fain hope they are the majority, who need only to have the right made clear to them, to adhere to it, and who, in cases of doubt and difficulty, are ready to adopt any fair, equitable means of adjustment. It is these we have had in our thought in preparing this article, and we are not without hope of having penned something that may help them to a solution of a few, at least, of the difficulties connected with the subject we have attempted to discuss.

## ENGLISH ADMINISTRATION IN IRELAND TO-DAY.

**T**O a stranger visiting Ireland there are few things more striking than the complete distinction between the government and the people. Elsewhere, whatever be its form, the government is supposed to exist for the people's benefit, and to depend for its continuance on the national prosperity. In Ireland the case is entirely different. The government is simply a class of officials dependent for their appointment and pay on the English ministry, and indifferent alike to the wants or the feelings of the country. Many of them are total strangers to it, and, almost without exception, all profess strong dislike to anything distinctively Irish or national. In official circles the public funds are habitually spoken of as the property of the government, and any application of them to Irish purposes as acts of generosity. The people, or at least the majority of the population, are constantly described as a lawless crowd, whose unreasonable dislike of government must be kept in check by force. Their religion is a badge of inferiority in most of the higher offices, and any strong national sympathies are looked on as nearly if not absolutely criminal. The law is regarded as an essential part of the government in the sense of the official administration, and it is expected that government interests shall be paramount to all other considerations in the action of the legal functionaries. Strangely to American ideas, the representatives of the popular majority in Parliament are ever and always regarded as the natural enemies of what is known as the government. As for the minor representative bodies, such as the municipalities, and the poor-law boards, an important part of the work of the government officials is to keep them from committing errors. That the popular representatives must be unfit to govern is a cardinal principle of action in the government circles. They admit that some representation is needed to give the country a legal resemblance to England, but they hold that such representation shall be always under the control of the officials appointed by the English ministry.

One would be astray, however, in supposing that the Irish government represents the politics of the ruling ministry in England. In theory it may, but in practice the Irish executive is a permanent body of officials, holding office for life, and regulating its actions mainly by official traditions handed down from generation to generation. The Lord Lieutenant, the Secretary for Ireland, the Lord Chancellor, and a few others, are all that are changed with a change of government. The heads of the various departments,



among which the work of the executive is divided, remain on for life, and often defy Parliament to interfere with their "vested interests." In Ireland the management of a public office, such as national education, is looked on as a piece of property, to which the rights of its official managers are sacred, and the needs of the public service altogether secondary. In this way it comes that the traditions and practices of the old penal times are preserved in Ireland for fifty or sixty years after the penal laws have been effaced from the statute-books. Catholics are still looked on as highly ineligible for important offices, and especially for the magistracy, though they form nearly four-fifths of the whole population. The still older tradition of discouraging Irish manufactures, which was the approved official practice under William of Orange, is also preserved to a considerable extent, and even increased. There is comparatively little new legislation in Ireland, as may well be supposed when the only legislative body is a Parliament which has to make laws for the whole British Empire. The judiciary is much more closely connected with the executive than in either England or the United States. The Lord Chancellor and most of the superior judges are members of the Privy Council, and the duty of all governmental departments, both legal and executive, supporting one another against the people, is regarded as a matter of course. In this way, the various boards into which the Irish executive is subdivided, enjoy almost complete freedom from either legislative or judicial interference. Each in its sphere is nearly absolute, and though combined action for any useful purpose is hard to be obtained among them, action of any energetic kind is not considered advisable in government circles. To draw pay, discharge routine duties, and make no innovations, are the sum total of ordinary official duties. Whether the country thrives or is ruined, is nothing to its officials, whose pay is drawn from the English treasury, into which the Irish contributions are emptied. It is often said that the prosperity of a country is little affected by its government. A brief study of the existing *régime* in Ireland, and the material ruin which has gone on, deepening under its influence for nearly forty years, would dissipate such an idea. We shall merely point out the chief branches of its administration and their character, and leave our readers to judge.

As there are no county governments, properly speaking, a good deal of the functions performed by such bodies, where they exist, devolves in Ireland on the grand juries. These are appointed by the sheriff of each county at will from the rate-payers whose annual valuation exceeds one hundred pounds, leased property. Beyond selecting them from the different baronies, the sheriff has no restriction in law on his choice. Custom, however, which in the

country parts of Ireland is more powerful than law, prescribes that the grand jurors shall be only selected from the "gentry," that is, from the landlords or their agents, with occasionally a few wealthy farmers or merchants intermixed. As the sheriffs are themselves appointed invariably from the same class by the Lord Lieutenant, and are changed from year to year, the class constitution of the grand juries has been steadily preserved through all the Irish agitations. Besides their duties of finding or throwing out bills for crimes, the Irish grand juries have to allow or reject claims for compensation for injuries and malicious mischief. As in such cases it is common to allow exemplary damages, that is to say, amounts exceeding the actual losses sustained, their power to aid friends is very great. The number of claims for compensation allowed to persons of the same class or political views as the grand jury, is usually very much larger than to any other section of the community. In like manner when a "respectable" person is charged with a crime, it is usual to give him the benefit of doubt where any exists, while the opposite rule is applied to persons who only belong to the farming or working classes. Though the Catholics form nearly four-fifths of the whole population of Ireland and are the majority in twenty-seven of its thirty-two counties, in some amounting to nearly forty to one, there is, we believe, no instance of a grand jury containing a majority of Catholics known, except in a few cities. On an average they run from four or five to ten per cent. of the whole, and of course are utterly powerless on a division.

The practice of having the grand jurors as well as the magistrates and most other officials drawn almost exclusively from one religious body, the Episcopalians, who number about a ninth of the population, gives a striking illustration of the manner in which the influence of the penal laws of the last century is still kept up at the present day. The law declares that the Irish Catholics are entitled to equal rights with any other class of their countrymen, but it makes no provision for distributing the various offices according to right. *They* are assigned to-day as they were when a judge ruled that "the law did not recognize the existence of a Papist in the country." The legal Protestants down to the Emancipation had a monopoly of the local government by law. The danger of a civil war and the reprobation of the civilized world compelled the abrogation of that law, but almost the same monopoly is now upheld by official custom. Such, in this respect, is the religious equality enjoyed by Irish Catholics in 1882. The dominant caste still exists with two badges, landlordism and Protestantism of the once legal type, and it still holds a fast grip on the local administration.

In addition to their legal functions, the grand juries have control of the public works of each county, such as roads, bridges and public buildings, for the maintenance of which they levy a county cess. Its total amount in Ireland is about six million dollars annually. The patronage of this is almost wholly left to the juries, and in awarding contracts they occasionally take personal considerations into account quite openly. Thus, near Dublin last year, bids from responsible parties were rejected on the ground of their having been Land Leaguers, and much higher tenders accepted from contractors belonging to the landlord class. The public funds are thus at the disposal of a class entirely distinct from the tax-payers. How admirably calculated such a system is to maintain class bitterness and to discourage local improvements, may be easily judged.

The relief of the poor and the maintenance of the public hospitals are provided for by a distinct system of local taxation known as the poor rates. Its amount varies from year to year, but on an average it is nearly the same as the county cess levied for public works. It was, we believe, about five and a half million dollars in 1881. For its levy the country is divided into poor-law unions, distinct from the baronies. Its administration is intrusted to the boards of guardians elected by the rate-payers, being, with the exception of the municipalities, almost the only instance of popular representation in the administration of the country. So jealous, however, is the government of any popular management of Irish affairs, that besides the elected members an equal number of magistrates are appointed by virtue of office in each ward. These ex-officio guardians seldom meddle with the actual business details, but usually take an active part in dividing the patronage of the public rates. Nevertheless, the superior energy and generally greater intelligence of the elected members frequently outweighs the organization of the official representatives. The boards of guardians are thus almost the only centres of political life in the country districts of Ireland, and, on the whole, their administration is much superior to that of the grand juries; nevertheless, their power is extremely limited. The amount they can levy, the mode in which relief is to be administered, and the very diet of the poor-houses is prescribed by law; and all their acts are subject to the approval of a body of three commissioners appointed by the Lord Lieutenant, and known as the Local Government Board. The latter examines the accounts of the boards of guardians, and may charge the chairman of each with the amount of any items it objects to. They have also the power to discharge, without reason given, any officer of a union, or even to suspend the whole body of guardians and appoint others in their place. This distrust of elected bodies is a characteristic feature of the whole administra-

tion of Irish affairs. That appointed officials can do no wrong seems to be a maxim of "the powers that be" in Ireland. They have acted on it consistently for over three centuries, and they act on it to-day. It is remarkable that after so long an experience the belief of the Irish people on this point is in direct opposition to that of their rulers.

The system of legal relief for the destitute poor is a modern feature in the Irish administration, having only been established in 1838, in a great part through the exertions of O'Connell; nevertheless the board which controls it has been handed over, as completely as the older departments, to the class which formerly described itself as the Protestant ascendancy party. The majority of the commissioners that compose the local government board belong to that class, and from it are also drawn almost exclusively the higher officials, who under the name of inspectors and auditors examine the accounts and actions of the elected boards of guardians, and ratify or reject them at discretion. No qualifications are required for these appointments, the rate of pay for which is nearly four thousand dollars a year each, beyond the personal favor of the local government board. Anything like sympathy with the popular will in politics is, of course, an insuperable obstacle in the way of attaining one of these well-paid offices. In relieving the destitute poor of Ireland the closest attention is paid to economy by the officials. The quality and quantity of the food they may receive is strictly regulated by acts of the Imperial Parliament. Corn-meal porridge, potatoes, bread and milk, in limited quantities, form the staple of the diet allowed in the workhouses, meat being almost unknown. In general it is forbidden to the boards of guardians to grant relief to any one except on condition of entering the workhouses, unless those institutions are too full to receive additional inmates. On entering, parents and children, husbands and wives are separated, and allowed no intercourse with one another in their daily life. Tasks are allotted to the inmates of the workhouses at the discretion of the superintendents and guardians, and they are not allowed to leave those tasks or absent themselves from the house without permission from the superintendent. A peculiar uniform, of coarse stuff, is provided for the inmates, resembling that of prisoners. In fact the chief difference between life in an Irish workhouse and life in a prison consists in the lower scale of food provided for the honest poor. The proportion of the population receiving relief at the public expense is much smaller in Ireland than in England or Scotland, in spite of the poverty of the population. In Ireland, last year, about one hundred and twelve thousand persons, or one in every forty-five of the population, were receiving public aid. In England and Wales the

number was over eight hundred thousand, or one to every thirty inhabitants. Whenever outdoor relief is granted to the poor, special care is taken to prevent its being excessive. In Dublin, shortly before last Christmas, about eight hundred persons were getting public assistance outside the workhouses. The sum allowed for the support of each was between fifty and sixty cents a week. Deaths from starvation and famine fever have been more numerous in Ireland than in any part of Europe since the establishment of the English poor law system.

The Irish common schools are under the control of another board, appointed by the English ministry, without any qualifications for such a trust. The commissioners are twenty in number, all belonging to the landlord or official class, and, of course, wholly free from any popular sympathies. Unlike the local government board, however, half of the education commissioners are Catholics, not, of course, representative Catholics, but simply officials professing the Catholic faith. The greater part of the commissioners do nothing whatever, and the whole management is left in the hands of a paid commissioner, whose decisions are practically law in educational matters. The national schools, as they are called, are subject to no local representative body. A manager, in the person of some influential resident, is recognized for each by the board, and by the manager the teachers are appointed and dismissed at pleasure, but the public of the district has no voice in the matter. The schools are visited and examined semi-annually by official inspectors, but any attempt at introducing improvements, except ordered by the central board, is vigorously repressed. A cast-iron system of regulations is imposed on the schools, without regard to local requirements. The only books allowed are a series prepared in great part forty-five years ago. It may be added that any reference to Irish history or nationality is strictly forbidden in the Irish schools. In fact, though the Irish language is spoken by nearly a million of the population, it is only within the last few years that elementary teaching in that language has been permitted, and no provision whatever has been made for training teachers in the language, or supplying books in it to the pupils.

The organization of the whole system of education for Ireland was originally intrusted to a Scotch Presbyterian clergyman, who conducted a private academy in Dublin. His assistants took charge of the normal school (there is only one such establishment for the whole of Ireland), and succeeded in imprinting such a character on it that, for some years back, the Catholic teachers, who form three-fourths of the whole number, have given up frequenting it. Thus, trained teachers are extremely few, and the number is decreasing rapidly. The system, however, being independent of the public

will, makes no attempt to modify the objectionable features of its training. During a good many years, the board was in the hands of a Protestant majority. The Rev. Mr. Carlyle, the Scotch clergyman already alluded to, was its first chief, and prepared many of the school series imposed on the country. Two Catholic officials out of a board of seven was then considered ample religious equality for the creed of four-fifths of the population. The numbers were subsequently increased to six in a board of fifteen members. The Protestant Archbishop of Dublin, Dr. Whately, who, in virtue of his office, was a leading member of the Irish executive, was also appointed to the educational board, on its formation in 1831. His Grace had just been brought over from England to occupy the See of Dublin, in accordance with the practice alluded to, a century before, by Swift, in the lines :

“ Our law and our Church dear England maintains,  
For which all true Protestant hearts should be glad,  
She sends us our judges, our bishops, and deans,  
And better she'd give us, if better she had.”

The system of national education, in the administration of which Dr. Whately was the most prominent personage, had been established avowedly in consequence of the failure of previous legislation in favor of exclusively Protestant schools for the Irish people.

Lord Stanley, the Chief Secretary for Ireland, expressly stated that, in the new system, the most scrupulous care should be taken not to interfere with the peculiar tenets of any description of Christian pupils. Dr. Whately proceeded to carry out this principle by preparing a series of Scriptural extracts, Protestant hymns, lessons on Christian evidences, and the history of religious worship, which were introduced into all the schools under the control of the board. At the same time, Catholic works were strictly excluded, and by this means, as privately acknowledged by himself, the good Archbishop hoped quietly to achieve the object of rooting out Catholicity from Ireland. The board of education was left under his influence for about twenty-two years, with the natural result of awakening strong public suspicion and dislike of its administration. In fact, at present the model schools, corresponding to the high schools in America, which are all under the direct management of the board, are avoided by the great majority of the people, as anti-Catholic and un-national ! Nearly four-fifths of the present population of Ireland, it may be added, are Catholics. The total amount spent last year on public education in Ireland was about three million seven hundred thousand dollars. Men teachers receive salaries ranging from one hundred and seventy-five to three hundred and fifty dollars ; females, from one hundred

and thirty-five to two hundred and ninety dollars. The average pay in Ireland for teachers is almost exactly half what it is in England. The deficiency of popular education in Ireland is looked on by the English ministry as a weighty objection to granting any measures of home rule in that country.

University education in Ireland has a much more definite legal character than in America. University graduates have special representatives in Parliament; and, though not absolutely indispensable, university certificates are of the utmost importance in obtaining admission to the professions of law or medicine. In fact, the employment of an unlicensed medical practitioner is considered a gross piece of lawlessness by the Irish tribunals. The only university in Ireland, down to 1849, was Trinity College, which was under the control of the state church. It was not only Protestant, but its teachers were obliged, before admission to their chairs, to take an oath denouncing the religion of a majority of their countrymen as "damnable and idolatrous." Catholics, however, might attend their lectures on paying the usual fees, but they were excluded from all the scholarships, fellowships, and other prizes of the college. That this arrangement was somewhat unfavorable, and even unjust, towards four-fifths of the nation, was freely admitted by the government at the beginning of the century. In less than fifty years afterwards they attempted to partially remedy it by the foundation of the Queen's University, which differed from Trinity in admitting Catholics as professors, in limited numbers. In Belfast College, indeed, the theory was the only difference, as no Catholic was appointed on the staff, though Catholics were the majority of the population of the province of Ulster. The new university was also more strictly official and anti-national than Trinity College, and, in consequence, its failure was admitted by the government after thirty years' experience, and a new establishment founded in 1880. This admits students of any college or creed to university honors and degrees if they only possess the needed literary qualifications. That the government should have sanctioned such a principle, after only eighty years' experience, is a striking proof of the progressive nature of the Irish administration. The want of men of culture among the mass of the Irish people is frequently given by the Protestant gentry and members of Parliament as an evidence of their natural unfitness for self-government.

The danger of correcting admitted abuses too hastily is a constant source of apprehension to the Irish administration. Its dealings with the education question are a good example of its way of avoiding such a risk. During the penal laws, when Catholics had no legal existence, the public endowments for education were nat-

urally confined to the legal Protestants. Circumstances beyond the control of government compelled the repeal of the penal laws at different times, and, in consequence, it was found that three-fourths of the population were Catholics as a matter of fact. As they, in consequence, were liable to look for some share in the public funds, the government deemed it right to regard that portion which had been set apart for education as private property of the dominant sect. In this way a body numbering about one-ninth of the Irish people, retained control of university education for fifty years, and still retains the lands originally set apart for its support. The estates of Trinity College are nearly two hundred thousand acres, or one per cent. of the whole soil of Ireland. They were granted originally for public purposes. Government made a small sect the legal public by the penal laws, and the public endowments have remained with that sect since. The tendency of Irishmen to recur to the evils of past legislation, whose character no person now defends, is looked on by the English public as strong evidence of the unpractical and sentimental character of Irish grievances.

In no department is the peculiar nature of the English administration better illustrated than in the eminently practical one of Irish public works. Their intimate connection with the material prosperity of the country is fully recognized by the practical English people. Indeed, that commerce must largely depend in any country on its harbors, its roads, railroads, and canals; that the overflow of rivers in flood-time must materially affect agricultural interests; that protective legislation is necessary to prevent the destruction of fisheries, and that all these are essentially public works, no one who pays a moment's attention to the question will attempt to deny. In America the people are so trained to the practice of self-government in all the details of public life, that it is hard to realize how completely the control of works such as we have just mentioned is vested in the executive central government in Ireland. A railroad cannot be constructed, or a public tramway laid down, a river cannot be deepened or embanked, water-works cannot be established for the smallest town, nor a harbor be formed for shipping without special acts of Parliament. The cost of obtaining such is always considerable, for it must be held in mind that "lobbying," under the name of parliamentary agency, is a strictly legal institution in the British empire. But the obtaining an enabling act for such works by no means ends the interference of government in every part of their working. The raising of money to carry them out, the countless questions of private rights affected, the variations that may be needed from original plans, and a thousand other points, which here are determined by arbitration or the



public interest, are in Ireland reserved for the decision of the central executive. It must be borne in mind that home rule is declared to be wholly inconsistent with the maintenance of the present governmental system, and home rule is prohibited not only in Parliament, but also in local affairs. As it is impossible for Parliament to superintend all the details of such works, its functions in that line are, according to the usual plan, delegated in Ireland to a board.

The functions of the board of works are twofold. It "interprets" in official language the acts of Parliament relating to railroads, drainage, canals, and generally to the spending or lending of public money on national works. Thus, when permission has been granted to build a railroad by act of Parliament, the board of works afterwards has to examine the plans and surveys, and decide whether they provide adequately for the improvement of the district traversed. It also appoints arbitrators to condemn any lands required for such works. In fact, questions relating to river navigation, drainage, the building of harbors and docks, water works, and even a good deal of the late land acts are under the complete control of this body. For instance, in 1870, Parliament passed a law, by which tenant-farmers might obtain loans from the state, repayable by instalments, for the part purchase of their holdings. The board at once fixed the smallest loan that would be issued at such a figure that very few tenants could take advantage of it. Nullification, of this description, is a favorite practice with Irish boards.

Extensive as is the field of operations thus appointed to the board of works, no check is maintained over its action. Its annual expenditure is about one million of dollars, the greater part being on such government buildings as barracks, prisons, coast guard stations, and courts. Most of the work, in connection with these, is done by contract. From evidence given by the board itself before a Parliamentary committee, it seems to be looked on as quite unnecessary to award such to the lowest responsible bidder. Relatives of officials, being better known to the board, get a preference in many such cases. The architect employed by them also acts openly as chairman of a Dublin building society, though a treasury law expressly forbids officials from engaging in private works. Breach of the law by officials, however, is not regarded as lawlessness in Ireland, and entails no punishment. The board simply admits the fact, and does nothing. To prevent trouble and save expense, no official meetings of the board itself are held, nor is it considered needful to publish any accounts of its transactions.

The body, thus vested with the management of Irish works, is not numerous. It consists of a Scotch colonel and an Irish en-

gineer, both holding office for life, and quite irresponsible to any tribunal. It is complained that the slowness with which business in the department is transacted has a bad effect on the public prosperity. One example may be given: A canal was cut by the board between Lough Erne and the Shannon during the years between 1846 and 1859. The total cost from public and private sources was two hundred and twenty-eight thousand pounds, about eleven hundred thousand dollars. On its completion, it was handed over to local trustees, whose engineer pronounced it wholly useless for traffic from its faulty construction. The board received the engineer's report in 1860, and simply declined to answer. The facts of the case were finally published after only *eighteen* years, and the charge of the engineer was fully admitted. The canal, of course, had been useless, and continues so, but it is pleasant to learn that the board of works draws its pay with perfect regularity. Its officials are all men of recognized "integrity" and extremely outspoken in condemning any waste of public funds on poor relief.

The tendency of the Irish people to depend on the aid of government in all their public undertakings is a point which is frequently urged in England, and especially in Parliament. The board of works has naturally to cope with this tendency, and it does so very effectively. In 1878, before the land agitation commenced, a curious official report was published by Parliament, showing the amount spent, and loaned respectively towards Irish railroads, harbors, drainage, inland navigation, and fishery piers. These, it may be seen, include pretty nearly everything which, in America, would be regarded as public works. The actual amount spent on the whole, out of the Imperial funds, averaged *twenty-five* thousand dollars a year. Loans were granted on good security to railroads, to the amount of about thirty-five thousand pounds a year; towards harbors and piers, of something like six thousand pounds a year; and towards drainage works, of about nineteen thousand pounds. These, however, were all secured by first mortgages on the property, and thus the sole amount actually spent was on piers for fishing-boats along the west coast. Twenty-five thousand dollars were annually employed on such works, but since 1880 this grant has been discontinued for a characteristic reason. The Canadian Government made a grant for the relief of Irish distress, and, as the erection of piers was found the most effectual way of aiding the poorest and most industrious class of the people, a hundred thousand dollars of that money were applied to such works. The board of works, in consequence, has thought it best to withdraw the customary grant of aid of the fishermen for a few years, on the grounds of economy. The total yearly revenue

raised from Ireland, for Imperial purposes, is somewhat near thirty-six millions of dollars.

On a review of the various functions of the board of works, it will be seen how few enterprises of an industrial character are exempt from its jurisdiction. There are, however, a few such, and as a specimen of the mode in which the action of the administration is brought to bear on them, the Dublin exhibition of 1882 may serve as an example. A number of Irish manufacturers and merchants, having the Lord Mayor of Dublin at their head, determined to get up a display of Irish manufactures, with a view to their encouragement. They excluded politics of every shade, and avoided any demand on the government, either for help or patronage. The result was peculiar. The exhibition was denounced by the official class as disloyal, and the whole power of its friends was directed to preventing its being held. On the completion of the building by popular subscriptions, which amounted to a hundred and fifty thousand dollars, the government suddenly issued a circular to the constabulary through the country directing them to take the names of all persons supposed to come up to visit the Dublin exhibition. As the police had power to arrest any one at pleasure, it was hoped thus to deter visitors from the disloyal though quite legal exhibition. A threatened resignation of the whole police force, which occurred simultaneously, owing to official ill treatment of that body, prevented the benevolent designs of the authorities from being carried out, nor was it renewed. The character of the attempt is strikingly typical of the system of rule in Ireland.

The police administration of Ireland is organized on a plan quite distinct from that of any other country. No local or municipal police are allowed to be organized. The executive provides a force of about twelve thousand, armed and drilled in military style, who are expected to discharge all the duties of enforcing the law throughout the country. An inspector commands in each county, with five or six sub-inspectors under him. These are the commissioned officers of the force and are highly paid, and selected from the class of gentry almost exclusively. The sub-inspectors obtain their appointments by competitive examinations, in which Latin, Greek, English literature and various similar studies form the tests. The close connection of those subjects with a police officer's duties, illustrates the highly practical character of the Irish administration. It is also a fairly adequate precaution against persons not belonging to the wealthier classes finding admission. The combination of literary and military tastes is naturally confined to such; but to prevent the danger of poor men slipping into the service by merely literary ability, another remarkable test is added. Before a candidate is eligible for appointment as sub-

inspector, his family must guarantee him a salary of fifty pounds a year, during a period of probation as a cadet. The unaccountable manner in which mere ability is usually combined with prejudices against the existing system of government in Ireland, unless its possessor is strongly interested from practical motives in its support, is a sufficient explanation of this remarkable rule. The constables are recruited from the farming classes and receive about double the pay of soldiers in the army. The only precaution taken with them is, that they shall never be employed in their own county, and that in each barrack men of different districts and religious persuasions shall be grouped together. The duties of the force are not usually heavy. They drill for about an hour each day and patrol the roads for a few hours in the evening. The peculiar arrangements adopted for keeping them apart from the population, naturally renders them almost wholly inefficient in arresting criminals. As, however, there is little ordinary crime in the country, that is a matter of secondary importance, unless in times of disturbance. Times of disturbance, in the official sense, usually occur in Ireland about every nine or ten years and last three or four. The officials and judges say they are wholly unaccountable for by any natural causes. The usual remedy applied is a coercion law. The habeas corpus act is suspended, men are imprisoned on suspicion for unlimited periods, and fines are levied on the disaffected district. The last is much recommended by the officials, but a serious obstacle to its application is found in the increasing poverty of the country. Just before Christmas an application was made to levy a hundred thousand dollars in taxation off a district in Galway and Mayo, where a Mr. Burke had been murdered. At the same time, it was found impossible to recover the poor rates, in a large part of the district, the people being penniless. The problem of how to levy taxation on a destitute population is one on which the whole intelligence of the Irish administration has been engaged for some time, but the solution arrived at has not yet been made public. We may remark that the total cost of the Irish constabulary is rather large, amounting to nearly seven millions of dollars for the past year. Three million six hundred thousand are spent on popular education. The average cost of a school teacher is very close to one-half that of a police officer, and their numbers are nearly the same.

The boards which we have described are the real government of Ireland at present. It will be seen that the system is a quite peculiar one. It has grown up entirely since Catholic Emancipation. The penal laws having then been abandoned, the English government had to decide between letting the Irish people manage their own affairs or devising a new system for governing

them. The board system was invented in consequence, and since the death of O'Connell and the abandonment of the repeal movement, the boards have practically had absolute sway in every department of the government of Ireland. How the country has thriven under them, a few figures will show. The area of cultivated land was nearly six million acres in 1851. In 1881 it had fallen to less than three millions two hundred thousand. During the preceding ten years, six hundred thousand acres fell out of cultivation. During the same period there absolutely had been a decrease of twenty thousand cattle, about a million of sheep, and over half a million of hogs. The fisheries of Ireland employed a hundred and ninety thousand men and boys in 1847. They fell to twenty-four thousand in thirty years. Mines and miners shared the same fate in a lesser degree. The population had gone down by uninterrupted decreases from eight millions two hundred thousand to five millions one hundred and seventy thousand. The wealth of the country at the time of the union was estimated at one-ninth of that of England. At present, judged by the income tax returns, the amount of funds held in Ireland, and the value of Irish and English railways, it is about one-twentieth. No class in Ireland is exempt from the general decay. Ulster, during the last ten years especially, has actually suffered the greatest losses of any province.

Episcopalians, Presbyterians and Catholics have suffered alike, both in numbers and in wealth. The ruin which has fallen on Ireland is wholly unknown in any other country of the modern world. Like its form of government it is wholly peculiar to Ireland, and whether the latter be its true cause or not we leave our readers to judge for themselves. To govern Ireland by English ideas has been for three centuries the object of the English government. It has carried out its policy unchecked for nearly two. The moral result has been the most infamous penal code known to man; the intellectual, to reduce to ignorance a country which was once the school of Western Europe; and the material, to inflict on it a ruin, such as has never before been witnessed in a Christian land.

From the facts we have stated, it may be judged how eminently practical a question is the demand of the Irish people for home rule. They simply ask that the system which is crushing them shall be removed. They demand that the representatives of the people shall replace the foreign boards which control every branch of public life, that the laws shall be made by the people who live under them and shall be administered by men of their own approving. With less than this they cannot live in their land. The choice is home rule or extermination. The land question, on which

so much has been written, is but one branch of Irish grievances. The whole system of English government is ruinous to Ireland. The English Parliament is powerless to remedy its defects in detail, but so long as it retains control of Irish affairs, it will be forced by the current of events to occupy itself with them and their results. Already it has been forced to sacrifice half its freedom of debate to the exigencies of Irish politics. It must sacrifice the whole before it can hope to suppress the complaints of the Irish people. If the English people will not allow the Irish to be partners in self-government, they must themselves accept a partnership in centralized thralldom. We shall see what choice they will make.

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#### CONVERTS—THEIR INFLUENCE AND WORK IN THIS COUNTRY.

*An account of the Conversion of the Rev. Mr. John Thayer, lately a Protestant minister at Boston, in North America.* Baltimore, 1788.

*Apology for the Conversion of Stephen Cleveland Blyth.* New York, 1815.

*History of my own Times.* By the Rev. Daniel Barber. Washington, 1827.

*The Reasons of J. J. M. Oertel, late a Lutheran minister, for becoming a Catholic.* New York, 1840.

*Trials of a Mind.* By L. S. Ives. Boston, 1854.

*Path which led a Protestant Lawyer to the Catholic Church.* By P. H. Burnett. New York, 1860.

THERE is something terrible in the results of heresy, as we study those results in the history of the Church. It ever carries with it a deadly blight. The dogma denied, in some cases, may seem one of less vital importance, compared to the whole deposit of the faith, the form of Church government may be retained, a hierarchy perpetuated, the holy sacrifice offered, but the breaking away from unity is attended with a blindness, life and light die out, the branch cut off from the parent stem, no longer traversed by the vivifying sap, withers and perishes.

Where any country or large district has accepted a heresy, there is scarcely an instance in history where it has ever recovered from the fatal step and returned to the faith. Gradually one doctrine after another, one devotional safeguard after another is lost, the Christian life sinks, flickers, flutters and is gone. In the East the

lands won by the Arian, the Nestorian, the Monophysite became the prey of the Mohammedan, and Christianity died out utterly. In the West, where the hierarchs Wicklif, Huss and Luther denied the dogmas on which the theory of the Church, the divine worship and the channels of divine grace rested, the countries in which they obtained sway began a downward course, gradually yielding up all the Christianity they first retained, till the personality of God, supernatural religion, revelation, the inspiration of the Scriptures, the fall of man, redemption through a Saviour, are rejected in the nineteenth century as absolutely as the authority of the Church or the Real Presence was in the sixteenth.

No country has ever renounced a single error or made a single step towards a return to the truth. Self-exiled from paradise they seem cut off by a sword of flame from all return. The doctrines they profess all seem lightly held but one, and that is the belief that the Church is false and wrong and dangerous. A thousand new errors and differences may arise, but this point is never questioned. In their eyes the Church is ever in the wrong. Men may hold the very doctrine she maintains, yet will insist that she is and must be wrong. When Pope Pius IX. solemnly defined the belief, so long clearly and openly held, that the Blessed Virgin was free from original sin from the first instant of her existence as a human being, from her conception, there was a wild storm of denunciation. Yet thousands who reviled the doctrine believed it, as firmly as any Catholic did, for as thousands and thousands in every Protestant country had ceased to believe the doctrine of original sin, they believed that all men were conceived and born free from any taint of any original sin of Adam, and believing this of all men, they necessarily believed it of the Blessed Virgin, and if questioned would admit that they believed her to be free from the sin of Adam. They really agreed with Catholics in regard to her case, though they were at variance with us in regard to the condition of the rest of the human race.

It is an example of that terrible spiritual blindness, that veil over the heart, which is the result of heresy, and which makes the return of a country or a race seem virtually impossible, and makes the return of an individual born under its shadow, a miracle of divine grace.

In some countries men know that their ancestors were forced from the Catholic Church by penal laws, by the halter, the stake, by torture, by confiscation, by privation of all religious guides, yet human argument, human eloquence, the clearest evidence, fail to reveal to their minds the truth of the old faith, and they seem to require like Saul to be hurled, dazed and blinded, to the very dust, before the light of the Sun of Justice can penetrate into their souls.

If a Catholic priest, a zealous layman were to attempt to present

the truth to them, prejudice would raise such an impenetrable barrier that conviction would be hopeless. A Mormon missionary or the Leatherstocking God might go into a Protestant community and make converts, but a Catholic missionary would only excite the deepest and bitterest hatred of the faith he proclaimed. Grace must do its work first: ordinarily speaking, it is only when the poor prodigal, finding that he has nothing but husks for food, says "I will arise and go back to my father's house," that the priest can go forth to meet him.

Yet from the time when the Germanic nations, last in Europe to accept the faith and first to reject it, fell into heresy, conversions of individuals, retroversions have gone steadily on. England, Germany, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, all have their long line of those who, faithful to the grace vouchsafed them, returned to the bosom of the Mother Church. There seem to be indeed special seasons when Grace works more powerfully and overcomes the obstacles, not in single minds and hearts, but in whole classes.

This country, in the settlement of nearly all the colonies, was leavened with some form of error which sprang up after the original revolt, and seemed as far removed as possible from the kingdom of God. The Church established by law in England never acquired any strong hold here, and indeed as long as allegiance was acknowledged to the king, he never dared as head of the Church of England to send a bishop to the colonies. But though Anglican, Presbyterian, Congregationalist, Lutheran, Dutch Reformed might disagree on other points, they all agreed in hatred of Catholicity, and penal laws were aimed at it in New England, New York, New Jersey, Maryland, Virginia, Carolina, Georgia.

Yet from the settlement of Maryland, from the appearance of Catholicity, conversions began, and the stream deepens and widens as it comes down to our time.

The gentry who came with Calvert to Maryland and founded the settlement under Lord Baltimore's charter, were almost if not exclusively Catholics, but many of the humbler colonists brought over by the proprietors were Protestants. No minister came to attend them, however. These settlers were as destitute of a Protestant ministry as the Pilgrim Fathers who landed on Plymouth Rock; yet one of Calvert's first acts was to give these Protestants a place and a structure for their religious services. Catholics gave Protestants their first church in Maryland. They were free to follow the practices of their own Protestantism. The Church of England sent no one to them, but they could contrast the zeal of the Catholic priest with the indifference of their own ministers in England, and when at last some of their clergy came to Maryland, the contrast became only sharper, so utterly unfit, as all now acknowledge, were the first Protestant clergy of the province. Men



felt the want of a spiritual guide, and they turned to men whom they had learned to respect, and asked to be instructed in a faith which they saw professed and practiced by men superior to themselves socially and intellectually. A few years showed that almost all the Maryland settlers had become Catholics except those with Claiborne and the Puritans who fled from Virginian persecution.

Thus in 1638 the Jesuit Fathers report : " Among the Protestants nearly all who came out from England in this year 1638, and many others have been converted to the faith, with five mechanics whom we hired for a month, and have in the mean time won to God." In 1640 it is mentioned of Father Philip Fisher, " that many are brought back into the bosom of the Church by his active industry."

In 1673 twenty-eight converts were recorded, and thirty-four the next year.

The greatest tribute to the zeal and success of the Jesuit Fathers is found in the colonial archives of Maryland, in a petition addressed by the Protestant clergy to the Assembly, asking them to repress the Catholic priests, because during a recent epidemic they were assiduous in visiting the sick, and won many to the Catholic faith. No wonder men deserted a system whose ministers made their own cowardice a virtue.

The earliest evidence we have of the presence of priests in Philadelphia is connected with the conversion in 1707, of Lionel Brittain, a prominent and well-to-do personage, and the public celebration of mass at the time ; this conquest preceded the entrance of the Jesuits into that province, and was probably due to the Franciscans, who had been sent over to Maryland by the Propaganda some years before. Wherever a priest could penetrate converts were received, some won by the fidelity and zeal of Catholics, able to give an account of the faith which was in them. This was especially the case in Pennsylvania, where many who had joined the strange sects that arose among the German population, turned for peace and rest to the Mother of all the churches.

In New Jersey too a descendant of Nicholas Upsall, the first man in New England who dared to advocate religious toleration, became an humble and devoted Catholic.

On the frontier, many whom the vicissitudes of war carried to Canada, embraced the faith, and not a few Catholic families in Canada to-day are allied by ties of consanguinity with Protestant families in New England.

But in colonial times the Church was everywhere under a ban ; a Catholic church was something to be seen nowhere except in Philadelphia and Lancaster ; its services were unknown ; its grand ritual, so evidently marked with the stamp of divine authenticity, was unknown ; its doctrines maligned when mentioned, misrepre-

sented and distorted, with a cowardice so utterly shameless, that it never dared allow the people to read any exposition of the true faith.

Nowhere did Catholicity seem so completely excluded, so hopeless as in the thirteen British colonies in America when a revolution came, hurried on by an intense feeling of anti-Catholic bigotry and fanaticism. Yet so little does all human cunning avail against the wisdom of God, this was but the darkest hour before the dawn, the eve of a wonderful change in favor of the Church.

Mass had been sung on the Kennebec, but the altar was overthrown; mass had been chanted by the picturesque lakes of New York from Lake George to the thunderous Falls of Niagara, but priest and fane were gone; the shrine of Our Lady where the Allegheny weds the Monongahela was laid waste; the sacred rites were suspended at St. Augustine and Pensacola. Who but a madman would have dared to say, Within little more than a score of years selectmen of Boston will publicly go to mass; the gravest citizens of Newport will follow a crucifix through its streets; Philadelphia will see the ablest men of every colony gathered before a Catholic altar; a Catholic chaplain in the service of the colonies offering the great sacrifice of the new law for Catholic troops? And yet what would then seem to be but the raving of a madman, would have been but sober truth.

Catholicity was presented to the people of the United States. The old bigotry and fanaticism were not dead. Some of the leaders of the Revolution were still the base drivelling slaves of the old anti-Catholic bigotry and fanaticism, shutting their eyes to the light and full of fiendish hatred. They kept up the old battle of error, hampered the progress of truth, and retained many in the mazes of ignorance and prejudice. But the Church was free; the holy sacrifice could be offered, and its divine influence extended as the guardian angel of state and town bowed in reverent awe before the altar of the divinest sacrifice; the doctrines of the Church could be openly preached, and by the aid of the press could be presented to all who sought to know the truth.

Men began to examine this religion which their fathers had professed for centuries, the religion of the wise Alfred; of the men who founded Oxford and Cambridge; the religion of the men who fought at Agincourt and Acre; the religion which had made England and Ireland the apostles of Germany and Scandinavia. And when a man begins to examine in good faith, he must yield to the power of truth, unless human considerations lead him to resist the grace given him. The struggle is often great, the pitying angels look on as the strong man falters in spite of their loving aid, unable to break through the net of worldly hopes, inveterate prejudice, phantom fears, and human respect.

Grace triumphs strangely. A young Congregationalist minister of Boston makes a tour of Europe. He is in Rome when a man, little better than a beggar in human eyes, dies there in one of his pilgrimages. The city rings with accounts of the miracles wrought at the humble bier where Labre's lifeless body lies; in a house frequented by English and a few Americans, the laughter and jeer went round at what to most seemed the very zenith of folly. One quiet gentleman dared any one of the company to go, examine some of the cases where cures were said to have been effected, and then come back and, on his honor as an honest man, state what his judgment was as to the fact. An awkward silence succeeded the jeers; the matter-of-fact proposition staggered the would-be wits; the American after a pause bravely declared that he would go and investigate. He took up some of the reported cures, he saw the persons, their physicians, neighbors, public officials, men who were no devotees; the more he examined, the deeper became his conviction that there was no fraud, no trickery, that the Catholic priests had restrained rather than encouraged the people, that in fact the cures were supernatural. He made his report like a man. To the rest, it was a mere matter of the moment; they may have sneered less, or spoken more guardedly; but to Thayer it was the moment of grace. The conviction that miracles were wrought in his day in the Catholic Church made it imperative in his eyes to know what that Church taught, and whether it could command his obedience. A sign had been given; was it a confirmation of the teaching authority of the Church? He conferred with the most learned priests he could find; the light grew clearer and clearer; he embraced the faith, entered the seminary of St. Sulpice at Paris, and returned to America a priest to offer his services to Bishop Carroll. The Rev. John Thayer was the first of the long line of converts whose names are found in the list of American clergy. His account of the motives which led to his embracing the Catholic faith was repeatedly printed here and abroad, and translated into French and Spanish. Its influence was great, and undoubtedly was to many Americans the first glimpse into truth.

He labored in New England and Kentucky, and finally went to Ireland, where his ministry proved most successful. His own land was not forgotten. He collected means to establish a convent and induced ladies connected with the Ursuline order to cross the ocean and found one. Its fate shows how people cling to bigotry and fanaticism and close their eyes to the clearest light of gospel truth.

A remarkable conversion of the latter part of the last century was that of Adam Livingston, a Lutheran living in Pennsylvania, whose house was so molested by supernatural and destructive visitations that he removed to Smithfield, Virginia. His change of abode did not deliver him, and he applied in vain to several Prot-

estant clergymen, whose prayers proved unavailing. At the instance of a Catholic peddler to whom he extended hospitality, he finally called upon the Rev. Denis Cahill, one of the few Catholic clergymen in that part of the country. The exorcisms and prayers of the Church abated the destructive character of the visitations for a time, which the celebration of mass in the house completely terminated. For many years, however, supernatural lights and voices continued. Mr. Livingston was so thoroughly convinced that he with most of his family was received into the Church; he subsequently returned to Pennsylvania and lived in the parish of the Rev. Prince Dimitri Galitzin, who examined carefully the whole evidence, and records his belief in it. Other persons of intelligence made similar investigations, and the main facts are so well established that the place in Virginia where Livingston resided is known to this day by the name of Wizard Clip.

There were, of course, some converts like Samuel Breck, of Boston, who, thrown among Catholics, or educated in Catholic institutions, became converts, believed for a time, and with a change of surroundings lost the faith. Breck was educated at the Benedictine College of Sorèze in France, and became a Catholic. As such he met Rev. Mr. Thayer at St. Sulpice, when the latter had just been ordained a deacon; he promised Thayer to help him establish a Catholic church in Boston, but when Thayer reached Boston as a priest soon after, he found that the new convert had cast his Catholicity aside and was as much a Protestant as ever.

Among other prominent converts of the last century may be mentioned the Hon. Thomas Sim Lee, a patriot of the Revolution, who presided over Maryland from 1779 to 1783, was subsequently a member of the Continental Congress, and of the Constitutional Convention which framed the plan of government under which we live. Amid his engrossing public cares he studied deeply the claims of the Church, and was received into her bosom. It is most creditable that the step excited no odium or bigotry in his native state, which once more made him governor in 1794.

The Episcopal Church, however, by its claim to apostolic succession, and continuous existence from the earliest days, soon showed that many of its members were ill at ease, unable to recognize the Catholic claims which Anglicanism couples with Protestant practices. Episcopalianism had arisen spontaneously in Connecticut, where men went back to the Church of England in order to escape the tyranny of the Congregational denomination, or "Standing Order," as it was termed. It was a providential moment for Connecticut. The Congregationalists, brought face to face with the Episcopalians, were saved from lapsing into Unitarianism, as they did in Massachusetts; they had to retain and uphold what Christianity they still had; and, on the other hand, the Episcopa-

lians, to meet the arguments of the Congregationalists, were compelled to take stronger and stronger Catholic ground. They soon formed a school with decided leanings towards the true Church, which gave us in time many converts. And in the Congregational body many forced to examine, either became Catholics directly, or yielding to Episcopalianism, found ultimately that Rome alone could claim their allegiance.

But the earliest Episcopalian, who in life by her example, and since by her great work has been most illustrious, was not directly influenced by this movement.

Eliza Bayley, daughter of an eminent New York physician, became the wife of William Seton, one of the most prosperous merchants of the time. God tried her in the crucible of affliction. Commercial disasters swept away her husband's wealth, his health failed, and a voyage to Italy was counselled as the only hope. She attended him, surrounding his sick couch with all the care affection could prompt, till she at last closed his eyes in that distant land. Poverty, bereavement, exile were not her only trials; her mind was filled with doubts as to her spiritual condition. The faith in which she had been reared satisfied neither her mind nor her heart. She returned to America with some faint idea that the Catholic Church might give her rest, but still buoyed up with the hope of finding her own system sufficient. Bishop Hobart and some of his clergy, however, failed to meet her doubts; her prayers for light showed her the true path more and more clearly; correspondence with Catholic clergymen gave her the doctrines of the Church as really taught, and she was received into the bosom of the spouse of Christ on the 14th of March, 1805. Her desire to devote herself to Christian education and works of mercy was soon realized, and she founded at Emmettsburg the first American community of Sisters of Charity. The establishments that have grown from her foundation—academies, schools, asylums for every form of human need, hospitals—are counted by the hundred, her spiritual daughters by thousands; the very list of her Sisters of Charity who have laid down their lives while attending the sick during the great epidemics that from time to time have visited our land, were the Sisters not too humble to present such a list, would shame into silence those who sometimes absurdly boast of a purer faith, but never venture to boast of holier deeds.

Men of all creeds and of none began to look to the Church as the real haven of rest,—men, like Stephen C. Blyth, who had examined and studied even Mohammedanism, but found all built of hay and stubble, till he came to the true Church founded on the rock, her whole system logically coherent, worthy of the Most High, and evincing such a knowledge of human wants and miseries that, compared with all others, it must be divine.

Men came, like Stephen Burroughs, who had found the strictest Calvinism of New England no help in the hour of temptation, ineffectual to convert a sinner, condemning him as a reprobate without a single hope of pardon. Catholicity reclaimed him, so that he died in Canada an honored member of society.

Thus from all forms of Protestantism, from those who had broken away from it or whom it had cast out as pariahs, souls were won to God. Many of these early conversions strike us forcibly from the multiplicity of means that the ingenuity of grace seems to have devised :

Multiformis proditoris  
Ars ut artem falleret ;

yet where the enemy of man shows almost inexhaustible resources and wiles for deluding souls, grace must show its divine potency and fertility by its means of thwarting him.

A Methodist clergyman, Rev. John Richards, was sent in 1807 from New York as an itinerant to traverse Western New York and Upper Canada, then sparsely settled districts. He went on his way zealously, with no doubt as to the truth of the doctrines he announced, and, as he made his way eastward in Canada from Niagara, he found that the Catholic religion was actually a thriving denomination there, with priests, nuns, and all the institutions which he supposed had been left far behind in the march of progress. This state of things pained the good man, and he resolved to visit some of the Catholic clergymen in Montreal, and by convincing them of their error, as he supposed he could easily do, restore Canada to Christianity. The Sulpicians at the seminary in Montreal received him affably, and, in the discussions which followed, put into his hands some of the ordinary Catholic doctrinal works. He read and studied with increasing wonder. These were doctrines to be accepted, not to be refuted. Prayer completed the work ; he was faithful to grace, and, bidding a kind farewell to his Methodist brethren, he was received into the Catholic Church, became a priest, and labored to an advanced age, dying during the heroic service of the ship fever patients at Montreal.

As remarkable was the conversion of a worthy Quakeress, who entered the sacristy of St. Peter's Church, New York, one morning, while the Rev. Benedict Fenwick was making his thanksgiving after mass. "The Lord hath sent me, brother, to convert thee!" was her startling announcement. "No, sister, he hath sent thee to me to be converted," was his reply ; and such proved to be the fact.

When the movement to which we have alluded began in the Episcopal Church, among the first converts were the Rev. Daniel Barber, an old Revolutionary soldier, who, as an Episcopal minister, had baptized a daughter of the free-thinking General Ethan

Allen, but ere long saw her a Catholic and a member of a religious order in Canada. The Rev. Mr. Barber himself soon became a Catholic; his son, the Rev. Virgil Barber, with his wife and children, also embraced the faith, father and son entering the Society of Jesus, while Mrs. Barber and her daughters entered monasteries of the Visitation Order, the whole family blessed with vocation to the faith and to the religious state, and with holy perseverance. The Rev. John Kewley, of St. George's Church, New York, the Rev. George E. Ironside, and others, at that time also embraced the faith; and it is known that Bishop Hobart himself lacked only courage to yield to his own convictions. Meanwhile the influence in Connecticut, especially at Middletown, continued, where the clear mind and deep learning of Rev. Samuel F. Jarvis formed many, who at later date, happier than their teacher, embraced the faith. Among these was James R. Bayley, a nephew of Mother Seton, who became an Episcopal clergyman, but died Archbishop of Baltimore.

Among the laity, too, there were constant conversions, and the few struggling Catholics found new support and strength from the influence of these accessions.

When the struggle for Catholic emancipation in England and Ireland had assumed the form of an agitation, it evoked all the old bitter antagonism to the Church which had for a time lain dormant. From about 1825 the books, pamphlets, and newspapers vilifying the Church increased immensely in number and venom. This country, in its provincial spirit, reproduced and copied the English publications, and there does not exist, in any language, such a mass of degrading moral filth and falsehood as was circulated among Protestants for a quarter of a century by every possible agency.

This was a period of warm controversy. The Church, assailed in every form, was defended with learning and ability, but it was not a period of conversions. Many who had been drawn by conscience toward the Church drew back; some thought it all a terrible delusion. Protestantism made its last dogmatic fight. Till this time it had clung to the old doctrines, but the attempt to maintain them logically as against Catholics failed utterly. Since that epoch there has been a gradual breaking-away in Protestant sects; few adhere to the old standards, or would attempt to prove their old confessions of faith to be divine truth given to man for his guidance to eternal life, or their service a divine Latreia man was bound to offer under pain of sin.

As if admitting that their ground was untenable, the system of attack was changed, and from about 1840 the opposition to the Church became political, and the ballot-box was to be used to check the increase of foreign Catholics as competing workmen, and

later to prevent Catholics from exercising the influence in the country to which their numbers would naturally entitle them.

Conversions, as we have said, were few at this period. Yet there were some, especially among the Protestant immigration. The King of Prussia, forgetting the policy of the great Frederic, resolved to play a part in ecclesiastical matters. He was possessed with the idea of blending all his Protestant subjects into one body. A form of church service, arranged by Bunsen, was issued for both Lutheran and Calvinist churches, alternative portions being inserted to suit their different ideas on the Eucharist. Against this many of the stanch old Lutherans rebelled, and, rather than submit, hundreds, headed by their pastors, emigrated to America, where they fondly hoped to find pure Lutheran doctrine and discipline. To their dismay, they found that their co-religionists in America had departed further from the standards than the most liberal in Prussia. One of the self-exiled pastors, the Rev. Maximilian Oertel, looked for comfort and consolation to a Church which professed the same doctrines as in the days of Luther, which had the same hierarchy, the same worship, the same sacraments. He became a Catholic with many of his flock, and his example influenced numbers of his school.

The war with Mexico, although in its outset it gave some petty bigots in the army an opportunity to molest and oppress Catholics in the service, brought several officers into the Church. Freemasonry and the scum of French revolution ideas had done much to weaken religion in Mexico; the old colleges of the Jesuits were gone; most of the seats of learning established by other orders had vanished; unworthy priests were thrust by state appointment into many benefices,—a Church, thus deprived of much of its instrumentality for good, with scandals growing apace, seemed unlikely to produce a favorable impression; yet officers were struck with the Church, even as they beheld it there; they were struck by the faith still maintained among the people, with what it had done for the Indians, and could still do for all, were it but free. This led many to reflect, to study, to pray. The army has many converts, General Rosecrans, Captains Deshon, Scammon, Haldiman, Ives; the navy, too, felt the same influence, and gave converts of the simple manly stamp of Commander Ward.

A conversion of this period is curious as showing ignorance in many Protestants, that may be regarded as invincible till Providence so disposes events that truth is at last presented to them. Colonel Dodge, of Pompey, a gentleman of means and position, who had represented his district in the Assembly of New York, one day towards nightfall saw a peddler's wagon give way in the difficult road near his house. He went to his aid, but, finding that the damage could not be repaired till morning, offered the man



hospitality for the night. After putting up his horse, the peddler thankfully entered the kitchen, but disclosed by the ruddy light of fire and lamp an unmistakably pleasant Irish face. Alarm took possession of Mrs. Dodge. This man was, undoubtedly, a Catholic, and they might expect to be robbed or murdered before the sun rose. Her husband did not allow fear to inflame his imagination so wildly, but he was ill at ease. Adroit questioning drew a confession of faith, but the honest man, while avowing himself a sincere Catholic, declared himself not well enough read to explain all the doctrines of his Church, or show how well founded they were. He slept soundly that night, though his entertainers scarcely closed their eyes; their guest a virtual prisoner within well-locked doors.

When, next morning, the peddler's wagon was repaired, he wished to make some return to his host and hostess. He could not well offer money, but he opened his stores, and pressed them to accept some token of his gratitude; a book, containing an exposition of Catholic doctrine, was all that Mr. Dodge would accept. After the peddler's departure, he began from curiosity to read it, and soon proceeded to verify the scriptural references. As he read on, and the whole scheme of Catholic doctrine came before him, he was amazed. This was clear, reasonable, scriptural. He read aloud to his wife, who, after some misgivings, admitted that it was the clearest exposition of religion she had ever heard. By the time the peddler travelled back past their house, the little book was thoroughly mastered, or rather it had thoroughly mastered them. They purchased other Catholic books from him, and then ordered some from New York, thus, without guidance, making their way to the truth. They had never seen a Catholic priest or a Catholic church, and there was not one within twenty miles of their place. They laid before their old minister and others in the neighborhood their doubts about Protestantism, and what seemed to them sound in Catholic teaching. As may be supposed, the answers dealt more in denunciations of the Pope and the Catholic religion than in any strong argument to show that the Protestant doctrine, worship and ministry had any such divine authority as to require any man to accept them. The Dodes always returned home from these conferences more shaken in their Protestantism, and more convinced that, if there was any Church established by Christ, it was the Catholic Church, and it alone. Mr. Dodge soon began to explain his views to his neighbors, and ceased to attend the Presbyterian church, where he was a deacon. He and his wife were at last arraigned before that church for heresy! To her own astonishment, Mrs. Dodge there made an open avowal of her faith in all that the Catholic Church teaches. Preparing for the coming feast of Christmas, they drove to the nearest Catholic

church. There, to their great joy, they were received, and celebrated the nativity of our Lord by receiving Him in the Blessed Sacrament.

Mr. Dodge's house soon became a station, where mass was said for a little congregation of converts, which had thus wonderfully sprung up.

Calvinism in Massachusetts while retaining the form, and to some extent, the name of Congregationalism, had gradually thrown aside Christian truths till it had become Unitarianism or Transcendentalism. It seemed least likely to give new children to the Church. Yet there was in it an element that tended in the right direction. While Protestantism suppressed in a manner the humanity of our Lord, and regarded Him simply as God, Unitarianism, regarding Him as man, entered more into his human life. To them the tender relation of the Mother and the Son, the Catholic appeal to His Sacred Heart, and all the feeling of hope and confidence that His Human Nature inspires in us, were natural and intelligible. They could not study His Human Nature, without coming into harmony with Catholic feelings.

The strong minds broke away from Congregationalism as they found it insufficient to satisfy men's wants. Historically, logically, metaphysically, Protestantism had no claim which a reasonable man could acknowledge. But where was he to seek the absolute, the true, the real? Every system was tried, and every system said: I am but human; what you need is the Divine. One of the ablest thinkers of the day, Orestes A. Brownson, had, in his *Boston Quarterly Review*, and subsequently in a Review bearing his own name, been working steadily towards a firm standing-ground, till at last, at the close of the year 1844, he announced in the number of his Review for October that he accepted the Catholic Church as the only guide for man. The proud intellect, the man of learning and authority, bowed with all the submission of a child to the teachings of the Church.

A great movement took place in the Church of England soon after the granting of Catholic Emancipation. It was due remotely to the exiled French clergymen at the beginning of the century, who, in their intercourse with studious Anglican ministers, had given correct ideas of Catholic worship, devotions and prayers. These ideas first appeared in Dr. Lloyd's *Lectures on the Book of Common Prayer*. A new school arose, comprising Newman, Pusey, Keble, Froude, Wilberforce. The study of the Fathers, of the Roman and Oriental liturgies, of the lives of English saints, all created the desire to bring England back to the old faith. They hoped indeed to revive the past, without actually submitting to Rome. A series of tracts was issued at Oxford advocating a return. The same views were upheld in the *British Critic*, in New-

man's *Church of the Fathers*, in the *Lives of the English Saints*. But the writers remained in the Anglican Church, seeking in study, prayer and austerities to lead England back. Richard Hurrell Froude, the first leader, died, but they remained outside the fold, though prayers and devotions were offered up by Catholics to obtain for them light and strength. Towards the close of the year 1845, John Henry Newman, who had become the leader of the movement, convinced that only by personal union with the centre of unity can aught be effected, gave up all worldly prospects, his cherished hopes, his personal feelings, and asked to be received into the Roman Catholic Church as an humble catechumen. This hesitation of years had prepared hundreds for the same step. Never since the great apostasy had so many men of education, ability, zeal and spotless life, at once sought to be reconciled with the See of Peter. The movement was not confined to England. In the United States the writings of the Oxford school had been read and studied widely. Their principles had found adherents among bishops and clergy, but they were as violently opposed by the Calvinistic or Low Church party. The proposed ordination of Carey, an avowed Tractarian, brought the matter to a crisis. A host of brilliant and zealous men followed Newman's example as they had his doctrines. Bishop Ives, of North Carolina, with a host of Episcopal clergymen and students, became Catholics, not in a body but gradually, as each yielded to grace. As in all movements, some were carried on who had not examined deeply or prayed earnestly, some who came half-hearted and who failed to persevere; but, though a few relapsed, the great majority became earnest and zealous laborers in the true Church, many became priests, others by their pen enriched the literature of Catholicity or became its champions. The influence of the Oxford movement continued for years and was fruitful in conversions. Revs. I. T. Hecker, Hewit, McLeod, Homer, Wheaton, Preston, Whitcher, Huntington, and a host of other converts, with men like James A. McMaster, were the fruit of this movement.

At a subsequent period the invitation addressed by Pope Pius IX. to the adherents of Protestantism found a response in the learned Rev. Mr. Stone, who in his *Invitation Heeded* showed his reasons for embracing the faith as a response to that charitable call of the Father of the Faithful, reasons which gave many the courage to follow his example.

The Episcopal Church, however, was not the only one in which a school arose exciting in many souls wants and desires, that unity with the centre of unity could alone satisfy. In the Reformed Church John Williamson Nevin saw how steadily Protestantism was drifting away from all that was essentially Christian. He endeavored to recall the Reformed Church from its naturalism,

although he did not dare to avow a belief in the supernatural. He maintained an apostolic succession to be vital, that sacraments were channels of grace, and sin really forgiven in baptism; while in the Eucharist he held to a real presence. These ideas advocated with learning or ability in the *Mercersburg Review* became known as the Mercersburg system. It found advocates and warm assailants. Many trained in this school found that there was no alternative between Pantheism and Catholicity, and that there was no escape from the necessity of embracing the Catholic doctrines fully. Among these was one of the ablest contributors to the *Review*, Mr. Wolff, who embraced the Catholic faith, and though at first shunned and isolated, succeeded in inducing many of the circle in which he had moved not only to see the reasonableness and necessity of the step he had taken, but even to surrender all their early prejudices and follow his example. He has for many years edited with ability and judgment the *Catholic Standard of Philadelphia*; to the readers of this REVIEW he is too well known to need further allusion.

The conversions, which have gone steadily on from the earliest days of the settlement of the country, embrace many whom we have not included here, men of position like Governor Burnett and Dr. McLoughlin, of Oregon; Lemuel Sawyer, member of Congress; Baine, Professor Haldiman, Hunt, Newton, James A. Williams, Major Strobel, Drs. Green and Emmet.

Nor should the other sex be forgotten. Mrs. Peters, of Cincinnati, Mrs. Dorsey, Miss Fisher, of North Carolina, Miss Hemenway, Mrs. General Meagher, the Barlow sisters, Miss Edes, Mrs. Ellet, Mrs. White, Mrs. Laura Keene, Mrs. Connolly, Miss Scott, daughter of General Scott, are but a few of the noble army of women who have bravely responded to the grace calling them to the faith.

We can, indeed, give but a few typical cases of the conversions which in our day and country have consoled the Church. As will be seen, the convert in almost every case seeks the priest, not the priest the convert. The priest as a rule is overworked in this country, with the discharge of duties pressing daily on him. He comes into rare contact with those who do not belong to his faith, and cannot attempt to influence their minds. When a person comes to him in doubt, he can advise, and, as the cases we cite show, persons often come to a priest not only convinced, but self-taught in the doctrines of the Church.

Let us now consider the position of these neo-Catholics after their conversion and the influence they have exercised.

While the penal laws were in vigor, and profession of Catholic faith entailed loss of citizenship, fines, double taxes and other hardships, it was an heroic act for any man to take his stand among the

oppressed and condemned followers of Christ. Even after the laws had been to a great extent abolished by the force of events, it was an immense sacrifice to become a Catholic. On the body to which they passed their influence was great. Catholics, from their long bondage, were timid, reticent, sensitive to ridicule, while the convert who had not been thus "trained in shackles," but who had been wont to speak his mind fully and freely, and who felt a natural pride in being right, did much to give the Catholic body some of his own courage and outspoken frankness. Hewas often carried too far, and evoked bitterness and malice, but he did much to rouse his fellow-believers from the almost servile attitude which had become habitual to the Catholic body. From an early period in this century the Catholic body in many parts consisted of immigrants from Ireland, and it was swelled by successive tides of new comers. The mass of the Catholic population here thus associated their faith with a foreign nationality. The descendants of the original Catholic body, and even the descendants of the earlier periods of immigration born in this country, timid from long oppression, and not self-asserting, soon found themselves put aside by the new comers and looked upon with a kind of suspicion for not entering into feelings which, from their American birth and education they could not share, and which really had no relation to Catholic doctrine, practice, or thought. They found themselves regarded by their fellow-countrymen, on the other hand, as belonging to a foreign and un-American church, and before many years the charge was directly formulated that to be a Catholic was to belong to a foreign church, connection with which was incompatible with loyalty to American principles. If this position was difficult for Catholics born and reared here, who, however, had some family tradition from their immediate progenitors, and could understand the feeling if they could not share it, this same position became a severe trial to the American convert. In the eyes of his Protestant brethren he was a kind of traitor, false to his country and its constitution, and as such shunned. He found himself thrown in with a class in whom religious were intimately interwoven with political ideas, and who looked with jealousy at any evidence of want of interest in the latter. It was doubtless due to the working of this element that many of the early converts, Kewley, Richards, Holmes, Thayer, Burroughs, Blyth, Allen, Cooper, went to Canada or to Europe to find more harmonious surroundings. Those who bravely lived their life here found themselves isolated, often painfully so. Cut off from the old circles in which they had moved, they learned how difficult it was to form new associations among the adherents of their adopted faith. There were comparatively very few to give them the hand of fellowship, there being nothing in our Catholic churches like the

membership in Protestant bodies, and none to welcome newcomers. Where the converts buoyed up by strong faith persevered, their children in many cases were less courageous, and the family lapsed back into Protestantism.

When, at a later period, the German immigration assumed such immense proportions, a body of German Catholics grew up, and here came, in addition, another national feeling, with a foreign language, different modes of thought, different religious practices. A Catholic, in a part where this element predominated, found himself lost, unless he acquired the language and identified himself with the hopes and desires of Germans. Even now, one finds in German Catholic papers the most contemptuous allusions to American and Irish Catholics.

To foster these national feelings unduly is a great mistake. They breed animosity; and as the rising generation will be American in feelings, they must look upon this as their country, and if their religion is a matter of nationality, it will expire with it. The children of the present generation will be treated by the body of immigrants, in their day, as Americans, whether converts or Catholics by origin, are now treated, and many will fall away, as, in fact, many are daily falling away without an effort being made to save them. It is really a canker eating away the life of the Church in the United States.

Those who labor mainly among Catholics of foreign birth, as well as such Catholics themselves, rarely form a conception of the extent to which we Catholics, as a body, are regarded by the people of this country only as a sort of foreign camp in their midst, who will in time scatter and be lost in the mass of the Protestant, or at least non-Catholic population. Though the census will show that the Catholic far exceeds the foreign population, only part of which is Catholic, it is not easy to convince or disabuse them. Many things which they see and know keep up the delusion. A Protestant will point to the map and say: "Where are your American Catholics? The whole country is laid off in dioceses, as though you owned it, but how is it that your Popes have never found an American Catholic fit to occupy a see west of the Mississippi and Lake St. Clair? There are thousands of miles where no American-born bishop has ever been seen."

Better, perhaps, than any others the converts know and appreciate the feeling of the non-Catholic public towards us, their efforts to entangle our weaker brethren, their own uncertainties as to faith, their doubts and delusions. It is a trite saying which ascribes intemperate zeal to converts; for men who have undergone great mental trials, whose consideration of a topic has been absorbing, cannot treat of it languidly. A man who has gone through this course must be energetic, and where he knows thoroughly those whom he addresses, he not unfrequently cuts deeply and merci-

lessly, believing that it is a case where the surgeon, to effect a cure, should use his instruments boldly. The early convert, the Rev. Mr. Thayer, in this way provoked controversies which created hostility instead of stimulating calm and prayerful inquiry. He effected little here, comparatively. In the midst of a thoroughly Catholic population in Ireland, he effected wonders by his ministry. Of late years there has been less controversy; and even our Catholic press, beyond occasional ebullitions, shows little temper or acrimony.

Converts who have entered the priesthood have given some of the best and most zealous missionaries. That so many have been selected and recommended by bishops in different provinces for vacant sees, and appointed by the Holy See to the episcopate, proves the esteem in which their learning, ability, and exemplary life were held. Archbishops Whitfield, Eccleston, Bayley, of Baltimore; Wood, of Philadelphia; Bishops Young, Tyler, Rosecrans, Wadhams, Gilmour, attest this. Among the clergy are the Congregation of the Paulists, founded by the Very Rev. I. T. Hecker, almost all converts, who, by their missions and their contributions to Catholic literature in various forms, have rendered essential service to the cause of truth. The Very Rev. C. I. Carter, Rt. Rev. Thomas S. Preston, Rt. Rev. George H. Doane, the Dominican Fathers Ffrench and Hill; Father Stone, and other Passionists; Rev. Dr. Neligan, and many others, might be named, as priests who, in the exercise of the ministry, or in important positions, or by their pens, have done much to establish discipline, and make religion known and respected among those who are strangers to Catholic truth. The converts in the priesthood are generally exemplary men, to whom the faithful accord all confidence, and who receive many converts into the Church, their own experience enabling them to understand and remove difficulties that beset the sincere inquirer.

That those who remain among the laity have exerted a wide influence is unquestioned. Dr. Brownson gave his *Review* to the Catholic cause. His earlier volumes show the progress of his mind, and his gradual familiarity with Catholic thought, that make them a study. Once firmly grounded, his philosophical essays were read and pondered among Protestants as no Catholic writings from the press of this country had ever been. For many years the numbers were regularly reprinted in England, exerting no little influence. His long acquaintance with the best American thinkers, and the drift of ideas that prevailed outside the Church, enabled him to bring his arguments home to their conviction. His hopes, at first, of the possibility of extensive conversions were great, and though in time he saw that conversions were slow, and comparatively individual acts, he grew only the more earnest. Few

ventured to cope with him in argument, and the moral influence of his *Review* was such as no other Catholic writings had ever possessed. That it counteracted much error, and carried Catholic truth into quarters where it had never before reached, is unquestioned. Its influence is still felt, and the fact that a reprint of the most important articles is called for, shows that the essays still meet wants, and can effect good among a new generation of Americans.

As editors of our Catholic papers, many converts have rendered signal service. Foremost of all is James Augustine McMaster, whose name has for years been identified with the *Freeman's Journal*, of New York, a paper regarded perhaps with greater respect than any other by Protestants, as an exponent of Catholic thought.

Beckwith, Huntington, Wolff, Oertel and other converts also have, in the editorial chair, rendered good service. In the field of general literature, Dr. Ives did much, not only in his part of Maitland's *Dark Ages*, but in essays; Huntington, McLeod, Christian Reid, have elevated the literary standard of Catholic works, but we cannot claim any to compare with Newman, Faber, or Adelaide Procter.

The community founded by Mrs. Connolly, and which contains many, like her, converts to the faith, has, though it has acquired little extension in this country, exercised a most decided influence by the thoroughness of its system of education, full of sound practical sense and solidity. It is the very reverse of the superficial, and aims to ground the pupils thoroughly in literature, art, and a knowledge of religion, its doctrines, history, and worship, as well as in all the graces of true womanhood.

The influence of a woman like the late Mrs. Peters it would be hard to measure. She was foremost in so many good works, projected and carried out so many that seemed hopeless, was so untiring, without presumption, humble, devoted, and faithful, that her influence was remarkable. Nor is she alone. In various parts of the country women, in and out of the cloister, in all walks of life, who have learned the beauty of Catholic truth, are exerting an influence that is not recorded, but that Catholics in every city and town will recognize and admit.

Still the position of the convert is often attended by great trials. A Protestant clergyman becoming a Catholic gives up a livelihood, and by his training and former life is unfitted for secular life; if married, he cannot ordinarily become a priest, and there is no avenue open to him. We have no college professorships to bestow, no associations for mission or benevolent work, giving offices which such gentlemen could fill, as almost all such work with us is effected through religious communities. It was once proposed to form a body of catechists, or inferior clergy, in order to employ



such converts and make their abilities effective. There is a want which we have already indicated of associations, perhaps on the plan of the St. Vincent de Paul Society, in which the main object would be to look after young men, and by the power of example keep them within the fold, obtain occasionally employment for them, where necessary, withdraw them from dangerous positions. The Catholic Union seemed at one time destined to occupy this field. The Council still exists, and labors to effect reforms, but the particular Unions, which the Council was supposed to represent, exist apparently only in name in most cities. This is the case in New York, with the exception of the Xavier Union, which has attained a solid and permanent condition, and is the instrumentality of great good. But meanwhile the young men are slipping away, and converts familiar with the working of organizations like the Young Men's Christian Associations, and aware of their defects, might be in many cases most serviceable in what might be called Catholic home mission work. The parochial clergy, with the work before them, cannot undertake this, and unemployed priests, whom our right reverend bishops might assign to such undertakings, are few. It does seem as if it were a field where experienced converts, and other laymen, might become potent auxiliaries, and thus men, whose services are now lost, might become of the utmost service in saving young men who for want of moral support and social help are shamed into neglecting their religious duties, and make shipwreck of the faith.

The question of a great Catholic university has been raised, but colleges and universities cannot thrive unless the preparatory schools exist in greater number. In our large cities, while there are many academies or high schools for girls, there are comparatively few for boys. Baltimore seems to have but one with 100 pupils; Boston one with 220 pupils; New York four with about 1000 pupils; Philadelphia two with about 400 pupils. Evidently these figures do not approach the number of youth, sons of Catholic parents able to give them an education superior to that afforded by the parochial or the public school. To what institutions are the rest of the Catholic boys sent? There seems to be in many parents a disinclination to send their sons to schools conducted by religious; and, on the other hand, there is a disinclination to establish secular schools with simply a clergyman as president and a spiritual director. Such institutions with salaried professors necessarily entail expense, but if they can be made effective and will draw pupils, who are not now sent to Catholic schools, and whose salvation is at stake, great sacrifices ought to be made to maintain them. The experiment in some of the large cities would not involve much risk, if prudently managed, and such an institution, if it met the public want, would soon find endowment. It is not

easy to believe that, while Protestants are constantly giving liberal donations and bequests to institutions of learning, wealthy Catholics are utterly indifferent. They cannot be so different from their Protestant neighbors that they cannot be interested in education. The subject is one beyond the limits of this paper, and it is introduced merely as noting a field in which converts of education and experience as teachers may be employed to advantage.

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### THE ALLEGED FALL OF POPE LIBERIUS.

*De Hebræorum et Christianorum sacra monarchia et de infallibili in utraque magisterio.* Per Professorem Aloisium Vincenzi. Romæ—ex typographia Vaticana, 1875.

*Erreurs et mensonges historiques.* Par M. Ch. Barthélemy. Paris. Bleriot ed., 1875.

**A**MONG the many great historical puzzles that have engaged the attention or stimulated the diligence of the learned for centuries, that furnished by the alleged fall of the saintly Liberius stands forth prominent, almost unique. Two schools of thought have been occupied at intervals during fifteen centuries in the vain task of unravelling the threads of this provokingly entangled snare; the one to vindicate the name of a Pope whose memory has been embalmed in the eloquence of St. Ambrose, and the other to brand it with deepest infamy, to bury it beneath a mountain of malignant opprobrium. To the latter school belonged many historians, or dabblers in ancient story, of the last of the seventeenth century. For those who took their creed and inspiration from the modern Mahomet, Martin Luther, it was a labor of love to justify the rebellion of their master against what they called the dynastic despotism, which had lain like a terrible nightmare on the slumbering breast of Christendom for over a thousand years. What cared they if, in rejecting the Papacy, they would infect the religion and the order established by the man-God? They argued then that the Papacy was fallen from grace, and this as early as the fourth century. Look, say they, at Liberius! He subscribed an Arian formula, or creed, and in his delirious haste to regain his darling Roman See, delivered Christendom over to the sect which railed at the divinity of Jesus Christ! If, then, the Roman See,

the centre of your boasted unity, became heretic as early as the fourth century, what corruption may we not look for in more recent times?

When, through political intrigue and bad faith, the party of the "Gallican liberties" appeared in France, at its head were found some men who, like Bossuet, shone like stars of the first magnitude in the literary as well as in the ecclesiastical firmament; men who, by virtue of their own principles, were urged, perhaps unwillingly, into an attitude hostile to the indefectibility of the Holy See. In his "Defensio," as we shall see further on, the eminent Bossuet, who undoubtedly had read all that appeared in evidence for and against Liberius at his day, was betrayed into arguments and forced to conclusions from which, it is certain, his noble faith recoiled. What wonder, then, that lesser lights were bedimmed, or that scholars without the Church's pale would with impunity point their shafts against the memory of the calumniated Pontiff? But, alas for human words and human works, modern criticism has inserted a wedge into the knotty trunk of Arian forgery, and the sundered parts reveal to astonished eyes the "true inwardness" of the forgers. In this article it will be convenient, 1st. To sketch, *currente calamo*, the history of the times in which Liberius lived and suffered. 2d. To present the main arguments used to prove his fall; and 3d. To refute these arguments, and thereby establish his innocence. It was during the reign of Constantine that Arius, a man of stately figure and apparently ascetic habits, began to preach to the people of Alexandria that the Saviour who had redeemed them was not, as the Christian world believed, really and substantially the Son of God. The novelty of the doctrine, the eloquence of the preacher, and the disaffection of a certain number of courtiers, gave the error an impulse which not even its inventors had foreseen or expected. In vain did the patriarch, St. Alexander, endeavor to recall the ambitious and erring priest. The very patriarchal throne whence issued the fatherly invitations to retract his blasphemy was the prize coveted by the heresiarch, and the disappointment occasioned by his failure to secure it drove him to the sacrifice of his faith and his salvation. Mildness and entreaty failing, the Patriarch convened a council to pronounce upon the errors of Arius. The heresiarch refused to retract them, and was excommunicated. The secretary of the Patriarch at this council was a young deacon, famous for his prudence, piety, and learning; and for him Arius conceived a particular hatred, which he seems to have transmitted to his children in heresy. The deacon was *Athanasius*, in whose defence our Liberius suffered so much, forty years afterwards. Retiring into Palestine, Arius won golden opinions among the Emperor's wretched courtiers, among whom were Eusebius, a bishop in

name only, and Constantia, the Emperor's sister. Many other Eastern bishops also supported the cause of Arius. He composed verses in which he embodied the poison of his doctrines, and distributed them among the common people. Set to the airs of the obscene songs of the day, they "took," as we say nowadays, and in a few months the blasphemies of an excommunicated renegade became the faith of thousands. Nor need we be astonished at this rapid popular lapse into heresy. Only a few years had elapsed since Constantine, victorious over Maxentius and Licinius, became sole master of the Roman commonwealth and put an end to the persecutions. For three centuries, in fact, the wave of persecution had swelled high, and, therefore, religious instruction was given to the Catholic masses under very great difficulty and amid constant dangers. Even many of the clergy had not the science their state required. Since the conversion of Constantine, though no edicts were pressed against the pagans, yet these felt that favors would be best obtained by believing or affecting to believe as the Emperor. Doubtless, then, of the vast numbers who joined the Christian Church at this period, many were prompted by interest, others were allured by fashion, and comparatively few were urged by conviction. Instruction in the necessary articles of faith was all that could be dispensed—and these but superficially—at such a time; but the Christian spirit very, very few seemed to have grasped, even in a low degree. It is a miracle in the moral order that any Christianity was left at all when the persecutions temporarily ended; and if, with Gibbon and the so-called philosophic school, we reject the vision of the cross seen by Constantine in the heavens, it seems somewhat more than a prodigy that he and so many others exchanged the religion of their glorious ancestors, for that of an ignoble and crucified "Galilean." But to return to our subject. For five long years the doctrinal war continued, the athletes on both sides deploying their utmost abilities, exerting every influence that could be brought to bear upon their adversaries, and exhausting the ammunition of the Greek tongue in subtleties and distinctions, which that elegant language, of all others, is capable of expressing. Constantine is interviewed by the friends of Arius, he is besieged by the tears and entreaties of his sister, and fawned upon by unworthy ecclesiastics. Finally, with the concurrence of Pope Sylvester and some others, he assembles the famous Council of Nice. Three hundred and eighteen bishops there assembled proclaimed the ancient belief to be a dogma of faith. Jesus is the *λογος*, the Eternal Word of God, uncreated and (*δμουῦσιος*) consubstantial with the Father. Whether we ascribe it to pure malice, or to ignorance of the binding force of a solemn decree made by the Church in council, or in fine to a hope that the fallen might return to the fold, certain is it that many of the Eastern

bishops communicated *in divinis* with the now *formal* heretics just as they had done previously. Whatever the cause, many prevaricated, and neither the threats of the Emperor nor the voice of conscience brought back to a full acquiescence in the decrees of Nice a large portion of the clergy and people of the East. For more than thirty years from this time until the reign of Julian, the Christian world presents a scene of wild confusion led by the Arian emperors, the sons and successors of Constantine. Athanasius is several times driven from his see of Alexandria, in which he succeeded St. Alexander; now on the charge of murder, sacrilege, and other nameless crimes, now on the charge of stopping the supplies of wheat—and every student of history knows how serious such a charge must appear, since Egypt was the great granary of the Roman world. Driven away at one time by the imperial troops, at another he is rescued by them from the murderous frenzy of the Arian bishops and their creatures. Council after council is summoned and disbanded with no end other than to gratify the whim of an imperial theologian, or the spleen of a usurping ecclesiastic. Creed follows fast upon creed, and one scarcely overtakes and devours its predecessor, when itself is overtaken and devoured by a new one. In all some fifty creeds, Arian, semi-Arian, and nondescript, welled up from the copious fountain of heretical impiety, and the people looked in vain out into the doctrinal mist for a gleam of hopeful light, and groped about for something solid in the ever-darkening clouds of heterodoxy which enveloped them and their teachers. The fickle Constantine banished Arius and recalled him, silenced Alexander, then gave him a hearing, expelled Athanasius and restored him, sat in silence and awe before the assembled Fathers at Nice, and yet, probably delaying his baptism till, at death's portal, he received it at the hands of Eusebius, whose faith was as uncertain as his conduct was blameworthy. Constantius, the son of Constantine, was an avowed Arian and a coward besides, and every coward is cruel when he has power. In the battle of Mursa 54,000 of Rome's best soldiers fell victims of his ambition, and while the Cæsar Julian kept in check the barbarians of the North, this emperor took all the credit to himself. Instead of attending to the decaying finances, or winning fame by checking the anti-Christian persecution of Sapor, the Persian, and guarding the outposts of the empire against invasion, this theologaster squandered his time in disputations with the divines of his party, and in persecuting those of his subjects who dared to believe otherwise than their whimsical master.

The See of Rome, however, remained unshaken amid these stormy scenes. In a surging and angry ocean strewn with the wrecks of many creeds and philosophies, flashed one beacon light which never ceased for an instant to mark the harbor of infallible

doctrine; it came from "the house built on the rock." To Peter's successor, where his brethren so often betrayed him, the persecuted but ever active Athanasius turned his face; for even in this early age the East acknowledged in the Pope a primacy over all other bishops—awkward as the fact is for the sects. Julius I., then in the chair, indicted a council to examine the cause of the struggling bishop; he justifies him and condemns as irregular the proceedings of those who drove him from his see. Ursacius and Valens, two unworthy bishops, who, instead of residing in their own sees, followed continually at the heels of the Emperor, were among the deadly enemies of Athanasius, and they sought every opportunity to vilify him before their royal patron, little listing Papal decisions. Their repeated and calumnious charges, supported by specious forgeries, enraged the Emperor to an extent that perhaps extenuates the malice of his subsequent acts of violence, while the real instigators of his crimes have become objects of contempt to every succeeding age. On a charge that Athanasius was a supporter of the usurper Magnentius, these creatures urged the Emperor to annul his former letters of reconciliation with the Patriarch, and to solicit his condemnation by Liberius, who had succeeded Julius in the Roman See. Constantius understood well the importance and even the necessity of such a sentence—it would have ended the controversy forthwith—and he determined to obtain it by blandishments or by threats. It was in the first year of the Pontificate of Liberius (352) that the demand was made. To the son of Constantine was due some respect; and to this, rather than to any suspicion of the guilt of the accused, it may be owing that the persecuted bishop was again put on trial. A council meets at Rome; on one side are the unsupported charges of the Emperor; on the other the letters of the Egyptian bishops, together with the acts of their council testifying to the innocence of their Patriarch. Only one verdict was, under the circumstances, possible; and by the chair of truth that verdict was rendered. The faith of Athanasius was that of the Church; his sufferings for that faith had made him a confessor, almost a martyr, whose acquittal by the Pope was hailed with acclamations of joy by the Catholic world, while it stung like a barbed arrow the imperial accuser, and maddened him beyond control. He decreed exile against all who would not subscribe to the condemnation of Athanasius. The Pope sent two legates to him, Vincent of Capua and the veteran Osius, with the hope of appeasing his wrath, and solicited him to convene a general synod. While the legates were on their mission, Vincent was inveigled, by some Arian bishops into a condemnation of Athanasius—a fact which the Pope deplores in a letter to Osius. Another embassy of three bishops

waited on Constantius and presented a letter from Liberius, in which he expressed great grief in view of the Emperor's injustice, disclaimed any desire to increase the prerogatives of his see, but maintained the inviolability of those already possessed by it; he declared that he was resolved to guard the faith of his predecessors, and once more asked him to convene a council to settle their interminable disputes. Constantius agrees and names Milan as the place for the meeting of the council, to which the Pope sends his legates, Lucifer of Cagliari, Pancratius, a priest, and Hilary, then a deacon. The synod opened under unfavorable auspices, the Emperor in person being there. From the outset violence reigned supreme, and the spirit of party triumphed where the spirit of peace should rule.

The Arian faction, with the state to support it, insulted and banished the Papal legates, and scourged one of them, Hilary, the most outspoken against the irregular proceedings. The other bishops present at the council, overawed by civil and military violence, signed the condemnation of Athanasius. Liberius sent to his glorious legates, now in exile, letters of condolence and encouragement, wherein he regrets his inability to suffer with them. Now a fresh difficulty arose for the Arian party. Though the condemnation of Athanasius was signed by many bishops, and the Papal legates were disposed of, yet Liberius was unconquered. How approach him? Eusebius, one of the eunuchs, a class, by the way, which was transplanted from the East at the decline of Roman greatness, was commissioned with the task. He approached the Pontiff with bribes, and was repulsed; and the bribe-money, which he placed as a gift on the tomb of the Apostles, was thrown into the street by the Pope's order. Threats were equally vain. "Let the Emperor," said the Pope, "replace Athanasius in his see and revoke his cruel edicts, and then we shall call a council, away from court influence; we will first anathematize Arianism, and then inquire into the charges against Athanasius." The Emperor then ordered the Pope to be brought to Milan, where, after a fruitless interview, he exiled him into Thrace. Such are in the main the circumstances which led to the alleged fall of Liberius; such is a glimpse of the troublous period of about a quarter of century. On inquiry we find the masses ignorant, many of the clergy little better than intruders, intriguers, and courtiers, who put their livings above their faith. We hear of wars in the North and East, of seditions in every city, often excited by factious bishops and their asseclæ, of exorbitant taxation and dishonest officials, of calumnies made and retracted, and then repeated, of forged documents and letters unscrupulously circulated. We find one Emperor a Pontifex Maximus while professing Christianity, and another an Arian and

a quack theologian. Add to this that the means of rapid communication, so familiar to us of the XIXth century, were then unknown, and we have the outlines of the IVth century.

II. We now come to the arguments used by those who regard Liberius as a heretic. The narrative given above of the part played by this Pope in the Athanasian difficulty is disputed by no one, so far as we know. When the eunuch Eusebius failed to extort by threats as well as by bribes the signature of the Pontiff in condemnation of the Alexandrian bishop, he retired to his imperial master at Milan. We have seen above how the Pope was sent for, interviewed and exiled to Beræa, in Thrace. After two years passed in misery he was permitted to return to Rome, where he ended his days peaceably. How, it is asked, did he obtain leave to return? An Emperor would certainly never yield to a bishop; and it is, therefore, obvious that the Pope yielded at length to the pressure put upon him, subscribed the condemnation, and in one word injured the faith of Nice. Furthermore, he adopted as his own the creed of Sirmium, and thereby became formally an Arian. This is the substance of the charge. We shall proceed to quote from a few of the chief authors who make the charge, this being the fairest way to present our opponents' case. Gibbon, a historian of the skeptical school, and one who betrays peculiar fondness for Protestant historians, always preferring their opinions to those of Catholics when the honor of Rome is involved, expresses his opinion concerning the Liberius question in these few words: "When he was banished to Beræa, in Thrace, he sent back a large sum which had been offered for the accommodation of his journey, and *insulted* the court of Milan by the haughty remark that the Emperor and his eunuchs might want that gold to pay their soldiers and their bishops. The resolution of Liberius and Osius was at length subdued by the hardships of exile and confinement. The Roman Pontiff *purchased his return by some criminal compliances*, and afterwards expiated his guilt by a seasonable repentance." (Italics ours.) *Decline and Fall*, vol. ii., p. 345. Milman's. Such is the view taken by Protestants and infidels generally, and certainly it is jauntily enough expressed by the author quoted, who is esteemed by many the greatest and most lucid of modern historians.<sup>1</sup> As Bossuet, the author of the charming treatise or discourse on universal history, is so well known, and his opinions on controverted points of great weight, his presentation of the case against Liberius will probably appear the strongest exposition of adverse opinion we

<sup>1</sup> We may remark here, by the way, that Gibbon must have had in his mind the fictitious history of Pope Marcellinus and his repentance after his fall, with all the poetic accompaniments of tears and a council of edified clerics! For there is nowhere on record a "seasonable repentance," nor anything approaching it, in the career of Liberius.



can choose. It is not necessary here to give all the circumstances which brought out the famous "Defensio;" let it suffice to say, that when in A.D. 1682 the clergy of France ventured to assert their spiritual independence of Rome, Bossuet was chosen to draw up an exposition and a defence of their principles and position, and one of the grounds of the argument was, that the Roman See was not what it professed to be, infallible in matters of doctrinal teaching. After mentioning the repugnance he experiences in undertaking this work, he continues: "For my part I lean to the opinion that, of all these various formulas (the Arian or semi-Arian creeds of Sirmium), that which Liberius subscribed was the most innocent. But it is no less certain that Liberius acted very badly, since, knowing the artifices and the treachery of the Arians, he subscribed a profession of faith which dissembled the consubstantiality of Christ. . . . After this subscription Liberius did not hesitate, in letters as shameful as miserable, to take sides with the Arians and to banish Athanasius from his communion and from that of the Roman Church. But at this epoch, the communion of Athanasius was the Catholic communion. The conduct of Liberius justifies fully the anathema with which St. Hilary branded the memory of this Pope. St. Jerome says formally that Liberius subscribed an heretical formula. On his return, therefore, the Romans considered him only as a traitor who had deserted the cause of the faith, who had sullied himself with Arian filth, and who had communicated with the sectaries in everything except the question of second baptism. These are the very words of the *Liber Pontificalis*." Here is a terrible indictment, well presented, strongly supported, and if the authorities were but trustworthy, victoriously sustained. But the error lies in the evidence, not in Bossuet's logic. In his *Universal History*, he trips over this great historic problem in these few words: "The orthodox bishops were driven from their sees; the whole Church was filled with confusion and trouble; the constancy of Pope Liberius yields to the hardship of exile, and Osius, formerly the prop of the Church, is vanquished by suffering." The proofs for the double accusation of perfidy and apostasy the learned bishop finds in the *Fragments* of Hilary, in the words of Jerome, in the *acts* of Eusebius, and in the *Liber Pontificalis*. We shall dissect these authorities later on. Fleury, a historian of the rank Gallican school, who endeavors to pull down the reputation of the Popes wherever he meets them, after detailing the undisputed facts about the persecution of Liberius, says: "The bishop of Berræa when Liberius was in exile presented to him the Sirmium profession of faith, that is to say, according to the most probable opinion, the first proposed against Photinus at a council held in the year 351, at which Demophilus had assisted. It suppressed the terms

*consubstantial* and *like in substance*, but could otherwise be defended, as, in fact, it has been, by St. Hilary. Liberius approved of it and subscribed it as Catholic; he renounced the communion of Athanasius and embraced that of the Easterns, that is, of the Arians." Fleury here admits that the formula signed has an orthodox interpretation, but otherwise the tenor of his opinion is, that Liberius became a heretic, openly and scandalously. Perhaps the good Gaul did not see the patent contradiction in his words. Mosheim, the Lutheran historian, is at least no harder on the Pope than Fleury. He says in his church history: "The Emperor's (Constantius) attachment to the Arians animated him against their adversaries, whom he involved in various troubles and calamities, and obliged many of them by threats and punishment to come over to the sect which he esteemed and protected. Among these *forced* proselytes was Liberius, the Roman Pontiff, who was compelled to embrace Arianism, Anno 357." Respecting the original documents upon which these historians based their opinions, we may say that on their face they go strongly against Liberius, and it is only more modern and skilful criticism that has stripped them of their fictitious importance. The *Fragments* of Hilary, for instance, represent the Pope writing thus to the Eastern bishops: "To the most beloved priests and bishops of the East health. . . . As the law says, 'justa judicate filii hominum,' I do not defend Athanasius, . . . but when I saw . . . that you had condemned him justly, I joined in your judgment and sent letters . . . to Constantius. Having removed Athanasius, therefore, from the communion of all of us, . . . I say that I am at peace and concord with you all and with the Oriental bishops."<sup>1</sup>

Further on, he says he accepts (*libente animo suscepi*) fully the Sirmian formula, etc. This is but a sample of the *Fragmenta*. Jerome says in his Chronicles: Liberius, overcome by the miseries of exile, subscribed the Arian heresy and entered Rome in triumph. The *Acta Eusebii* represent Liberius, after his return from exile, persecuting his former flock, publicly teaching Arianism, and joining with the Emperor to put the priest Eusebius to death. Even Bossuet dissents from the latter portion of this statement of the "Acts;" but altogether he regards them as good enough authority for his case, particularly as their contents agree strikingly with

<sup>1</sup> Here is the original quoted by Vincenzi, to whom we are greatly indebted for the materials of this article: "Dilectissimis fratribus presbyteris et episcopis orientalibus salutem . . . sicut lex loquitur 'justa judicate filii hominum' ego Athanasium non defendo. . . . At ubi cognovi, quando Deo placuit juste vos illum condemnasse, mox consensum commodavi sententiis vestris, litterasque super nomine ejus . . . dedi perferendas ad imperatorem Constantium. Itaque amoto Athanasio a communione omnium nostrum . . . dico me cum omnibus vobis et cum universis orientalibus episcopis pacem et unanimatem habere."

the words of the *Liber Pontificalis*. Here, it is said, is testimony sufficient, if history may at all be trusted, to establish the treason of Liberius against religion and justice. True, he was made to suffer, but he yielded, and there is the proof of the fact! Add to these the doubt of Rufinus about the innocence of Liberius, his bitter condemnation by his successor, Damasus, and the hard accusation of the outraged Athanasius in his history to the monks, and what more proof do we want that the unfortunate Pope ceased to confirm his brethren?

III. Having heard fully the case against Liberius, it is now in order to show its weakness; and this we shall do, 1st, by establishing the presumption of the Pope's innocence; 2d, by giving on historic authority the true explanation of his return to Rome; 3d, by showing the documents used by our opponents to be valueless. Liberius was of Roman birth and became Pope, A.D. 352, a stormy period in the Church's history, when anarchy was beginning to prevail in the government, and heresy to grow strong apace. From his youth up Liberius had manifested great piety, and his humility caused him to shun the highest office on earth and to resist his appointment. This resistance will, of course, be set down by those ninnyes who measure all men by the rule of their own inclinations, as affected or "convenient;" but it is not in our power to scan and decipher men's intentions. His contemporaries, at least, thought his humility sincere. Up to the time of his reputed fall, his words, his letters, and all his acts were redolent of apostolic virtue; and after his restoration to his See, the same zeal to combat error, to denounce heresy, and to confirm his brethren by word and example, was ever manifest. In proof of this we may point to the tone of his letters regretting the fall of his legate Lucifer; his replies to the eunuch Eusebius; his rejection of the bribes offered him privately; his defiant tone to the Emperor himself; his refusal to take money for his journey from the Empress; his pathetic epistles to his legates in exile; his wish to suffer with them; his actual long-suffering in his cruel exile in Thrace. His expressed wish to suffer with the exiled bishops was, therefore, no bravado, but genuine, as the result proves. From these facts, which few deny, it is clear that the presumption of Liberius's innocence is very strong, so strong, in fact that to prove his fall demands evidence of the most positive and irreproachable kind. In his case we have not merely that legal presumption which shields the accused in every criminal case, "*nemo præsimitur malus*," but we have in his favor a chain of circumstances which preclude all probability of a fall. There are those who contend<sup>1</sup> that though Liberius signed an Arian

<sup>1</sup> Among them Natalis Alexander, vol. viii., 135, and in fact many Catholic writers and annalists, down to the last century. The fact that Liberius had signed a formula

formula, he did not become a heretic; for, they say, the formula he signed was really defensible, though it omits the "consubstantial." Now, granted for the moment that he did sign a formula, it is admitted that he signed it *under violent pressure* at the hands of imperial jailers; but such an act would be practically valueless. Secondly, the act, therefore, could not be interpreted to imply a wish to so teach the Church, in which case alone the Pope is declared infallible. Thirdly, since the creed said to have been *probably* signed by Liberius contained nothing positive against the faith, and only *omitted* an important word, even if intentionally, it would be interesting to know by what process of judicial interpretation his merely signing it could be called heretical *teaching*. Admitting, then, for argument's sake the fact of the signature of a Sirmian formula by Liberius, he cannot be said, as universal doctor of the Church, to have taught heresy. But we deny the fact of the signature absolutely. We are not called upon here to prove a negative; but as the alleged fact rests on the historic value of certain documents, we would have only to show that these documents are untrustworthy, in order to make clear the character of the accused. But we will not rest here. The presumption in favor of Liberius is strengthened by the favorable testimony of his contemporaries and immediate successors. We quote a few: St. Basil, in his Epistle 263, calls him "the most blessed bishop," and says that his faith and authority never failed. St. Ambrose, in the third book *de Virginibus*, calls him "beatæ memoriæ," of blessed memory—a term which he repeats frequently throughout the work. Pope Damasus, writing to the Illyrian bishops concerning the assent to be given the Nicene definition, says expressly that, though the council of Ariminum (Rimini) had decreed otherwise, "the Roman bishop Liberius, whose judgment must be sought before all others, gave no consent to its decrees." How could Damasus use this language, or enforce his own authority by the example of his predecessor, if there had been even a doubt of the latter's integrity? The inference is plain. Siricius, too, his second successor, cites the authority of Liberius adversely to re-baptism, and calls him "my predecessor of venerable memory." This is bitter irony if Liberius is not innocent. Athanasius, in his *Apologia*, thus relates the fall of Osius (or Hosius) of Cordova: (He signed the condemnation), "not because he thought us guilty, but because he was unable, by reason of his age and weakness, to bear his torture," No. 89. But there is not a word about the fall of Liberius, who was likewise in exile. Elsewhere he says that Liberius and Osius were witnesses who had preferred death to betrayal of the truth. If, however,

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seemed to them established; but they took different views of the morality and significance of his act.

both these heroes fell, historic accuracy requires that the whole truth be told. In his work, *De fuga sua*, No. 4, Athanasius informs us that while the Church was in peace, and the congregation at prayers, many bishops, and among them Liberius, a *herald of the truth*, were torn away and driven into exile for no other cause than their opposition to Arianism; that, furthermore, they did not subscribe the calumnies which were uttered against him (Athanasius). This was written after the return of Liberius to Rome; but, if he had, as alleged, departed from the Nicene faith, of what use would his testimony be, or what weight would his name add to the cause of Athanasius? Would not the latter, on the contrary, have mentioned the unfortunate fall of the one who, *up to a certain time*, had defended him? And if he was, by the subscription of the Pope, cut off from the communion of Rome, would he not have mentioned the fact? This is no doubt the view taken by the forgers of the "history of Arianism" attributed to Athanasius, wherein the fall is related at length. It has been contended by some editors that the last numbers of the *Apologia* above mentioned are not authentic; but the learned Vincenzi maintains that the reason given by those editors in support of their opinion—viz., that the *Apologia* was completed *before* the exile of Liberius—is of no force; and he shows that the work, which would be incomplete without Nos. 89 and 90, must, therefore, have been written after the return of Liberius to Rome, because it speaks of the exile. But this is not the place to reproduce the arguments this learned writer employs. In Sulpicius Severus, *Historia*, lib. iv., c. 12, is preserved an encyclical of Liberius, published after the Council of Rimini, in which he anathematizes Arianism and exhorts all who fell, whether by weakness or by violence, to return at once to the bosom of the Church. But in the *Fragmenta* several such letters are extant bearing the name of Liberius; these are all heretical in tone, while the former is orthodox in every particular. All, however, admit the authenticity of the orthodox letter. How, then, could Liberius have the audacity, had he written the *heretical* letters, to set himself up as a teacher, and a reprover of the fallen, without at least retracting his former words, and apologizing for the scandal he had given? No apology appears; on the contrary, the tone is commanding and, therefore, indicative of the authority of innocence. Had he himself been guilty and among those who "suffered detriment to their faith by force or fraud," the world must have known it. If Rome became Arian all the bishops knew it; and before the chief bishop could command their respect, he owed the Catholic world an apology for this greatest of scandals.

Let us go a step further, and assert that, had he fallen, volumes of episcopal reproaches and countless decrees of protesting councils

would have deluged his fated throne, and plunged him into a sea of disgrace,—the roar of whose waves would at this distant day deafen our ears, and make a defence of Liberius impossible. Two inferences follow,—first, Liberius did not, could not, have fallen by subscribing the Sirmian formula and the condemnation of Athanasius; secondly, all letters which bear the name of Liberius, and represent him favoring the Arians, are forgeries. Another circumstance strengthens these conclusions. After the restoration of Liberius a council was convened by the Emperor at Seleucia, and another simultaneously at Rimini. The Bishop of Rome was not invited, and therefore neither he nor his legates had any part in it. Had he been an Arian, as claimed, this would have been the time to exhibit him on the “ministerial benches.” After these unfortunate councils this Pope, who, we are told, had yielded to the Emperor, who had condemned Athanasius, and signed away his faith to regain his See, and eat his mess of pottage amid the seven hills, started suddenly into opposition, and anathematized the acts of the Emperor’s council. Strange independence of a fallen and servile Pope! *Iniquitas mentita est sibi.*

Again, Lucifer Calaritanus (of Cagliari), in his book against Constantius, Faustinus and Marcellinus, in their work presented to Valentinian and Arcadius, mention the exile of Osius and of Liberius. They state that Osius yielded to the persecution, but not a word have they about the Bishop of Rome. Strange omission!

Sulpicius Severus, too, *Historia*, lib. ii., No. 39, says: “Liberius of Rome and Hilary are sent into exile . . . . But Liberius is restored shortly after to Rome (Urbi) on account of the sedition there.” Farther on he states that Osius, then a doting centenarian, probably yielded; but he says nothing of the kind about Liberius. How could these authors all conspire, as it were, to conceal from history the crime of Liberius, the *greater* sinner, and to parade the defection of the *lesser* light? Ammianus Marcellinus, a pagan historian of this era, in lib. xv., chap. vii., after epitomizing the great quarrel between the Emperor and Athanasius, states that the former’s will to banish the latter was opposed by the Bishop of the “Eternal City,” who, because he would not yield, was with great difficulty carried off at night against the will of the people, who loved him dearly.<sup>1</sup> This well-informed historian lays great stress

<sup>1</sup> The author’s words are: “Athanasium epum eo tempore apud Alexandriam . . . alius se efferentem, ut prodidere rumores assidui cætus . . . (synodus ut appellant), removit a sacramento. Hunc per subscriptionem abjicere sede sacerdotali, paria sentiens cæteris, jubente principe, Liberius monitus perseveranter renitebatur, nec visum hominem nec auditum damnare, nefas ultimum sæpe exclamans, aperte scilicet recalcitrans imperatoris arbitrio. Id enim ille, Athanasio semper infestus, licet sciret impletum, tamen auctoritate quoque *potiore* æternæ Urbis Episcopi *firmari*, desiderio nitebatur ardenti; *quo non impetrato*, Liberius ægre populi metu, qui ejus amore flagrabat, cum magna difficultate noctis medio potuit absportari.”

on the opposition shown by Liberius to the will of Constantius, but he does not say that the opposition at any time *ceased*, which cessation, had it ever taken place, the historian should and would necessarily have noted to make the narrative complete. Socrates says distinctly, lib. ii., c. xxxvii., that Liberius recovered his See shortly after his return (from exile); "for the Roman people, having become seditious, expelled Felix from the Church; and the Emperor, *though unwilling*, gave his assent." How could the Emperor be unwilling to restore Liberius to his See if the latter had fulfilled all his behests? It were inexplicable. Athanasius gives a full account of the trial made by Constantius to win over Liberius. When Eusebius, the eunuch sent by the Emperor to tempt the Pope with gold, received no better reception than Simon Magus, who tempted Peter, he resorted to threats. The interview thereupon ended, and the Pope replied to the threats by letter as follows: "You think to force me to subscribe to the condemnation of the Patriarch of Alexandria. How can I? Three consecutive councils, one of which represented the universal episcopate, have recognized, verified, and proclaimed the innocence of Athanasius. He was present. . . . We ourselves have heard all the calumnies with which they would crush him peremptorily refuted. We have admitted him to our communion. . . . We have pledged him the most tender affection; and now that he is absent, persecuted, proscribed, are we to hurl an anathema against him? No! such is not the rule of the ecclesiastical canons, nor the *tradition* of the blessed and great Apostle Peter, which our predecessors have transmitted to us. The Emperor, you say, wishes for peace; . . . let him commence by recalling the cruel edicts he has launched against the Patriarch; let him set Athanasius at liberty, and place him firmly in his See." *Hist. Arian.*, No. 36. Language like this was not calculated to appease an Emperor. The *Gesta Liberii*, a scroll lately discovered, tells us that for a time the Pontiff retired to the catacomb of Noella, in the Via Salaria, a voluntary exile; but his retreat was discovered, and he was led to Milan, where the Emperor held the following dialogue with him, reported in substance both by Athanasius and Theodoret. Said the Emperor: "As you are Bishop of our city, . . . we exhort you to reject the communion of Athanasius. The world has judged him," etc.

Liberius: "Sir, ecclesiastical judgments must be just. Establish a tribunal, . . . and, if he be found guilty, judgment will be pronounced. . . . We cannot condemn a man who has not been tried."

Emperor: "The world has condemned his impiety."

Liberius: "Those who subscribed his condemnation have not

seen all that passed. The glory you promise them, or the punishment you threaten, has influenced them."

Emperor: "What do you mean by the words glory and punishment?"

Liberius: "Those who love not the glory of God, and prefer your favors, have condemned him without trial. This is unworthy of Christians."

Emperor: "He has been judged by the Council of Tyre, where he was present."

Liberius: "Not in his presence, but after his withdrawal." (Here a bishop, who was by, put in that Liberius wished to boast, on his return to Rome, that he had baffled the Emperor.)

Emperor: "What do you account yourself in the world, to raise yourself alone to disturb the earth?"

Liberius: "Even if I were alone, the cause of the faith would not fall." . . . . .

Emperor: "What has been once decreed cannot be reversed. The judgment of the majority of the bishops must decide, and you are the only one attached to this wretch."

Liberius: "Sir, we have never heard that, in the absence of the accused, a judge would consider him a wretch, as if he were his particular enemy."

Emperor: "He has offended the world in general, me in particular. . . . . I will send you back to Rome if you embrace the communion of the Churches. Yield for peace sake; subscribe, and return to Rome?"

Liberius: "I have already bid adieu to my brethren in Rome."

Emperor: "You will have three days to consider," etc. . . . .

Liberius: "Three days nor three months will not change my resolution. Send me where you like."

Here is language worthy of a Pope. Who can imagine this hero yielding cringingly afterwards to this very Emperor and retracting these sublime words? But if the Pope had prevaricated and condemned Athanasius, of what use would it have been for the latter to publish this interview? Both Athanasius and the Arian faction, and the whole world, in fact, knew the importance of having the Roman Bishop on their side. Hence the efforts made all around to secure his subscription. Hence the forgeries of the Arians, so unjust to Liberius. Hence, too, the *History* and other works written by the Bishop of Alexandria. It would, therefore, have been doubly absurd for Athanasius to hope for favor by claiming the Bishop of Rome's suffrage, if that suffrage had been reversed, and himself cut off from the Pope's communion.

But Theodoret, in lib. ii., c. 15, *et seq.*, of his *Ecclesiastical History*, accounts fully for the return of Liberius to Rome after his long



exile, and once for all settles the question at issue. Could any doubt remain after the evidence given above, the following account must dispel it: "The glorious athlete of the truth, Liberius, went into Thrace, as ordered; but after two years Constantius set out for Rome. The wives of the senators and nobility besought their husbands to approach the prince and ask him to restore the shepherd to his flock; adding that, if this were refused, they would leave their homes and migrate to their great shepherd. Their consorts said they feared the anger of the prince. 'He will, perhaps,' said they, 'not pardon us men; but if you ask him he will, doubtless, spare you. One, then, of two things will happen; he will either hear your prayers, or, if he refuse, he will at least send you away unhurt.' These most excellent women followed the advice, and approached the Emperor clad in elegant style, so as to insure a respectful reception on his recognizing them as nobles. Having come thus adorned before the Emperor, they suppliantly asked him to take pity on so great a city deprived of its shepherd and exposed to the fury of wolves. But he answered the matrons that the city did not want a second shepherd, having already a fit one to look after it; for, after the departure of the great Liberius, one of his deacons, Felix by name, was ordained. He, indeed, kept whole and inviolate the formula of faith expounded by the Fathers of Nice; but he communicated freely with those who had sullied it, and for this reason *none of the Roman citizens would enter the church while he was there.* This, too, the matrons made known to the Emperor. Yielding, therefore, the Emperor ordered *that illustrious man, worthy of all praise,* to return from exile."

Theodoret informs us, further on, that the sources of his information were "pious men still living." With evidence like this before him, it seems incomprehensible that any one could conceive the fall of Liberius to be other than a calumny of the blackest dye.

How, then, it will be asked, are we to account for the testimony of the *Liber Pontificalis*, of the *Fragmenta* of Hilary, or of St. Jerome, etc.? We might answer in general terms that, as the character of the Pope has been unanswerably vindicated, these so-called testimonies can be of no weight. But, to answer in detail, we say, 1st, as to the *Liber Pontificalis*. This is the journal of the Pope, so to speak, not compiled (as some have thought) by one person, but written up by many hands from a very remote period. This work informs us that Liberius was treated with by Ursatius and Valeus (his bitter enemies!), and recalled to Rome by the Emperor; but that, on his arrival there, he dared not enter, and besought the Emperor's cousin, Constantia, to intercede with the Emperor for him; that Felix was then expelled violently; that Liberius communicated freely with the Arians, and joined in a per-

secution of the clergy, who refused to receive him; that Felix died in peace, etc. Now this chapter is so full of contradictions that it at once reveals its origin. Firstly, Liberius is said to have come to terms with Constantius, and is recalled; yet he dares not enter Rome until he mollifies the Emperor through Constantia!—a glaring contradiction. Next, rebaptism is made to appear the theological difficulty between the Pope and the Emperor, though the question was not dreamt of at the time. Again, Liberius and Constantius are reported meeting in a council at Rome at a time (359) when the Emperor was in Pannonia warring with the Sarmatians and the Quadi. Fourthly, Felix was, we know, a *martyr*; yet, according to this book, he died naturally! As regards the persecutions at Rome, Liberius suffered with his clergy at the hands of the Arians. This self-contradictory chapter of the “Liber P.” is, therefore, a forgery in the interest of the Arians, most probably written while that faction were in the ascendant at Rome.<sup>1</sup>

The *Fragments*, ascribed to St. Hilary, which accuse Liberius of signing an Arian formula, and of condemning Athanasius, are another forgery. St. Jerome knew nothing of them; for, in his enumeration of Hilary’s works, he makes no mention of them. Next, they contradict the well-known convictions of Hilary, so oft repeated in his authentic works.

Rufinus, in his Church history, lib. i., speaking of the works of Hilary, is also ignorant of the *Fragmenta*. This author says that he is in doubt about the supposed fall of Liberius; but if he had read or heard of these *Fragments* (and he would if they existed), which so unhesitatingly record it, the authority of their author would have left no doubt in the mind of Rufinus, and he would have said simply, “Liberius fell.” Furthermore, while the *Fragments* give all those letters which represent Liberius as an abettor of Arianism, they studiously omit mention of the famous orthodox epistle of this Pope. The Arian compiler was very cunning, but overreached himself. Either, then, the *Fragmenta* are spurious, or the other reputed works of Hilary must be considered unauthentic. The latter proposition is preposterous, “a lame and impotent conclusion,” as all critics admit. The *Fragmenta* are, therefore, of no value, and the charge they support falls to the ground. In fact, the very existence of these forgeries over the renowned signature of Hilary would establish, in default of other evidence, the innocence of the man they accuse so boldly; for, the weaker and the more perverse the charge, the greater the desire of its inventors to father it on some great personage. 2d.

<sup>1</sup> Many chronologists, among them Muratori, are of opinion that the compilation of the Liber Pontificalis was not begun until somewhere in the eighth century. If this opinion is of any weight, the testimony of the work, as against Liberius, is nil.

The "Acta Eubii," discovered, in A. D. 1479, by Mombricitus, and reproduced in his *Miscellanea* by Baluze in the seventeenth century, seemed for a time to establish the guilt of Liberius, and were relied on as genuine by Bossuet.<sup>1</sup>

They tell of a "man of God," Eusebius, who suffered martyrdom at the hands or with the complicity of Liberius, who had joined the Arians, etc. In a word, they are of the same tenor as the "Liber P." notice of Liberius; and betray the same spirit, if not the same hand. We know, contrary to these "Acta," that Pope Damasus praised the memory of his predecessor. We know, too, that the dialogue said to have taken place in Rome between the Pope and the Emperor in 359 is a fiction, yet the "Acts" record it.

Constantius never saw Rome after his month's stay in 358. These "Acts," or portions of them, are therefore self-confessed forgeries. 3d. We have the positive testimony of Jerome, who says that Liberius, "overcome with the hardships of exile, subscribed an heretical formula, and entered Rome as a conqueror." How shall we meet this? St. Jerome wrote far from the scenes he chronicled—in fact, in the Holy Land; and no doubt (unless the words be, as some contend, an interpolation) he wrote what he heard noised about him, some thirty years after the events, unsuspecting of the injury done a Pope by this horrid Arian slander. He alone, of all the Catholic writers of antiquity, asserts the guilt of Liberius, and he stands contradicted by the collective evidence of others so situated as better to know the truth. Like that of Bossuet, the dictum of Jerome, if genuine, was based on evidence regarded by him as *bona fide*, but which, in point of fact, was just the reverse. The opinion, that the sentence given from Jerome's *Chronicle* is also an Arian interpolation, has very strong arguments in its favor. We know that the works of Origen were tampered with, even during the lifetime of the author, by sectaries desirous of having the support of so great a name. He reclaimed, but in vain, and history has misjudged him. Athanasius and others complained of a like grievance. The wholesale forgeries of the Arians give us a presumption that this faction would secure Jerome's name, if possible. Besides, it is admitted that the *Chronicle* has, in fact, been interpolated, or otherwise disfigured; and Menochius (quoted by Barthélemy, *Errors and Historic Lies*) says, in this connection, that "there is not a trace of the fall of Liberius in the manuscript of the *Chronicles* of St. Jerome preserved in the Vatican, and given the Pope by the Queen of Sweden. This manuscript is

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<sup>1</sup> Several other critics, even of that date, such as Pétan, Labbe, and Tillemont, either rejected the Acta, as fabrications of the Arians, or, at best, as very suspicious documents.

argued by Holstenius to be very ancient, and the learned believe it to have been written in the sixth or seventh century."

At best, then, the citation is doubtful, and therefore of no weight whatever. No wonder the historians should be so puzzled about which formula was signed, and to fix the date of the alleged fall of Liberius. A lie needs good backing, as liars need good memories. Both Socrates and Sozomen mentioned the matter in their histories, but they failed to mention on what basis they make their statements. They also disagree in their story; and Sozomen, who makes three references to the *fall*, disagrees with himself. Socrates places the exile, saying nothing of the fall, after the Council of Rimini (359). Sozomen, lib. iv., c. xi., says that, when Constantius went to Rome (358), he endeavored in vain to seduce Liberius, and exiled him. In c. xv. he says that the Emperor brought Liberius to Sirmium, and induced him to sign a formula made there (which one?), and that afterwards *rumors were set afloat* by Eudoxius and others that Liberius had condemned the word "consubstantial," and had acknowledged the Son dissimilar to the Father. In c. xix. he states that the Emperor enjoined on all to subscribe to the decrees of Rimini; and that those refusing, among them Liberius, Bishop of Rome, were driven from their sees. This is a sad mixture of dates and places!

But this chaos of forgery, folly, and fanaticism is growing tedious, and we must end somewhere. To recapitulate. 1st. It has been shown that the life of Liberius was irreproachable up to the year 355 or 356; that his letters to the exiled prelates, breathing a desire to suffer with them, his defiant attitude towards the Emperor, his rejection of all bribes, his long suffering in exile, the universal esteem in which his contemporaries held him, and, lastly, his condemnation of the decrees of Rimini, *after* his return from exile, establish the presumption of his innocence of the crimes of injustice, inconstancy, and apostasy. 2d. That the spirit of the Arians was one of lies and forgery, of which they were often convicted; and that the documents we have, accusing Liberius of apostasy, etc., bear evidence, internal and external, of interpolation, or worse. 3d. That whereas the Arian faction, with Constantius at its head, made frantic endeavors to secure the alliance of the Roman Bishop; and whereas such alliance would be of no use to them whatever, unless made known to the whole world by imperial proclamation, nevertheless there is no evidence to show that such a course was adopted; but, on the contrary, that "rumors (of the defection of Liberius) were set afloat," in an underhand way, were industriously circulated in the East, and afterwards wafted westward in documents bearing great names. This fact is the more remarkable, because the fall of Osius was published from the housetops as a

mighty victory. 4th. That, besides the negative and the circumstantial evidence adduced, we have the positive testimony of Sulpicius and of Theodoret that, not any criminal compliancy on the part of Liberius, but *the demand of the Romans*, induced the Emperor, much against his will, to restore the holy Bishop to his See. Is it any wonder, then, that turning to the Greek office we find Liberius catalogued among the saints? In the Greek *Menology* we read, at the 27th September, "The blessed Liberius, defender of the truth, was Bishop of Rome during the reign of Constantius. His zeal . . . . made him underake the defence of the great Athanasius. . . . Then Liberius, who fought with his whole strength against the malice of the heretics, was exiled to Beræa in Thrace. But the Romans, who loved and honored him, remained faithful to him, and besought the Emperor to restore him. Liberius returned to Rome, where he died after wisely governing his flock."

The spirit of error has ever been busy among men opposing God's work, but in the end truth shall prevail. The God-man was misrepresented and his death secured by calumny, and His Vicar on earth may expect no better treatment. Man's reason and will are weak, and a divinely constituted authority alone can guide him into truth. Our Lord knew this, and gave us in His Vicar the corner-stone of His Church, this infallible authority. The enemy of our salvation knows it too, and hence his endeavors to pull down the Papacy by impugning its doctrinal infallibility. Had this authority once erred, Christ's promises were vain; His work a fraud or a failure. The Council of the Vatican decreed that the Pope, teaching *ex cathedrâ*, is infallible, which decree insures Catholics that neither Liberius, nor any other occupant of Peter's chair, has ever taught the Church error. Nevertheless, it is highly useful and satisfactory for us to know that the voice of history re-echoes that of authority, and proclaims that no shade of error has ever clouded the brow that wears the Papal crown. As the ruins of ancient greatness, discovered in Egypt and elsewhere, confirm many things related in Scripture, so, as fresh manuscripts and monuments of other days emerge from the dust of centuries, we shall find vindications of many who are now maligned, not because they deserve it, but because they represent Him who said to His followers, "Blessed are you when they shall revile you and persecute you; speak all things evil against you untruly for my sake; be glad and rejoice, for your reward is very great in heaven." Matt. v. 2.

Here is a Latin translation of the formula supposed to have been signed by Liberius, taken from the *Bullarium Romanum*, vol. iii.:

"Sirmiensis fidei confessio aut formula Semiarianorum a Marco

Arethusio epô græce conscripta, a Liberio subscripta hæc est. Credimus in unum Deum patrem omnipotentem creatorem et factorem omnium, in quo omnis paternitas in cælo est, et in terra nominatur. Et in unigenitum ejus filium Dm. Nm. Jm. Xm. ante omnia sæcula ex patre genitum ex Deo, lumen de lumine per quem omnia in cælis et in terra facta sunt, tam invisibilia quam visibilia; eundemque verbum esse et sapientiam, lucem veram et vitam, et ultimis diebus hominem factum, natumque ex Sancta Virgine, crucifixum, et mortuum et sepultum esse, sedereque ad dexteram patris, venturumque in consummationem sæculi ut judicet vivos et mortuos, reddatque unicuique secundum opera sua. Cujus regnum indesinens permanebit in infinitas ætates. Sedet enim ad dextram patris non solum in hoc sæculo sed et in futuro. Et in spiritum sanctum hoc est paracletum quem promissum Apostolis post ascensum in cœlos, misit ut doceret eos et commonefaceret omnium. Per quem omnes animæ quæ in eum sinceriter credunt sanctificantur." (Here follow twenty-six explicative paragraphs or articles.)

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## THE NEW SOVEREIGNTY.

**I**N what sense is the new sovereignty a departure from the old sovereignty; or can it be said that there is any new sovereignty at all? The old sovereignty made authority to be the sure guide of duty; it did this because authority was divine in its origin, and divine within the compass of its control. In the old Christian idea,—in the Catholic apprehension,—there was the authority which was known as the supernatural, and the authority which was known as the natural. The supernatural authority was the authority of the Church; that is, the authority of the teaching Church to teach truth, and the authority of the Christian ministry to perform functions. From this major authority, best known as the spiritual, the minor authority, say the social and domestic, derived a character which was something more than merely natural. If the Church could teach truths in the divine sense of truths, and was also mistress of the whole compass of moral theology, she could obviously define the limits as well as generally prescribe the character of her own relations to both the State and the family. But the new sovereignty—which was first begotten of the Reformation, then travestied or developed by the Revolution, then worked out into a speculative system by modern

thought—has done away with the religious character of natural duties by doing away with the divine character of church authority. Thus the old sovereignty is *not* the sovereignty which governs Christendom, but only a sovereignty which governs members of the Catholic Church. And even in this measure—in the relation of practice to theory—the new sovereignty has robbed the old sovereignty of its harmony.

Shall we say, then, that the new sovereignty is a departure from the old sovereignty, in the sense that it makes authority to be an accident of convenience, instead of being God's rule *through* the Church? Obviously there are two schools which approve the new sovereignty; the school which still believes in Revelation, and the school which either rejects it or doubts it. The first school would be shocked if it were told that it repudiated the supernatural element in authority; and would reply that it accepted the Bible, and believed in the religious character of social duties. Of the second school, it suffices to say simply that it repudiates the supernatural element; and that neither an atheist nor a freethinker believes in any authority beyond such as the order of nature makes convenient. Yet, since the atheist and the freethinker, the cold skeptic and the modern thoughtist, are, to a certain extent, the off-spring of Heresy, it may be desirable to trace first the deadly germs of the new sovereignty in a sectarianism which at least affected to be religious.

It has been said that "no man believes by logic," but it is certain that no man *thinks* he believes without it. Or, that a man should reject logic as being irrelevant to Christian faith, or as not auxiliary to the reasonableness of that faith, would be a symptom of an uneducated mind. Every Christian at least imagines that he reasons logically, whether he accept a part or accept the whole of the Christian faith. If, then, there be a syllogistic character about the reasonings of professing Christians,—that is, of course, of educated Christians,—how comes it that even their premises are at war like bitter enemies, and that a Q. E. D. means "my inference, not yours." The answer is, that Bible Christians create one strange premiss for themselves, and that premiss is, "I am my own judge of Revelation." They are right in their first premiss, that "Revelation is divine," but their next premiss is the negative of the first. And not only Bible Christians, but all schools of non-Catholics,—the most transcendental of the ritualists, like the loosest of broad churchmen, or the most scholarly of rationalistic latitudinarians, adopt for their second postulate the most irrational of assumptions, that "the human can interpret the divine." It matters not one straw whether a man chooses his fathers, or his councils, or his saints, or his doctors as his auxiliaries in interpreting divine doctrines; every man who makes "ego" his ultimate arbiter in selection,—in the selection of his own inter-

preters of Revelation,—is as essentially Protestant in his attitude towards authority as a preacher in the humblest conventicle.

You cannot make a syllogism unless you have two postulates, and those two postulates must be patent as the noonday sun. You may make sport of a postulate, for the mere enjoyment of mental play, but we all know what is meant by a postulate. Thus: "Every man thinks; John is a man; therefore John thinks," may be made sport of on the ground that really but few men can be said to think; and that as to John, he is the most thoughtless of persons. Yet even in this case all the world knows our meaning, and all the world attributes the faculty which we postulate. But in the grand syllogism which may be built up for the Catholic faith, there is no room for any possible play, for any escape from a sufficient Q. E. D. That "Revelation is divine" is that one common belief which all Christians accept for their first postulate; and this, not only as regards its divine Author, but equally as regards all its doctrine. Yet when we come to the human intelligence of what we have admitted to be divine, Catholics alone can affirm (and they can logically demonstrate) that "Divine doctrines require an infallible interpreter."

The old sovereignty was grounded on this last principle. The new sovereignty is grounded on its rejection. Herein lies the divorce which modern thought has created, not only between dogma and sentiment, between authority and popularly accepted creeds, but also between *duties* and *conveniences* in the whole range both of politics and of social ethics. The old sovereignty so impregnated every department of life, that from the emperor to the peasant, from the judge to the attorney's clerk, from the father to the son, from the parish priest to the sexton, one and the same authority made one and the same spirit of duty to possess the intellects and the consciences of all Christians. The new sovereignty has allowed the religious sentiment to survive—that is, in the case of professing Christians—but it has taken out the backbone of almost all Christian duty, by making every man his own interpreter of the idea, duty.

It would be too large a field over which to travel leisurely, if we were to write down all the social and the political changes which have come about from the acceptance of the new sovereignty. It may be said, perhaps, that a free press has both embodied and established the reign of changeful convenience over duty. A free press means the advocacy of private judgment, in regard to all points of religious faith, as well as all points of social ethics, irrespective of any authority beyond such as the civil power and the adopted canons of society may approve. A free press ignores God, save only in such sense as private judg-



ment may apprehend His existence. It may graciously lay down the postulate, "God is;" but it claims the right to apprehend both His being and His providence in the measure which its own bias may most commend. Here, then, is *not* the sovereignty of God, but the sovereignty of "my own private opinion of Him." Take the normal (religious) attitude of modern thought in regard to the religious side of political questions. Fifty years ago, in England, the old cry of "Church and State" meant an alliance, if not a union of the two; it meant at least, "there is a true religion, and it is the duty of the political powers to recognize it." Meagre as was such a confession of political duties, at least it was better than French Paul Bertism. True, the English government, from the time of the Reformation, had divorced political duties from Catholic obedience; it had centred all religious authority in itself; it had even created a brand new Established Church, and had created brand new thirty-nine articles; still, there was the admission that "religion and politics could and did go together theoretically." It is perfectly true that what we are speaking of as the new sovereignty was proclaimed and embodied by the Anglican Parliament, in its usurpation of teaching powers in regard to religion; and it is perfectly true that Paul Bertism is only a logical outcome of the principle, "The State rules the Church, and may therefore quash it." Sooner or later, it was certain that private judgment, whether mantled by the lofty patronage of crown and Parliament, or left to meander in its own currents in private heads, must lead on to private rejection of all authority, on the ground that "no man can bow the head to his own authority." The very idea of authority, even in the natural order, is the idea of a power outside oneself; while, in the supernatural order, it is the idea of a power, not only outside but infinitely above oneself. The Catholic philosophy has been always grounded on this truism; but so-called Anglicanism has never formulated a philosophy. Hence, when Rationalism came to lay hold of the Anglican mind, and to urge that reason was independent of clerical teaching, Rationalism came off conqueror, because the only accepted clerical teaching was, in fact, the salaried teaching of State functionaries. Rationalism, in its appeal to Catholics, had to combat the dual position, that divine dogma is always assured to them by a divine interpreter; that is, by an interpreter divinely aided to interpret, in such measure as to be what we understand by "infallible." [The word is imperfect English, but it suffices to convey this meaning,—an authority which is divinely prevented from making mistakes.] Rationalism, therefore, made few conquests among Catholics. But among Protestants its victories were rendered easy, because the sole authority for Protestant doctrine is a Protestant's reason. We need not insist upon

the distinction between Catholic "dogma,"—rendered certain by the infallibility of the interpreter,—and Protestant "doctrine," rendered uncertain by private judgment; the distinction is so obvious that it suffices to state it as a fact which is closely linked with our whole argument. Rationalism could not attack the Catholic philosophy without attacking its primary safeguard, an aided interpreter; whereas in attacking the Protestant illusion, its work was made easy, by frankly adopting the Protestant postulate, "private judgment."

The new sovereignty is, therefore, both in its theory and in its practice, the conservation of the authority of private judgment, and this judgment is only restrained from violent action by the sentiment of "public propriety," which is traditional. The best way to test the logic of any theory is to drive it to its ultimate possibilities, and it is certain that the Catholic theory will bear that test, as it is certain that non-Catholic theories will not. Sovereignty is a fearless word to use, yet Catholics can use it without fear. The Catholic philosophy, which, having accepted Revelation, proceeds to logically correlate an infallible teacher, can as logically lay it down that the precise limits of infallible teaching are known infallibly by the infallible teacher. The Church—to use the word in its didactic sense—knows what it can teach, and what it cannot teach; knows how far it can prescribe any social or domestic duty; knows the limits of its authority in dictating to secular governments, or in even (spiritually) commanding their obedience. It is quite possible that what may be called the executive power, in the mundane intercourse of the Holy See with secular governments, may be at fault through misapprehension of actual facts (as in the case of the quarrel of King John with his barons, when Pope Innocent not only annulled the grand charter, but "excommunicated all disturbers of the public peace," because His Holiness had been misinformed as to actual facts, and had been led to believe that the barons were to blame); but, in regard to all questions of faith and morals, and their bearings on the relative duties of kings and subjects, there is no possibility of the Holy See making a mistake. The judgment in particular cases may be erroneous, but the judgment as to divine principles cannot be. Thus we drive the Catholic theory to its ultimate possibilities, and we see that, beyond mistakes in the executive (now rendered very improbable from the swiftness of intercourse, though in earlier times scarcely avoidable through slow journeyings), the divine principle, which we have called the old sovereignty, was a guarantee of not only spiritual security, but of the security of public justice *through* spiritual teaching. The worst that could possibly happen under the old sovereignty was a delay in the rectification of public quarrels; but,

in point of right or wrong, both as to dogma and as to morals, the teaching Church was the divine security of kings and subjects.

The exact opposite of these truths, both in reason and experience, will be found to issue from the process of "driving" the principle of the new sovereignty to what we have called its ultimate possibilities. Yet, we have no need to speculate as to any possible future; let us take the new sovereignty as it is. The "possibilities" have been already fully reached. The "argument from the absurd" has been worked out. In church government we see the laity practically teaching their clergy, obliging them to adopt their doctrines—from "Canterbury" down to the rural curate—to the prevalent apprehension of "enlightened views." And, just as Bible Christianity had developed hundreds of sects, each of which combated the doctrines of all the others, so Ritualism, which affects to honor *past* authority, is proverbially contemptuous of *present* authority. Indeed, Ritualism has done this service to the Protestant intellect, that it has put before it the principle of the new sovereignty worked into absolute completeness from both extremes. Private judgment has gone mad in the wildness of its inventions (in the case of the modern Ritualist sect), to the extent even of creating "mass" out of a Protestant service—which service was invented expressly to displace the mass—and to the extent of creating a fictitious system of obedience out of a system which was built up solely on disobedience. It is impossible to pass hastily over this last unique instance of the most "respectable" of the developments of the new sovereignty. Private judgment—which was the new sovereignty—had dethroned authority. At the very best, it had transferred obedience to the State, or to state-made courts, or to the private influences of honored pastors or honored friends. Ritualism came to the rescue in proposing a past authority as a substitute for the living authority of the Catholic Church, and, ridiculing private judgment, proceeded to make every man a pontiff, as judging councils, fathers, saints, even all the popes. It would not hear of any obedience being shown to my Lord of London,—still less, to that supreme state-trimmer, his Grace of Canterbury—but required every man to monopolize all the powers of the teaching Church, by requiring every man to judge infallibly all that it taught. Ritualism is the coronation of the wildest extremes of private judgment, making that judgment to judge infallibly its devoted teacher. The old Protestantism said: "We have no teacher; we teach ourselves out of our private judgment of Bible teaching." Ritualism says: "We have a teacher; that teacher is what we call the Primitive Church; but we claim the right, and the intellectual fitness, to judge infallibly of all the teachings of all the teachers of the first five centuries of the Christian Church; and, as

to our modern Anglican bishops, if they cannot agree with us, it is obvious that we must try to teach them to do so." Ritualism obeys an authority, which has been dead and buried for a thousand years, but only obeys it on the condition that each individual Ritualist must be the sole infallible interpreter of what it taught. Modern sovereignty has culminated in Ritualism. No further extravagance is even conceivable. Private judgment, with this last sect, has gone beyond even its apparent ultimatum, in setting up an infallible authority, dead and buried for a thousand years, to be privately judged by every person who claims the privilege, to be privately condemned where it seems to assert Catholic authority, but privately honored where it seems to confirm Ritualist "views."

It was impossible not to notice this eccentric phase of the new sovereignty; not to speak of it as the grandest fallacy the world has known. The world is indebted to the Ritualists for having invented a fallacy which "Euclid" would have intensely appreciated as infinitely comic. Minor fallacies shrink into contemptible insignificance by the side of that fallacy which proposes obedience to a dead authority, on condition that *we* may teach the honored remains. The opposite extreme—which was profoundly venerating one's own "reading" of the whole of both the Old and the New Testament—was a childlike vanity, a simple weak-headed complacency, which had become consecrated by three centuries of tradition. Nor was it a fallacy wholly without an apology. Our friends, the Dissenters, are not unworthy of our respect, on the ground of saying that "the Holy Spirit guides their minds." It is a pious belief, and it is not without some truth, in the sense in which pious persons intend it. Dissenters do not care about dogma, do not think that there need be any dogmas, and, in their simple idea that "belief in Christ makes a Christian," they must be left outside the intellectual reasoning as to "sovereignty." They do not go to first principles, but they rest on religious sentiment; and there we must leave them, and—we say it respectfully—as we leave good children to be good in their simple way. But, unhappily, out of this childlike, ignorant innocence, has sprung the apology—adopted by persons who are not childlike—for rejecting all religion *with* all dogma. Reasoning people apprehend that the doctrines which come from God—as distinct from the commandments which come from God—cannot be infallibly apprehended by natural intelligence; or rather, to speak more accurately, that the mysteries of the divine wisdom can only be infallibly "defined" by the divine wisdom. If, therefore, the interpreter be not infallibly aided, there is an end of all infallible definition. The realization of this truism—for the simplest of truisms it is—has obliged

all persons who do not accept the Catholic authority to fall back on one of two only alternatives: they must either give up all dogma, as not an essential of Christianity, or they must reject Christianity altogether. Both these "schools" come within the empire of the new sovereignty. And thus, religiously, the new sovereignty means heresy and schism gone mad, where it does not mean the rejection of Revelation and the deification of self-worship in its place.

## II.

Politically, the consequences of this deification of self-worship—for it is not precisely the deification of self, but the deification of the *principle* of self-worship—has led to two results in chief: first, the secularizing of all government; next, the persecution of Catholics. Under the old sovereignty all governments accepted certain principles, which principles were laid down by Catholic authority. Justice and morality were not defined by the government, but were adopted in their Catholic signification. Now, here let it be stated that it is most irrational to confuse facts, each of which must stand on its own justification. The Church is not responsible for the disobedience of governments to its doctrinal or to its moral authority; nor are Christian subjects responsible for the disobedience of their governments, nor of revolutionists, in any sense of the word. It is perfectly certain that just as the principles of good and evil must always contend in the individual subject, so the principles of good and evil must always contend in whole nations, in governments, in political systems, or evolutions. Yet no amount of historical scandals can ever affect the Catholic principle, that all government ought to be based on the Catholic faith, so that, both on the part of the governing powers and on the part of those who are governed, the Catholic faith should sanctify mutual relations. This was always the *principle* of the old sovereignty. It was not, we know, always the practice,—the practice of Catholic governments,—but, as a *principle*, it was universally recognized. The Church had a system of laws—it has now—which is known as Canonical Right. In this system we find it taught that "so long as princes and their laws are in conformity to the law of God, the Church has no power or jurisdiction against them or over them." But it is also stated that "the Church has a right to carry out her divine mission in every land, and to do so, if need be, in spite of the civil power." The true idea, therefore, of "Church and State" must be the alliance of the two, each respecting the other in its own sphere, yet the State being necessarily inferior to the Church, in creation, in endowment, in object. "Separation of Church and

State" has been authoritatively condemned from the time of St. Ambrose to that of Cardinal Manning. So has the theory that the State may control the Church, in faith, morals, jurisdiction, or education. The "philosophy" of the true relations of Church and State is so simple that even a child should understand it. Profound thinkers and deep essayists may work out the severe principle which Aristotle laid down before the Christian era, that "all authorities and societies are related to one another in proportion to the relation existing between their ends," and many thus show, by elaborate reasoning, that a divine society with eternal objects must take the precedence of human societies with temporal objects; yet it seems simpler to argue that all States which are called Christian must be taught their Christian duties by the teaching Church. If they refuse to be so taught, they are not Christian. They are, therefore, unfaithful to the Christian subjects whom they govern, not only in their bad example of disobedience, but in their not setting the highest example of perfect loyalty. Cavour and Garibaldi in Italy, Gambetta and Paul Bert in France, Dr. Falk and Prince Bismarck in Germany, Lord Palmerston and Mr. Gladstone in England, are all types of men who place the State above the Church, to the utter contempt even of the traditional sentiment of Catholic obedience. Having got rid of the divine authority of the teaching Church, they are compelled to exalt themselves into amateur pontiffs. This last attitude was certain to follow upon the first. *Some* authority must exist in every nation, to deal with the religious side of a nation's politics; and, since the true authority is rejected, there is only one possible alternative,—to make the authority of the State usurp its place.

This is what our modern liberals try to effect. They *have* effected it in some Christian countries. While professing to abhor Socialism, they adopt one of its ugliest fallacies, that the State is the earthly deity of a pure society. In Germany, where the government is a Cæsarism modified by a more or less obedient parliament, the State has striven for ten years to become the supreme arbiter in all controversies which belong to the empire of religion. The State would select and appoint parish priests with reference to their political partisanship. The State would monopolize education. The State would require a bishop to kneel to it, to ask permission to excommunicate an unworthy priest. The State would appoint its own (infidel) official to preside over the religious studies of all seminarists. The "*regium placitum*," as it is grotesquely misnamed, means, really, that all letters of the Supreme Pontiff must be scrutinized by a board of lay examiners, one of whom is a Jew, another a Protestant, a third a bad Catholic, and the fourth an avowed infidel. These gentlemen have supreme power to ad-

vise as to the "regium placitum," which, of course, is not royal at all, but simply infidel. This is a comic development of the new sovereignty. It was totally impossible that it should be otherwise developed. When the State becomes Pontiff it becomes possessed. When the people forsake the Church they become slaves. They are either slaves to the selfish Cæsar of the hour, or slaves to the selfish demagogue of the hour. [We need not speak of the third kind of wretched slavery, that of being victimized by every caprice of private judgment.] A people which has lost the guidance of Catholic authority, tumbles about from one tyranny to another, or from one frantic excess to another, and being usually reined and bitted by some popular leader, who persuades it that it is perfectly free and enlightened, rejoices in its own enslavement to the political hero of its illusions, because he *calls* himself a Liberal or a Radical. M. de Hauleville said, "Chez les nations Catholiques la liberté civile est ancienne, l'absolutisme est moderne;" and a truer remark could not be made, nor one which could be interpreted in a larger sense. It is true of the absolutism of demagoguism, as it is true of the absolutism of Cæsarism. Germany just now illustrates the second kind; France just now illustrates the first kind. In Germany neither Catholic nor Protestant has for a long while known the dignity of freedom. [They have *never* known it since the apostasy of the Reformation.] While the base servility of the French Radical herd to its immediate hero is only equalled by the mocking faithlessness of that hero to the real interests, spiritual and temporal, of his dupes. The hero promises peace; the herd believes him. But the herd does not want peace, it wants war. Peace to an infidel Radical would be a kind of death. Was it Deputy Malinckrodt who said in the Prussian Diet: "If true patriots make peace with false patriots, doubtless they will enjoy a kind of peace; the same peace which reigns in the churchyard?" But would either class of patriots enjoy peace? Only for about twenty-four hours. Radicalism,—not in its merely political sense, in the sense of wishing to alter a form of government, but in the sense of that headlong infidelity which scorns religion as the antagonist of liberty,—knows no peace, and will give none so long as a still wilder outburst is conceivable by its excited fancy. To insult religion for the simple pleasure of insulting it, is the fondest pastime of its political fitfulness. For example: The Radical electors of Northampton might have found many a workingman of high character who would have respectably represented them in Parliament, but the braggadocios of that constituency derived an exceptional gratification in picking out an unsavory atheist. This is the superlative degree of Radical spite. It is not political Radicalism—which is a legitimate theory, and may be consistent with the Christian faith—

but irreligious Radicalism, anti-religious Radicalism, the digging up of all the foundations of Christian States.

Spain has just refused, by an overwhelming majority, to do away with the (theistic) oath in the Parliament. France has not as yet abolished appeal to God. Italy and Austria still preserve it. But England is now in the throes of an inquiry as to whether she shall set a fiendish example. Now, let it be stated that the great majority of the English people are most ardently on the side of "Religious Conservatism;" more than this, the great majority of the English people are still attached to (at least) the traditions of the old sovereignty. Accepting what we have called the old sovereignty as the divine supremacy of religion over the whole world; as that ever-present and intensely realizable superiority before which all secular governments must bow down; the majority of the English people are good to the core, full of backbone, of sound sense, of religious will, and only wanting a thorough knowledge of Catholic truth to make them the most Christian people in the world. More than this, the humbler classes,—not the lower or the vulgar classes,—are imbued with refined instincts of respect for truth, nor must they be confused with that political residuum which howls radicalism from its stolid ignorance, moral depravity, or force of contact. There is in England, as in most countries, a scholarly radical class which simply aims at a vast extension of political liberties. These men have a profound contempt for infidel radicalism. But there is also a large class which would define radicalism as the popular right to pull down every church and chapel in the kingdom, to make Timothy Stubbs president of an infidel republic, provided that he hated noblemen and capitalists, and to do away with such restrictions upon morals and upon manners as hamper the perfect liberty of the citizen. True, this is an extreme class of the new radicalism. But how came it to have any existence? The answer, that liberal leaders, who are themselves respectable men, and who would resent the imputation of a low radicalism, are constantly, for the sake of "party," for the sake of gaining political followers, affecting to favor what they know to be wrong. Mr. Gladstone, who reads the lessons in his parish church, brings in a relief bill for Mr. Bradlaugh, not because he likes filthy atheism, but because he likes to take the lead in all liberalism. Mr. Gladstone is a prime minister of the new sovereignty. That sovereignty has dethroned divine authority. Because the State *is*,—not *should* be—above religion, therefore statesmen must put their politics above their God.

Dr. Benson, the new Archbishop of Canterbury, has just shown how the new sovereignty in religion is in close sympathy with the new sovereignty in politics. How should they not be in close sympathy, seeing that they were both born together? Dr. Ben-



son waits on the ministry which appointed him, before he commits himself to a repudiation of the affirmation bill. He lacks the courage of St. Ambrose, who in the fourth century told the Emperor (and would not have hesitated to tell a prime minister) to attend to his purely temporal affairs, and not to presume to have a voice in any sacred affair. But this was in the days when the old sovereignty would have made it impossible that a Christian government should have brought in an affirmation bill. Such a question must have been submitted to the spiritual power, though indeed it could not possibly have arisen. The spiritual power was the foundation of the temporal power; the Church being the mother of Christian nations. There was a complete distinctness, but a complete harmony of the two powers. As St. Thomas wrote: "The ministry of this (the spiritual) kingdom, in order that things spiritual be kept distinct from things temporal, is not intrusted to earthly kings, but to priests, and especially to the high priest, Peter's successor, Christ's vicar, the Roman Pontiff, to whom all the kings of Christian peoples are bound to be subject, as to Jesus Christ Himself." Dr. Benson, who may be styled, without any exaggeration, the archbishop of both provinces of the new sovereignty, tells his clergy that the Relief of Atheists Bill is a matter for the State, not for the Church. Is he not encouraged by the pervading secularism of the age? Christendom is a thing of the past. Christendom was the alliance of Christian nations with the spiritual sovereignty of the Catholic Church; so that all governments were based on the principle that the spiritual alliance *alone* made them legitimate. The new sovereignty has annihilated Christendom by not only divorcing the State from the Church, but by giving the State the right to ignore the Church, to control the Church, to teach the Church as it thinks best.

### III.

Lastly, that we may very briefly trace the effect of the new sovereignty upon what is commonly understood by "society," let us begin by quoting the words of Cardinal Newman, uttered in Rome in the spring of 1879: "The goodly framework of society was the *creation* of Christianity." His Eminence did not say that society was the "accident," but that it was the offspring, the legitimate family of that religion which was taught to us in Bethlehem and on Calvary. Before Christianity there was no society. The reason is that society should mean a family of families; the sovereign principle of Christian authority governing all. Now, just as the old *dictum* of Christian States was, "Christianity is law;" but the new

*dictum* is, "The law makes Christianity, or, what is the same thing, can modify it;" so the old *dictum* of society was, "Society is Catholicity;" but the new *dictum* is, "Society is classes." It would be unreal to say that society, in any period of the Christian era, was wholly knit by one fellowship of Catholicity, just as it would be unreal to say that society, in its modern conventional sense, is wholly disunited by "religious liberty."

It is of principles that we are speaking, and the principle of society was Catholicity; the principle of society is classes. The new sovereignty of private judgment, beginning with schism, proceeding with political pontificalism (that is, the State taking the place of the teaching Church) has naturally and necessarily broken up the social fabric into as many discordant items as there are discordant "views." Society is, therefore, as dead as is Christendom. Classes aggregate for political convenience, for social or for commercial convenience, but society, in the sense of the family-bond, has no existence in any (whole) Christian country. The principle of Christendom used to be harmony; this corollary of schism is classes. We must, doubtless, blame some Catholics, even in the most Catholic times—and we must, also, blame most Catholics of our own time—for making worldliness to ride roughly over Christian harmony; in short, for class pride, class vulgarity. Conventionalism has dried the sap of Catholic charity. Religion is made one thing, but social fellowship is made another, so that between religion and society there is divorce. The old idea was a sort of marriage of the two. It might be mainly an idea, but this was better than the modern approved fallacy that each class should move integrally within itself. It is curious that political Liberalism, which was the offspring of religious Liberalism, has resulted in social rupture, social hatred. Hatred is not too strong a word to use in regard to this seeming attitude of class to class. Conventional pride has so rotted the social fabric that not only classes but minute sections of classes lift up the hem of their garments from each other. Catholicity is displaced by conventionalism. One sufficient explanation can be given. We can imagine a typical society, in which, all classes being refined by the highest tone of Catholic faith and Catholic sentiment, modesty and mutual respect would be as "natural" between all classes as is vanity and mutual distrust at the present time. But schism and heresy, religious Liberalism,—which means self-worship,—political Liberalism,—which means pulling down your superiors instead of pulling yourself up to their level,—together with a gross materialism of object or aspiration, such as now really "motives" half the world, have brought about such a low standard of social striving or emulation, that we must, most of us, feel our cowardice and our little-

ness. Disraeli said: "Life is too short to be little," but we, most of us, make it shorter by our own littleness. The new sovereignty in the social life, as in the religious and in the political life, has made littleness to be the stamp of human life. Personal heroism seldom dares to go beyond the social canons; it contents itself by being superlative within those canons. Yet the very idea of Catholic heroism was the being so untrammelled by the world as to live above it in both action and end.

Family life suffers with social life from this littleness of the new sovereignty of private judgment. A youth creating his own religion and his own politics; completing, at eighteen years, his own system of philosophy, his own canons of "the grammar of assent;" respects his father as "the governor," but, disagreeing with him on many points, lives enjoyably without reference to parental views. Religion being a private conception, politics being chiefly a game at parties, morality being social propriety, charity being "giving a copper," and magnanimity in general being muscular or robust, as distinguished from the grandeur of self-sacrifice, the age does not present to us a type of Christian youth which, except in mere profession, is not pagan. Such manliness takes a low material form. Manliness would be the acting on severe principles, without the slightest reference to conventional smallness or human respect. It would be the honoring of principles, not of self. But manliness in these days is the honoring of self, whether the principle be perfect or be faulty. We find in the humbler classes of English people almost perfectness both of manliness and of aspirations, but it is exceptional to find either in the higher classes, or even in the upper middle or wealthy classes.

A cowardly homage to conventional smallness rules the world. The fact that the lower orders (not the humbler orders) have bad manners, is made the pretext for having nothing to do with them, instead of being the soundest reason for "pulling them up." There could be no such thing as "lower orders," if all classes did their duty in good example, in keen sympathy, in modest manners. But the principles of the new sovereignty of self-worship have so permeated all the strata of social life—save only the purer types of the humbler orders—that isolation not sympathy, caste-vanity not generousness, complacent manners not kindness or tenderness, make the barriers of class-life harder and harder. In family life, almost as much as in social life, there is a flying-off from dutiful sympathies and chivalrous sacrifice, with a disposition to make "ego" the one object of all endeavor, in success, in enrichment, in comfort.

Thus, religiously, politically, socially, and also within the sacred homes of private life, we may see that the new sovereignty has

corrupted civilization ; has made civilization to mean the using of modern appliances for the greatest possible enjoyment of selfish repose. We speak, of course, of societies, not of persons. Principles are not to be judged by rare apologists, nor are developments to be tested by rare types. Every one knows that there are thousands of persons "in society," thousands of Anglicans, of Dissenters, perhaps of freethinkers, who for seriousness, and even intenseness of life, might be honored by doctors or even saints. A man is made by his circumstances, until the time shall arrive—and it arrives, perhaps, to most men—when he can make himself out of his own opportunities. Indeed, the superiority of individuals in modern times shows equally what immense merit there is in themselves, and what immense power there is in their traditions. We are constantly struck with admiration at some profoundly thoughtful remark made by some one from whom we least expected it, showing that his instincts are intensely Catholic, hugely wide, though perhaps he does not know even a single Catholic. The traditions of the old sovereignty which governed Christendom for fifteen centuries, have so penetrated men's natures that, only catch them in happy moments, and you find that perhaps most men, at the bottom of their hearts, are as Catholic as if they had been born Catholics. The surface is smeared over by conventionalism ; but the new sovereignty would lose the majority of its subjects if they would all do justice to themselves by opportunity. And, at this point, let it be hazarded that the chief reason why true principles, both in the supernatural and in the natural order, do not captivate, do not convert, modern thoughtists, is that what is good is so very often put before the world in an aspect which is more conventional than Catholic. May it be permitted to say, diffidently, that the *mise en scène* of the Catholic Church does not strike an outsider as supernatural.

There is an apparent homage to a good deal the world thinks its own. True, all this is but *mise en scène* ; it is the result mainly of habit or timidity ; it is the mere outsideness of perhaps necessary etiquette, which in a vulgar world must be kept up. Yet,—if a private layman may be forgiven for frankly stating an impression derived from his observations in many countries,—it seems to him that a more primitive simplicity, *plus* a more courageous contempt for the world's gods [what are they but rank, influence, possessions ; with pomp, ceremony, giving and taking of the world's titles ?], in short, a bold return to the "style" of the primitive Catholics, who must have a most manly contempt for unrealities, would quickly convince society that Catholicity *is* divine, because it is not conventional or like the world. Catholics alone know the inside of the Catholic Church, non-Catholics know only its outside. If

the outside were the true face of the inside, if all Catholics would root out of the Catholic Church those appearances,—those mere appearances,—of world-copying, which are as false to individual Catholics as to the Catholic spirit, “the world” would sooner be captivated by the presentment of a religion which was the *only* state of being which was not conventional. It is sufficient here to speak only “in the general.” It would be bad form to enter into particulars. The greatest society in the world is the Catholic Church, and it is the greatest because it is God’s society. It is often made to *look* earthly by the genuflections of its magnates to the puerile smallness and vanity which rot the world. The new sovereignty, which is a false liberalism, a false radicalism, would be quickly shamed if it always saw in the old sovereignty the purest worship of simplicity and magnanimity. It is the big people of the world who have created radicalism. The humbler orders have an instinctive love of “superiority,” not so much of mere talent or witching gifts, of position, or of the accidents of prosperity, as of that grandeur of nature which cares only for what is truest, and puts all the shams of the world under its feet. Religiously, politically and socially, the humbler orders are convertible to the highest standards, if only they can find the types which they can appreciate. How many such types do they see? In the parish priest, or among the exceptional Catholic laity, they very often, as we know well, see such types. But a whole country looks less at individuals than it looks at the presentment of the idea; and it is for this reason that the presentment should be so palpably *above* society, that society should say, “This is *not* the world.”

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## BOOK NOTICES.

THE WORKS OF ORESTES A. BROWNSON. Collected and Arranged by Henry F. Brownson. Vol. IV. Containing the Writings on Religion and Society prior to the Author's Conversion. Detroit: Thorndike Nourse, Publisher. 1883.

The editor, in his Preface to this volume of the works of Orestes A. Brownson, says that it was not without much hesitation that he prepared it for publication. It contains many false theories and much rationalism, naturalism, and hardly disguised atheism. They are put forth, too, with such plausibility and power of argument, and are so closely connected with truths or seeming truths, and with a depth of thought and eloquence of style that make them all the more dangerous. The starting-point, as the editor says, "is as far from Catholic truth as it is possible to get without openly denying all religion and even the existence of any being superior to man. Our blessed Saviour is, indeed, admitted to be the Son of God; but in the same breath it is claimed that all men are equally sons of God. The worship of God is restricted to the service of man, and the only means of attaining to a heaven hereafter is declared to be the creation of heaven on earth. It is attempted to reconcile the aspirations of the soul with the desires of the body, spiritual and eternal with carnal and temporal interests, not by subjecting the latter to the former, the lower to the higher, but by declaring all equally great, holy, and important."

Such being the character of a large part of the writings comprised in this volume, it is not surprising that the editor at first hesitated to prepare them for republication. As he well says, whatever is likely to tend to spread false or erroneous views of God, the Church, or society, is equally condemned by the laws of religion and the dictates of reason. But he solves the difficulty thus raised by the statement that the question is simply whether the heterodox writings of Dr. Brownson, when collected in a volume by themselves and placed nearly, if not quite, in the order in which they were originally produced, are suited to confirm or to refute the errors they contain. In addition to other reasons for believing that Dr. Brownson's heterodox writings, thus arranged, will not confirm the errors he at first advocated but afterwards rejected, the editor well says:

"If the author had been warring against the truth, trying to overthrow revelation or morality, his writings would not usually exert an evil influence on the reader. But such is by no means the case. He is sincerely seeking for truth, and constantly eliminating from his theories the element of error contained in them. Starting from the borders of utter infidelity he advances slowly but steadily through the pages of this volume to the threshold of the Church. His thought grows steadily with each paper. Without intercourse with Catholics or their books, and without other premises than those supplied by Protestantism and rationalism, with no other tools than an earnest mind and a sincere love of truth, the author cuts for himself a path through the gloomy forests of infidelity, atheism, eclecticism, naturalism, humanitarianism, Fourierism and communism, until he arrives at the open light of truth in the Church of Christ. An unbeliever reading this journal, as it might be called, of a long struggle can hardly fail to be carried along with the writer, and the sympathies no less than the intelligence of the reader will lead him

to the conclusion which the author arrives at in the last few pages, that the only medium of salvation is the Catholic Church."

In the opening article of the volume, entitled *New Views of Christianity, Society and the Church*, amid all its errors, and there are many, the author strenuously maintains that Protestantism is merely the reassertion of materialism or paganism. The following extracts furnish a fair idea of Dr. Brownson's then views of Protestantism:

"That Protestantism is the insurrection of matter against spirit, of the material against the spiritual order, is susceptible of very satisfactory historical verification."

"One of the most immediate and efficient causes of Protestantism was the revival of Greek and Roman literature. Constantinople was taken by the Turks, and its scholars and the remains of classical learning were dispersed over Western Europe. The classics took possession of the universities and the learned, were studied, commented on, appealed to as an authority paramount to the Church and—Protestantism was born."

"By means of the classics, the scholars of the fifteenth century were introduced to a world altogether unlike and much superior to that in which they lived—to an order of ideas wholly diverse from those avowed or tolerated by the Church. They were enchanted. They had found the ideal of their dreams. They became disgusted with the present; they repelled the civilization effected, . . . and sighed, and yearned, and labored to reproduce Athens or Rome."

"And what was that Athens and that Rome which seemed to them to realize the very ideal of the perfect? We know very well to-day what they were. They were material; through the whole period of their historical existence, it is well known that the material or temporal order predominated over the spiritual. . . . In Athens and Rome . . . human interests, the interests of mankind in time and space predominate. Man is the most conspicuous figure in the groups. He is everywhere, and his imprint is on everything. Industry flourishes; commerce is encouraged; the State is constituted. . . . Religion is merely a function of the State. Numa introduces or organizes polytheism at Rome for the purpose of governing the people by means of appeals to their sentiment of the holy; and the Roman Pontifex Maximus was never anything more than a master of police."

"This in its generality is equally a description of Protestantism, as might have been asserted beforehand. . . . In classical antiquity, religion is a function of the State. It is the same under Protestantism. . . . The State in most cases, the individual reason in a few, imposes the creed upon the Church. The king and parliament in England determine the faith which the clergy must profess and maintain; the Protestant princes in Germany have the supreme control of the symbols of the Church, the right to enact what creed they please."

"Indeed, the authority of the Church in matters of belief was regarded by the Reformers as one of the greatest evils against which they had to contend. It was particularly against this authority that Luther protested. What he and his coadjutors demanded, was the right to read and interpret the Bible for themselves. This was the right they wrested from the Church. To have been consistent they should have retained it in their hands as individuals. . . . To this extent, however, they were not prepared to go. Between the absolute authority of the Church and the absolute authority of the individual reason intervened the authority of the State."

"But the tendency, however, arrested by the State, has been steadily toward the most unlimited freedom of thought and conscience. Our

fathers rebelled against the authority of the State in religious matters, as well as against the authority of the Pope. . . . All modern philosophy is built on the absolute freedom of the individual reason ; that is, the reason of humanity, in opposition to the reason of the Church or the State. Descartes refused to believe in his own existence but upon the authority of his reason ; Bacon allows no authority but observation and induction ; Berkeley finds no ground for admitting an external world, and therefore denies it ; and Hume, finding no certain evidence of anything outward or inward, doubted—philosophically—of all things. . . . The method of philosophizing is the experimental. But as the point of view is the outward—matter—spirit is overlooked ; matter alone admitted. Hence philosophical materialism. And philosophical materialism, in germ or developed, is commensurate with Protestantism.” . . .

“In literature and art there is the same tendency. Poetry in the last century hardly existed, and was, so far as it did exist, mainly ethical or descriptive. It had no revelations of the Infinite. Prose writers under Protestantism have been historians, critics, essayists, or controversialists ; they have aimed exclusively at the elevation or adornment of the material order . . . Art is finite and gives us busts and portraits. The physical sciences take precedence of the metaphysical, and faith in railroads and steamboats is much stronger than in ideas.”

“Such, in its most general aspect, in its dominant tendency, is Protestantism. It is a new and much improved edition of the classics. Its civilization belongs to the same order as that of Greece and Rome. It is in advance, greatly in advance, of Greece and Rome, but it is the same in its groundwork. The material predominates over the spiritual. . . . The strife is for temporal good. God, the soul, heaven, and eternity are thrown into the background, and almost entirely disappear in the distance. Right yields to expediency, and duty is measured by utility. The real character of Protestantism, the result to which it must come, wherever it can have its full development, may be best seen in France, at the close of the last century. The Church was converted into the Pantheon, and made a resting-place for the bodies of the great and renowned of earth ; God was converted into a symbol of human reason, and man into the man-machine ; spiritualism fell and the revolution marked the complete triumph of materialism.”

Yet, while Dr. Brownson could thus clearly perceive and point out the true nature of Protestantism, his idea of Catholicism was as far as possible from the truth. His idea of the Church was that it was the representation of the spiritual to the entire exclusion of the temporal ; the spiritual tyrannizing over and crushing the material order. He looked, therefore, to an ideal Church of the future in which due consideration would be paid to the respective rights of the spiritual, and true harmony brought about between the two. In later writings Dr. Brownson rejects and conclusively refutes this error.

In the article, *Leroux on Humanity*, Dr. Brownson contends for the perfectibility of man, and so far contends for a truth, but he is in error—an error which subsequently he discovered and rejected—in supposing that the means and end of progress are found in the natural, not in the supernatural order. In the *Convert* the story of the author's conversion is told, and the process of his passing through successive errors, and leaving them behind him, is pointed out. In the articles following in the *Convert* in this volume the author reaches the truth, and declares his faith in it in words of unmistakable meaning. In the next to the last



article in the volume he thus briefly describes his position and the steps through which he reached it.

The last article in the volume contains the following declaration:

... "We must have a guide, but do not mock us with a fallible guide. Talk not to us of a church unless you have an *infallible* church to offer us. We have followed a fallible guide long enough. We believe Christ did found an infallible Church, rendered infallible by his perpetual presence and supervision. To that Church we willingly yield obedience."

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THE ALTERNATIVE; A Study in Psychology. London: Macmillan & Co.

The author of this work has marked out a new course. He has departed widely from received philosophical terminology, and his system, while studied, is certainly peculiar. Much versatility is shown in the discussion of abstract topics, especially of those which engaged the attention of Kant and his followers, and in fact there is no slight resemblance between the present treatise upon psychology, and the elaborate but unsound productions of the German philosopher upon the same matter. It is to be regretted that the author has obscured his work by the invention of new terms and the use of current ones in an incongruous or foreign meaning. This might be proper, were philosophical knowledge of only recent origin and terms inappropriate or unfixed, but since the thought of the past has bequeathed a rich legacy of superior learning, to disown it is neither scholarly nor useful, and to coin new words for well-known ideas, or to use familiar ones in a strange sense produces vagueness of thought and language upon subjects requiring most precision.<sup>1</sup>

It is beside the purpose of this article to follow the writer in detail through the finished chapters of his treatise; it is possible to notice only a few salient principles which determine the character of the work.

Matter to be explained is usually defined—a habit greatly to the writer's credit, but which sometimes suggests the adage that "definitions are dangerous," "*Periculosa Definitio*." The author declares himself a disciple of the school of common-sense, and to its influence he attributes many of the positions he holds.

"The treatise," he says, "consists of three books. The first consists of Definitions demanded by a new classification of mental events and faculties. . . . The second treats of Reasoning. The third consists of expositions which concur in showing the dependence of personal agency on self-denial. The first chapter of the third book shows that science is unconscious knowledge."<sup>2</sup>

"The second deduces from familiar mental event the existence of an unconscious part of the mind, and of unconscious mental event. The third proves that the unconscious part of the mind is corporal, consisting of the encephalon, etc. The fourth is an exposition of Wisdom. The fifth proves that man has been for the most part puppet, dupe, and

<sup>1</sup> "Necesse est accipere opiniones antiquorum quicumque sint. . . . Et hoc quidem ad duo erit utile. Primo quia illud quod bene dictum est ab eis, accipiemus in adiutorium nostrum. Secundo quia illud quod male enunciatum est cavebimus."—(St. Thos. Lib. I, De An. Lect. 2.)

"It is incumbent on us to understand the opinions of the ancients whosoever they be; and this for two reasons: (1) because what is well said by them we will receive for our own assistance; (2) because what is incorrectly said we will beware of."

<sup>2</sup> The author seems to mean by "unconscious," what is accurately termed *habitual*, since science is an intellectual *habit*, it is habitual knowledge.

victim of unconscious forces, and that self-denying conduct is a *sine qua non* of escape."<sup>1</sup>—(Introduc., p. 13.)

Again, he says: "This treatise purports: 1st. A reconstruction of psychology; 2d. Exposure of the alternative, that gives the treatise its title. The alternative is this,—either puppet, dupe, and victim of unconscious forces, or self-denying conduct for the achievement of Wisdom."—(Ib., p. 15.)

In our author's view, philosophy "begs a momentous question, viz., that self is given as being a soul, *i. e.*, as being inextended and a monad." A failure here to distinguish between the two ways in which the soul knows itself has caused the appearance of a false assumption. Does the human soul know itself? Each one of us knows *in particular* that he exists, acts, etc., that there is something in him which thinks, feels, and wills. We are directly certain of these facts so far as the question of their existence is concerned. For such knowledge of our own minds and thoughts the mere presence of man's intellect to itself, its self-presence, in our waking moments, is sufficient. It is our inmost knowledge of ourselves; it is not independent, but concomitant, not obtained by ideas and by judgment, yet their inseparable companion, and thence styled consciousness.<sup>2</sup>

As the human intellect does not depend upon matter in existence, being a spiritual faculty, it is capable of a complete return upon itself, or of simple and total self-presence, so that it can be at one and the same time both the faculty knowing and the object that is known conjointly with other knowledge. This is direct perception, and though not an idea accompanies one, and certifies at least confusedly to its existence and the mind's ownership of it, it is chiefly to our ideal and formal knowledge that the scholastic maxims are applicable, viz., "*nihil est in intellectu nisi prius fuerit in sensu*," "nothing is in the intellect unless first in sense," and "*intellectus intelligit scipsum sicut et alia*," "the intellect understands itself just as it understands other things." Since the human mind naturally understands objects by ideas expressive of them, and derived from material objects presented through the senses, it understands itself in like manner by an idea expressive of itself while contemplative of an image in the fancy.

This action is less properly called consciousness, for knowledge of its act, its intellect, and self, which the soul thus acquires, is not particular and concomitant perception of the mere existence of such objects, but is our proper intellectual knowledge of them, and, if duly demonstrated, is science.

Some confusion of thought would have been avoided, had the writer more sharply distinguished between image in the imagination, technically called *phantasm*, and idea in the intellect can think of nothing without some representation in the fancy at which to look; but such representation is not the idea.

Concerning creation the author sees no escape from the following dilemma: "The mind . . . . . has to choose between pre-eternal substance undergoing coeval change, and a Creator culpable of a pre-eternity of idleness terminated by a caprice. The former of these hypotheses is burdened by the condition of infinite regress, but it is not inconsistent."—(Bk. 1, c. 9.)

This view seems novel. The keenest intellects of pagan Greece re-

<sup>1</sup> "By no means the least perfect part of this book is its analytical tables of contents."

<sup>2</sup> Conscire—cum alio scire.

jected as inconsistent the hypothesis of "infinite regress," or of an actually infinite series of co-ordinate causes and effects. Since God is pure act (*actus purus*) when his creatures exist *ad extra*, and become actually related to him, he acquires no new relation, indeed, no relation at all; being absolutely pure act he cannot receive additional actuation or perfection. Our author conceives him as if his life were made up of succession as ours is, but eternity is *tota simul*, all at once.

Some propositions maintained in the conclusion of the book state clearly the scholastic doctrine concerning beatitude; the author very correctly makes wisdom the cardinal constituent of the *summum bonum*. This agrees with the maxim of Aristotle, "Beatitude is operation according to perfect virtue," and by "perfect virtue" he understood wisdom.

The inquiring student of philosophy will find in *The Alternative* much to cause reflection, and, though dissent at times be necessary, certain parts must be admired.

MAN BEFORE METALS. By *N. Joly*, Professor at the Science Faculty of Toulouse, Correspondent of the Institute. 12mo., 365 pp. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1883.

The stone weapons and implements of the Indians are turned up throughout this country, in town and city, and are familiar to every schoolboy. Mounds and shell-heaps give pottery, beads, and works, showing some advance beyond the rudest state. Of late years, European archæology has brought to light a host of articles, gathered from mounds, from shell-heaps, which are now pretentiously called *kitchen middens*, and from cave and lake bottoms, evidently used by early races in those lands. They are almost undistinguishable from those of our Indians. The stone arrow and spear-heads, stone knives, grinding stones, hammers; pottery of similar types; the same ideas of a future life shown in burial customs. The present work is one of the popular French scientific manuals, and gathers pleasantly together much of the recently acquired information, comparing the so-called prehistoric European with the American of our time. One source of information has been, however, overlooked by this whole school of European anthropologists, and that is the earliest lives of saints. They, probably, deemed it absurd to spend time reading a mass of monkish rubbish, when they set out to enlighten the nineteenth century from the scientific chair of a professor; but, in sober fact, it would pay as well to dig into that mass as into a Swiss lake-bottom's mud, or an Ohio mound. The earliest literature of all European nations consisted of old legends, and, after the introduction of Christianity, of the lives of the national saints and their wondrous works. Many of the lives are little better than strings of stories of miracles, such as were doubtless told by every fireside. These describe the life as it existed in the country certainly at the writers' times, though they may make anachronisms by ascribing some new customs and articles to a previous age. Now, many articles, modes of cooking, the treatment of the sick, vapor baths, defensive warfare, are constantly mentioned in these early lives, which show that, at the period when they were written or shortly before, correspondences between early Europe and later America were very great. Though the great and noble may have progressed, the poorer and ensarfed classes, still in their down-trodden state, lived as their ancestors had done for generations.

Mr. Joly does not seem to consider it necessary to assail religion in order to treat his subject, as so many of the recent French popular science writers do. He makes light of the immense antiquity some at-

tribute to cave discoveries, and, in fact, so far from being prehistoric, much of the Indian-like life led by European tribes falls within the realms of history.

The author treats in succession of the bone-caves, the peat-mosses and kitchen-middens, the lake-dwellings, burial-places, prehistoric man in America, the antiquity of man, and then views primitive European civilization under the aspects of domestic life, industry, agriculture, navigation and commerce, art, language and writing, and religion. The last of these is far from satisfactory, and he quotes from some man named Vogt the opinion as brutally but more skilfully worded by our historian Prescott. A little more philosophy would not impair these men. Sacrifice, as they admit, is an idea universal with the race. Sacrifice, too, always carried the idea of substitution. Man had offended God, and God was to be appeased to the sacrifice of man. That great victim was unknown. Every race sought to substitute a temporary victim. When the anger of the gods seemed great a human sacrifice was required. Man shrank from it, and offered animals, as substitutes for man, and the animals were generally those domesticated and closely connected with daily life. Father Jogues, while a captive among the Mohawks, saw them, after sustaining two or three defeats in battle, offer a bear in sacrifice to Aireskoi, begging him to accept it. They acknowledged that they had sinned in not offering any human victim for a long time, but they promised that they would offer the next captives taken as they then offered the bear. Soon after two Algonquin women were taken, and the missionary saw them offered, consumed by fire and by eating, in honor of the god Aireskoi.

The Jews retained the original revelation of a Messiah ; and in Christianity we have the offering of the one victim who alone could appease the anger of an offended omnipotent God. And as Christianity realized and completed the tradition of the world, Catholicity alone, in the doctrine of the Real Presence, brings each believer into union with the Divine Victim. Men rejected it by the Lake of Gennesareth, and the rejection is re-echoed in our day, but they need not insult philosophy and common-sense. If they decline to walk with Christ, they should not glory in it.

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PATRON SAINTS. By *Eliza Allen Starr*. First and Second Series. Baltimore : John B. Piet & Co.

"Every day persons are heard to ask : 'What books should we read in order to prepare for a visit to Europe?' The true answer to this question is: 'The Lives of the Saints,' written enough in detail to give the events and circumstances which have most impressed the popular mind, and have thus taken the form of legends. Without some acquaintance with these legends, these traditions, it is useless to try to do more than stumble through the best guide-book in the world. The essential idea in the most precious monuments, the master-pieces of art, is lost."

"We are living in an age of saints, like all those Christians who have preceded us ; for the Church of God is always fruitful."

"There is no such key to the present as a knowledge of the past, and the saints of other ages help us to understand and properly to value the saints of our own."

These extracts from the Preface to the Second Series of Miss Starr's book, so well express the nature and intention of both volumes that no other form of words is necessary to introduce them. The new and revised addition now presented to the public, deserves even better of that

public than the one published some years ago. Miss Starr has fully realized the great want of to-day's literature—sound, practical, *pleasing* reading for the young—and has set about the remedy in earnest. She has considered the spirit of this age as well as of the past, and while ministering to the unchangeable qualities of the soul, has not neglected those which the years do modify. In fifty-six sketches of as many well-known saints, she has embodied such legends and traditions as have inspired the artist hand for centuries, and has added, whenever possible, a brief, but clear and pleasing account of such of the artist's work as may meet the eye of the careless tourist, or reward the search of the eager student. The narratives are all well written. That quiet earnestness and grace which Miss Starr has made familiar to the readers of Catholic literature, are admirably adapted to these relations, and serve to impress upon the mind the holy lessons she so beautifully repeats—notably in "The Forty Martyrs of Sebaste." The exquisite and powerful word picture of the winter night with which it opens, awakens the keenest sympathy with the sufferings of the devoted band. The numbing agony of such a death as theirs seems creeping through one's veins, even as one's heart throbs high with increasing love and zeal. Lessons no less inspiring are simply yet vividly portrayed in the stories of other saints, while there are few if any of those details which so often cast the shadow of physical shrinking upon the spiritual glories of Faith, Hope, and Charity, enkindled by the life of a saint. Not that there is aught in the past of the saints to be set aside. Far be it from every Catholic heart to hint at such a desecration! But "time and tide have brought changes to non-essentials." Our fathers' fathers have wrought out for us another existence, so far as physical good and evil are concerned, and, whether for better or for worse, we cannot alter and must accept it. What was possible in the way of bodily penance and mortification for former generations, that of to-day dare not attempt. The very recital sets on edge the strained and quivering nerves of our over-excited and too sensitive temperaments, to the detriment of such spiritual nourishment as we might otherwise draw from our reading. Miss Starr has wisely considered this, and has dealt sparingly in these non-essentials, while bringing to the fore such spiritual models as cannot fail to win and strengthen. They are calculated to afford more than pleasure to a wide circle who would open these leaves in search of nothing higher. Such reading is greatly needed. The enemy has come in upon us with a flood of deadly literature. The young and undisciplined innocently go down into it, and drift away from us upon its poisoned waters. It remains for us to offer in tempting chalices such pure and sparkling draughts as shall invigorate. To those grown old in trial, or drawing nearer to the Changeless Love, there is no bitterness in the strong wine of the old lives of the saints. They supplement such beautiful and tender beginnings of the soul's lore as Miss Starr has offered us, and for which we owe her hearty thanks. It must not be overlooked that the book is illustrated. There are twenty-four etchings of Miss Starr's, after the works of the masters, including the most celebrated names. The paper, printing and binding are all excellent—a dress not unworthy of the real self of the book.

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LANDMARKS OF ENGLISH LITERATURE. By Henry F. Nicoll. 12mo., 458 pp. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1883.

We are no admirer of compends like Mr. Nicoll's as guides to students of English literature. Enough of each writer and his time should be told to understand what is to be said of the chief works noticed, but

the temptation to wander off into discussions on minor points is very great, and few can resist it. Many, and Mr. Nicoll seems to be one of them, labor under the impression that English literature can have no standing among the literatures of the world unless its anti-Roman character is clearly and distinctly made out. Thus, Chaucer must be a Wicklifite, and More a persecutor, although his own positive assertion to the contrary has never been disproved. The treatment of Wicklif, from a literary point of view, is very vague and unsatisfactory. He gives a page to the later Bibles, showing how all were made by altering and adapting, leaving the King James Bible a piece of patchwork, fruit of many minds, and many schemes, and many dialects. While of the Rheims-Douay, the translation by Gregory Martin, uniform, harmonious, vigorous, embodying all the old devotional language of England, he sayeth naught; yet as a literary work it stands in the same rank as Wicklif's and Tyndale's.

Of More and Latimer we have more biography than literary notice. As he proceeds, the author, however, warms to his subject; but we see his bias on his omitting, among Elizabethan worthies, Parsons, one of the most vigorous writers of English, as Macaulay admits, and Southwell. This is curiously illustrated all through the work, for looking at the last pages we find as much space given to Walter H. Pater as to Cardinal Newman, and the reader cannot discover what book or books exist from the pen of the great master of English prose, for not of a single work of Newman's is a title given.

His temple of English literature is purely insular; no American writer can enter there, or rank with the worthies. Irving, Longfellow, Prescott, Bryant, find no place.

In his general appreciation of literature, especially of our own time, he leans to admiration for the schools in prose and poetry that seek to free themselves from God and a controlling Providence.

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ORIGINAL, SHORT, AND PRACTICAL CONFERENCES FOR MARRIED MEN AND YOUNG MEN. Thirty-six Conferences for Each. Intended as a 'Three Years' Course. By *F. X. Weninger, D.D.*, Missionary of the Society of Jesus. Cincinnati: 1883.

ORIGINAL, SHORT, AND PRACTICAL CONFERENCES FOR MARRIED WOMEN AND YOUNG MAIDENS. Thirty-six Conferences for Each. Intended as a 'Three Years' Course. By *F. X. Weninger, D.D.*, Missionary of the Society of Jesus. Cincinnati: 1883.

These four series of conferences are published together in two volumes, the series for married men and young men making Volume I., and the series for married women and young maidens making Volume II. They are, as the title-page states, brief and practical.

In his preface, Father Weninger expresses the opinion that conferences on special subjects, and addressed to particular classes of persons, in the afternoon or evening, are more likely to be directly useful than the sermons preached to general congregations at High Mass. Every state of life, he says, has its *special* duties, and the preacher cannot, when addressing a general congregation, speak with so much detail, nor with the same benefit, to a particular class of persons in one particular state of life, as he can when those persons only are before him. He is of the opinion, also, that when a conference is given exclusively for one state alone, its announcement will insure the attendance of the members of that particular state, especially in the cases of young men and young women. In cases, where confraternities and sodalities are established, these con-

ferences will serve as addresses by the directors to the members. They may, also, be delivered before the congregation in common, in the afternoon or evening, and will save overworked clergymen time and labor in preparing original discourses on the subject which they treat.

In the conferences for married men, the whole system of Christian perfection, in its special reference to husbands and fathers, is exhibited under the general text, "*But Joseph was just.*" In those for young men, the duties belonging especially to their state of life are pointed out under the text, "*My son, give me thy heart.*" They are interwoven with references to and follow the life of our Blessed Redeemer, and in each of them, too, Saint Aloysius is held up as the model and patron for youth. In the conferences for married women, the duties of wives and mothers are explained to persons in their state of life by examples and illustrations taken from the lives of women of the sacred Scriptures, make honorable mention from Eve, the mother of the human race, to Saint Ann, the mother of the Blessed Virgin, the general text and basis of the lessons inculcated being, "*Blessed art thou amongst women.*" In the conferences for young maidens, Catholic unmarried women are instructed as to the duties especially incumbent upon them. Each conference has constant reference to the life of the Holy Mother of God, under the general text of "*Mary, the Mother of Good Counsel,*" and at the conclusion of each conference, the life and virtues of some holy virgin are presented for consideration.

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CATHOLIC REWARD LIBRARY—in six volumes, respectively entitled :

- "Eliane." A tale. By *Mrs. Craven*. Translated from the French by Lady Georgiana Fullerton.
- "Tales of Mount Saint Bernard," and other stories.
- "A Will and a Way." A tale. By *Lady Georgiana Fullerton*.
- "Gertrude Mannering." A tale. By *Frances Noble*.
- "Aurelia; or, The Jews of Capena Gate." By *M. A. Quinton*. From the French.
- "The Pearl of Antioch." A tale. From the French of *Abbé Bayle*.

CATHOLIC PRIZE LIBRARY—in six volumes, containing :

- "Mary Lee; or, The Yankee in Ireland."
- "Shandy Maguire; or, Tricks upon Travellers."
- "The Cross and The Shamrock; or, How to Defend the Faith."
- "Emerald Gems." A collection of Irish tales, comprising some of the best stories of the most popular Irish authors, both pathetic and humorous.
- "The Valiant Woman." By *Monseigneur Landriot*, Archbishop of Rheims. Translated from the French by Helena Lyons.
- "The Instruction of Youth in Christian Piety." By *Rev. Charles Gobinet*.

CATHOLIC REWARD LIBRARY—in six volumes, respectively containing :

- "Examples of Holiness; or, Narratives of the Saints." From approved sources.
- "True Servants of God; or, Stories of the Saints."
- "Holy Lives; or, Legends of the Blessed."
- "Golden Legends for Christian Youth."
- "Loretto; or, The Choice." By *George H. Miles*.
- "The Governess." By *George H. Miles*.

CATHOLIC BOYS' AND GIRLS' LIBRARY—in six volumes, containing respectively :

- "Alice Riorden; or, The Blind Man's Daughter." By *Mrs. J. Sadlier*.
- "Willie Burke; or, The Irish Orphan in America." By *Mrs. J. Sadlier*.
- "The Festival of the Rosary," and other stories on the Commandments. By *Agnes M. Stewart*.
- "The Lamp of the Sanctuary." By *Cardinal Wiseman*. And other interesting tales and stories.
- "Wrecked and Saved." A story for boys. By *Mrs. Parsons*.
- "Christine; or, The Little Lamb," and other stories.

The above-mentioned works are from the press of Thomas B. Noonan & Co., Catholic Book Publishers in the city of New York. They con-

tain a large number of interesting, instructive, and edifying stories, tales, and legends, from the most approved Catholic authors. They are various in style and subject, some of them being historical, some of them descriptive, some humorous, some pathetic, and some tragic.

Their binding is substantial and elegant, being cloth of the best quality, in new shades of bright colors, superbly ornamented with ink and gold designs.

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THE RETURN OF THE KING; DISCOURSES ON THE LATTER DAYS. By *Rev. James Coleridge*, of the Society of Jesus. London: Burns & Oates. 1883.

This volume is made up of a collection of sermons, which, the author says in his preface, were written and preached at various times, and with long intervals between them. Some of them were preached as early as December, 1868, and published in the first volume of the *Sermons*, by Fathers of the *Society of Jesus*, which has long been out of print. Others were at different times subsequently.

The author says that the reader must not expect to find in these sermons that connected and systematic treatment of the great subject to which they refer which would be natural in the successive chapters of a work planned from the beginning to treat the subject; yet they have been now arranged in the order of ideas, have the unity and continuity which usually belong to productions of the same mind, nor is there any great department of the subject which has been left untouched.

The subject itself is a very important one, and one that, it seems to us, it is specially important should be brought in due season and its proper relations before Christians of our own times. The Church has always had this subject before it. To the minds of the Apostles it was ever present, and the Saints and Doctors of the Church, of every age, have likewise kept it in view. Indeed, the first and second coming of our Divine Lord are most closely associated in the ritual and service of the Church. Our Blessed Lord's future coming, in glory, majesty and power, is commemorated, and held up to our minds as a preparation for the commemoration of his first coming into the world, in poverty and suffering, in gentleness, benignity and humility.

The sermons, which the volume comprises, are twenty-one in number. They treat the different parts and aspects of the subject with great clearness and ability, and thus make up a valuable treatise on one of the most difficult, yet most important themes of Christian theology.

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AN OUTLINE OF IRISH HISTORY. From the Earliest Times to the Present Day. By *Justin H. McCarthy*. Baltimore: John Murphy & Co. 1883.

In this unpretentious little volume, Mr. McCarthy, while professedly giving only an *outline*, presents a clearer view and more closely connected narrative of the chief incidents of Irish history, than is to be found in many works of four times the size that deal with the subject.

In the first chapter the legendary history of Ireland is recited. These legends, whether based on historical truth or not, are, many of them, beautiful. They have an interest, too, to the antiquarian, apart from their æsthetic character, in the light they throw upon the early Irish character as portraying the distinctive lines along which their thoughts and imaginations moved. In ten consecutive chapters, the Christianizing of Ireland; the Norman Conquest; the Reign of Elizabeth; the Cromwellian Settlement; the Restoration—William of Orange; the Eighteenth Century; Emmet—O'Connell; Young Ireland—Fenianism;



the Land Question ; Home Rule—the Land League ; and their leading leanings and movements are narrated and exhibited. The latter third of the book is especially valuable, as containing a concise yet very clear account of the history of Ireland and its condition during the present century, and of questions which are still living questions for Ireland.

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THE ENGLISH NOVEL AND THE PRINCIPLE OF ITS DEVELOPMENT. By *Sidney Lanier*, Lecturer in Johns Hopkins University; Author of "the Science of the English Verse." New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1883.

The work before us consists of lectures that were originally delivered at the Johns Hopkins University in the winter and spring of 1881. Mr. Lanier intended to recast them to some extent before giving them to the public. The editor of them, however, has not felt at liberty to make any changes from the original manuscript, except to omit a few local allusions, and curtail several long extracts from well-known writers.

Although we do not agree with the author in many of the ideas which go to make up his philosophy of the English novel and ruling principle of its development, yet there is much keen and just criticism in his work, and many important ideas lucidly and beautifully expressed.

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GOLDEN SANDS; A Collection of Little Counsels for the Sanctification and Happiness of Daily Life. Illustrated by C. E. Wentworth. Translated from the French. By *Ella McMahon*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1883.

*Golden Sands* has now been before the Catholic public for some years, and its great merit is so generally and so highly appreciated that commendation seems needless. For the information of those who are not yet acquainted with this excellent little work, we state that it is made up of simple brief sayings and reflections, gathered from various sources and suitable for almost all circumstances in life. They are not profound meditations or didactic instructions, but, as their title signifies, grains of truth picked up along the shores of human thought, and arranged and exhibited in this little volume for the benefit of its readers.

The edition of the work before us is enriched with a number of symbolical engravings, each indicative of some particular lesson or truth contained in its pages.

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TRUE SERVANTS OF GOD; OR STORIES OF THE SAINTS. From Approved Sources. Boston: Thomas B. Noonan & Co.

As its title indicates this volume is made up of narratives recounting the chief incidents and characteristics of a number of the most eminent and well-known saints. The accounts of them are concise, the incidents well told, and in such manner as is well calculated to interest youthful readers.

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UNCLE PAT'S CABIN, OR, LIFE AMONG THE AGRICULTURAL LABORERS OF IRELAND. By *W. C. Upton*. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1882.

This is an attempt to exhibit, in the form of a story, the life and social position of the agricultural laborer in Ireland, with its hardships, its hopeless struggle against adverse conditions, too severe for human endurance, and the causes which brought all this about.

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## THE LAW OF PRAYER.

"Prayer moves the Hand that moves the universe."

GURNALL'S *Christian Armor*.

"Hast thou not learn'd what thou art often told,  
A truth still sacred, and believed of old,  
That no success attends on spears and swords  
Unblest, and that the battle is the Lord's?"

COWPER.—*Expostulation*.

"More things are wrought by prayer  
Than this world dreams of."

TENNYSON.—*Morte d'Arthur*.

### I.

SOME years ago, in a Southern city, I was requested by a Catholic lady to call on her husband, who was suffering from a fatal distemper, though his mental faculties were unimpaired. This gentleman had been brought up by his father in the school of Voltaire and his associates, whose infidel teachings he had imbibed, and he avowed himself not only an unbeliever in Catholic faith, but even a skeptic, as far as all revealed religion was concerned.

Knowing the bent of his mind on the subject of religion, I endeavored, at some length and by every argument at my command, to remove his objections to Christianity, and to prepare him for the rational acceptance of our holy religion.

After listening to me with great patience and close attention, he

courteously, but frankly informed me that my remarks had made no impression on him whatever, and that between him and me there was an impassable gulf, which no reasoning of mine could bridge over.

Although mortified and discouraged by his candid reply, I did not despair, but resumed the conversation, which was, in substance, as follows :

"You certainly acknowledge," said I, "the existence of a Supreme Being, the Author of creation, and the living Source of all life?"

"Every man," he replied, "that uses his brains, must concede that truth."

"You will further admit," I continued, "that, as the Author of all being is omniscient and all-seeing, He knows our condition; as He is omnipotent, He has the power to succor us; and, as He is infinitely good, He is not indifferent or insensible to the wants of His creatures, especially of those whom He has endowed with an immortal soul and an intelligent nature. He does not cast them off from His thoughts, as the loosened fragment is thrown off from a planet and hurled into space. He, from whom all paternity is derived, must have, in an eminent and perfect degree, those paternal sentiments which a father has for his child."

"That truth," he answered, "irresistibly follows from our conception of a Being supremely intelligent, powerful, and beneficent."

"Is it not reasonable to suppose," I added, "that a Creator so benevolent and paternal, will be moved by our entreaties, and that He will mercifully hearken to our petitions?"

"I cannot deny," he said, "the reasonableness of your conclusion."

"Then, you admit," I observed, "the utility of prayer, and I ask you to promise me to offer up to this Supreme and Providential Ruler this short supplication: O God, give me light to see the truth, and strength to follow it!"

He made me an earnest promise to repeat this prayer day after day, with all the fervor of his heart.

Some days later, I received a pressing message from my invalid friend to visit him again, as soon as possible. I did so, and, on entering his room, I was sensibly impressed with the glow of enthusiasm which shone on his face, and which had succeeded his former forlorn and desponding expression. Before I had time to address him, he burst forth into an eloquent profession of faith in the divinity of the Christian religion, and spoke in language at once so simple and connected, so luminous and penetrating, that I have never lost the impression which his words made on me. He begged, then and there, for the grace of baptism, if he were deemed

worthy of receiving it. Some weeks afterward he died, fortified and consoled by the sacraments of the Church.

Here is a striking instance of the power of prayer and of the direct interposition of God in the conversion and illumination of a soul without the help or agency of man. One ray of divine light had effected what no force of reasoning could accomplish. In his tribulation, he sought God and found Him, and with Him he found light and peace and rest.

The yearning voice issuing from this man's heart, was but the echo of the voice of humanity. It was the expression of a sentiment indelibly engraved on the soul of mankind. This divine spark may lie smouldering for years, buried under the accumulated weight of pernicious maxims and worldly preoccupations; but it needs only calm introspection and a ray of divine grace to rekindle it into a flame.

As the world has never yet beheld, and never will behold a nation of atheists, so will the sun never shine on a nation that does not worship God. And prayer is an essential element of divine worship. No people have ever existed, whether ancient or modern, savage or civilized, Jew or Gentile, Pagan or Christian, that have not poured forth supplications to the Deity.

Just as the first cry of infancy is a wail of sorrow, and the last expression of expiring old age is a sigh of grief, even so do we hear the voice of prayer at the very source of human life; and its plaintive notes have never ceased, but grow louder and louder as the stream of life advances, and this voice will continue till the human stream has run its course, and is swallowed up in the ocean of eternity.

The forms, indeed, of worship and supplication have differed widely among men, but the language of the heart has always been the same.

The Holy Scripture, which contains the history of God's people from the days of Adam till after our Saviour's Resurrection, records their abiding faith in the efficacy of prayer. And the most ancient authors of Greece and Rome attest the belief of the Pagan world in the duty of propitiating the Deity by prayers and sacrifice. The language of Homer represents the sentiments of all ancient heathen writers:

"The gods (the only great, and only wise)  
Are moved by offerings, vows, and sacrifice;  
Offending man their high compassion wins,  
And daily prayers atone for daily sins."<sup>1</sup>

The practice of prayer is not less strongly commended by the philosopher Pythagoras:

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<sup>1</sup> *Iliad*, B. ix.

"In all thou dost, first let thy prayers ascend,  
And to the gods thy labors first commend:  
From them implore success, and hope a prosperous end."<sup>1</sup>

How are we to account for the practice of prayer, so widespread, so uninterrupted, so deeply-rooted in our nature? This universal aspiration springs from a sense of our misery and utter dependence, and from an innate conviction of God's infinite power and mercy. Let us analyze our soul by the light of reason and faith:

1st. As to our intellect: its light, in the best of us, is very dim, and that light is obscured by passion and prejudice, by pride and presumption. Our judgment is so easily biassed and warped, especially where our personal interests or predilections are concerned. The famous Electoral Commission is well remembered. It was organized with the view of determining which of the two candidates was duly elected President, in 1876. The members of the Commission were chosen from the Senate, the House of Representatives, and the Supreme Court of the United States—the most grave and exalted deliberative bodies in the country. Seven members of the Commission belonged to one political party, and eight members to another, each member invariably voting for his party candidate. Was this the result of accident, or of honest conviction, or political bias? Let the reader decide for himself. If neither the restraints of senatorial and judicial decorum, nor the momentous issues involved, nor the spectacle of a whole nation anxiously awaiting the decision, could divest this illustrious court of partisan bias, how are we to escape the dangers of a perverted judgment, when we have no monitor to guide us save the voice of duty, which is often silenced by the clamors of self-interest? How many of us are like that blind man, mentioned in the Gospel, after his sight was partially restored by our Saviour: "I see men," he says, "as it were trees, walking."<sup>2</sup> We magnify the things around us, we exaggerate the importance of passing, petty scenes, and we are blind to the great, everlasting truths, confronting us like the stars of heaven in their immovable splendor. There is no truth, no matter how evident and luminous, which men have not denied or doubted, even though it be the existence of God, or their own very existence. There is no error, how monstrous and absurd soever it may be, which men have not espoused; they have bowed down and worshipped as gods the work of their own hands.

2d. Our heart is as much influenced by outward impressions as the thermometer is affected by the fluctuations of the weather. What is man's unregenerate heart but a tumultuous sea continually tossed about by the winds of conflicting passions? To-day, it is transported by impetuous, capricious, criminal, ambitious desires,

<sup>1</sup> Golden Rule (Rowe's Trans.)

<sup>2</sup> Mark viii. 24.

which rapidly succeed one another, like wave rushing on wave. To-morrow, it is disquieted by vain, frivolous fears and anxieties, tormented by the dread of some impending calamity, or oppressed by the weight of cares, despondency, sorrow, and tribulation. At intervals, it enjoys a treacherous calm, lulled to sleep and fancied security by the soft breath of some unlawful gratification, or some fascinating intrigue. Then, again, it is agitated by the furious storms of anger, bitterness, jealousy, hatred, revenge, and remorse.

3d. Our will is so weak and vacillating. We are so prompt and generous in forming good resolutions, and so remiss in keeping them; so courageous when no enemy is at hand, so cowardly when the tempter confronts us. We glide so readily down the slippery path of vice, we ascend with such faltering steps, the steep hill of virtue and self-denial. What is the history of each day, but a record of pledges broken, of vows to God unredeemed, and of humiliating defeats on the battlefield of this world!

Where shall I find light for my intellect, comfort for my heart, strength for my will? In vain shall I look for them in the writings or conversation of men who eliminate the Providence of God from the moral government of the world, and who, consequently, reject prayer from their system of philosophy, who declare that man is all-sufficient for himself. These men may dazzle me by their glittering generalities, but they convey no truth to my mind; they may captivate me by their specious declamation, or entertain me by their curious speculations, but they do not heal the wounds of my heart. They may arouse in me a momentary enthusiasm and excite some emotional feelings, but they give no energy to my will, they do not inspire me with heroic or generous resolutions, because they furnish me with no exalted motives of action. I rise from the perusal of their works with a bewildered mind, a sadder, though not a wiser man.

This light and consolation and strength are to be found only in God, the Source of all intelligence, the Father of all consolation, the Lord of strength, and prayer is the great channel through which this spiritual illumination, comfort, and strength are communicated to us.

In prayer we are led like Moses up the holy mountain, away from the noise and bustle and tumult of the world. There God removes the scales from our eyes; He dispels the clouds of passion, or prejudice, or ignorance by which our mind was obscured; He enlarges our mental vision. A flood of heavenly light is shed upon us, which enables us to penetrate the hidden things of God. Hence, the Psalmist says: "Come ye to Him and be enlightened."<sup>1</sup>

Standing on that mountain, we see the shortness of time. How

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<sup>1</sup> Ps. xxxiii. 6.

it passes before us like a fleeting shadow! We contemplate the immeasurable length of eternity. We are penetrated with a profound sense of the majesty and greatness of God, and of the littleness of man; or, if we observe anything good and noble in man, it is because, like the atom in the sunbeam, he basks in the sunshine of divine grace.

We see how paltry and contemptible are all things earthly and, like St. John, we get a glimpse of the Heavenly Jerusalem. In prayer, we are struck by the hideousness of sin, when it is presented before us in its naked deformity, stripped of its specious attractions and false charms. We become enamoured of virtue when we discover how graceful and beautiful a queen she is. So attractive are the charms of virtue as she reveals herself to us in prayer, that we can say of her in the words of Wisdom: "I preferred her before kingdoms and thrones, and esteemed riches nothing in comparison of her. Neither did I compare unto her any precious stone: for, all gold, in comparison of her, is as a little sand, and silver, in respect to her, shall be counted as clay. I loved her above health and beauty, and chose to have her instead of light; for her light cannot be put out. Now all good things came to me together with her, and innumerable riches through her hands."<sup>1</sup>

Sometimes God is even pleased to reveal to His saints in prayer a knowledge of His mysteries without noise of words or the labor of study. It was in response to prayer that God revealed to Daniel the mysteries of the future.<sup>2</sup> It was during the ecstasy of prayer, that He revealed to St. Paul the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven: "I know a man in Christ above fourteen years ago. . . . He was caught up into Paradise, and heard secret words which it is not granted to man to utter."<sup>3</sup>

St. Thomas Aquinas was, perhaps, the most profound thinker the world has produced since the dawn of Christianity. His vast mind ranges over the entire field of philosophy and theology. His writings are an inexhaustible storehouse to which the secular, as well as the ecclesiastical student, has recourse in every age. This great divine, being asked whence he drew his knowledge, declared that he learned more in silent meditation than in the study of books.

It is true, indeed, that God vouchsafes to very few those extraordinary illuminations with which He favored the Prophet Daniel, the Apostle of the Gentiles, and the Angel of the Schools, because these gifts are not essential to man's happiness. But He will give to all of us in prayer that which is essential, the light necessary to deliver us from the illusions of our senses, our imagination, and false judgment; He will grant us that practical wisdom which is

<sup>1</sup> Wisd. vii. 8-11.

<sup>2</sup> Dan. ii. 19.

<sup>3</sup> II. Cor. xii. 2-4.

needed to guide us in the duties of our daily life. If, like Moses, we consulted God's mercy-seat every morning, and offered to Him the sacrifice of supplication, we would stumble into fewer pitfalls in the course of the day. We are often surprised and worsted by the enemy, as Josue was deceived by the Gabaonites, because, like him, we "consulted not the mouth of the Lord."<sup>1</sup>

In prayer, our heart is inflamed with devotion and dilated with joy, because we feel that we are in the presence of the God of all consolation, whose Spirit, like the sun, warms while it enlightens. In prayer, the agitation of the heart is quieted, because, in communion with our Maker, grace is imparted to us not only to subdue our inordinate ambition, but even to moderate our laudable and legitimate desires and aspirations. St. Ignatius dearly loved the illustrious Society of Jesus which he had founded. Being once asked whether he could survive its extinction, he replied: "I would need but a quarter of an hour's meditation to reconcile me to its dissolution."

Those earthly things which we so eagerly crave, appear small and trivial when calmly weighed in the scales of the Sanctuary, and the sufferings and trials we endure seem short and momentary when measured with the line of eternity.

It is as easy for our Lord, in answer to our supplication, to heal the hidden wounds of our soul, as it was to cure the corporal maladies of those that appealed to Him. It is as easy for Him to calm our tumultuous passions, as it was to say to the winds and waves: "Peace, be still." When Peter was afraid of sinking on the lake of Galilee, he cried out: "Lord, save me,"<sup>2</sup> and our Saviour enabled him to walk on the waters and reach the boat in safety. And, if we implore our God with the faith of the Apostle, and in the fervent words of the Psalmist: "Out of the depths I have cried to Thee, O Lord," we shall walk triumphantly on the troubled waters of our heart which threaten to engulf us.

We are told by St. Luke that, while Jesus was praying in the garden of Gethsemani, "there appeared to Him an angel from heaven strengthening Him."<sup>3</sup> What a touching symbol was this heavenly messenger of the angel of consolation whom God sends to us in prayer, to pour some soothing drops into our bitter chalice!

In communion with God the energies of our will are braced and invigorated, and our moral courage is strengthened. Observe with what confidence the child, when conscious of danger, rushes into the arms of its mother. There it reposes as in an ark of safety. The mother's warm heart banishes all sense of fear, and her entwining arms brace the child with courage. And so, when we flee with confidence to the arms of our Heavenly Father, we go forth

<sup>1</sup> Josue ix. 14.<sup>2</sup> Matt. xiv. 30.<sup>3</sup> Luke xxii. 43.



from His presence renewed in strength and resolved to do what human weakness could not of itself accomplish.

With the Apostle of the Gentiles, the man of prayer can exclaim: "I can do all things in Him who strengtheneth me."<sup>1</sup>

Before entering the Cenacle, in Jerusalem, to pray, the Apostles were weak, timid, vacillating men. In the supreme hour of trial, they all fled from their Master, leaving Him in the hands of His enemies. Their leader, when questioned by a maid, denied with an oath that he knew his Master. But, after spending ten days in prayer, these same Apostles are armed with superhuman courage. They boldly proclaim themselves the disciples of Him whom they had before forsaken or denied, and they go "from the presence of the council rejoicing that they were accounted worthy to suffer reproach for the name of Jesus."<sup>2</sup>

It was after fervent prayer that Judith undertook the hazardous mission of entering the camp of Holophernes, and rescuing the children of Israel from impending danger. It was after prayer and fasting, that Esther, at the risk of her life, saved the Jewish race from the sentence of death pronounced against them by King Assuerus. It was prayer that inspired the foundation of every religious Community that has existed in the Church, and these Communities have usually encountered at their birth poverty, privations, and formidable opposition.

The same spirit of prayer which has inspired apostolic men and women in every age to undertake herculean works in the cause of religion and humanity, has also nerved the soldier with martial prowess and endued him with superhuman courage. He knew that "the race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong,"<sup>3</sup> and that God is called "the Lord of hosts," or armies as well as "the God of peace," because it is He that gives victory to the warrior, as well as peace to the troubled spirit. Josue and Gedeon and Judas Machabeus were men of military renown, and they accomplished deeds of valor superior to human strength, *because* they were men of prayer and invoked the Lord of hosts.

Who was more daring and courageous in war than David? David, who, when a boy, strangled a lion and a bear; who, when yet a young man, slew the giant Goliath; David, of whom the daughters of Israel sang: "Saul slew his thousands, and David his ten thousands;"<sup>4</sup> David, who conquered the Philistines, the Amalecites, the Syrians, the Moabites, and the Ammonites, and who crowned his victories by conquering his resentment and sparing the life of his unrelenting persecutor Saul.

And who surpassed David in piety and the spirit of prayer? He habitually invokes the God of battles before engaging in war. He

<sup>1</sup> Phil. iv. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Acts v. 41.

<sup>3</sup> Eccles. IX. 11.

<sup>4</sup> I. Kings xviii. 7.

blesses the Lord who nerved his arm for the contest: "Blessed be the Lord my God, who teacheth my hands to fight, and my fingers to war."<sup>1</sup> And when his enemy is overcome, he humbly ascribes the victory not to his own prowess, but to the Lord of hosts.

Many Christian heroes have emulated the devotion of the pious King of Juda. From a host of Christian warriors, I may select one representative, John Sobieski. In 1683, the city of Vienna was besieged by a Turkish army numbering 300,000 men. After a siege of forty-five days, the city was on the eve of surrendering, and a secret message was sent to Sobieski, urging him to hasten to the relief of the beleaguered city. His troops together with the German allies numbered about 70,000 men. Before descending from the heights of Calemberg, the army of Sobieski assembled to pray, the leader himself serving the Mass. So successful was the attack that the besiegers were utterly routed, leaving 20,000 Moslems dead outside of the walls. The next day, the *Te Deum* was sung in thanksgiving for the victory, Sobieski intoning the anthem. His letter to the Pope announcing the victory, was a modest paraphrase of the memorable words of Cæsar: "I came, I saw, God conquered."

Happening to be in Paris at the opening of the Franco-Prussian war, I was grieved to hear some of the French soldiers so far forgetful of the faith and chivalry of their heroic forefathers as to avow that their god was the mitrailleuse. They soon discovered to their cost that their idol proved as impotent and treacherous to them, as Dagon was to the Philistines. The German Emperor, on the contrary, was accustomed to invoke the aid of Heaven on the eve of an engagement, and to thank God for victories won. On the evening before the battle of Sedan, the chant that filled the air from every German camp, was not the song of ribaldry, but the glorious hymn, "Now let us all thank God." They prayed, they fought, they conquered.

The light, comfort, and strength which prayer imparts to our intellectual and moral nature, is not the only benefit resulting from this exercise; its blessing is still more enhanced by the assurance of our Saviour that God will grant us what we fervently ask, provided that the object of our petition redounds to our spiritual welfare. If a man of unbounded wealth, of large benevolence, and unimpeachable veracity, pledged himself to do you a great favor, how gladly would you have recourse to him! But here you have the Giver of all good gifts, the Father of all consolation, the God of truth, promising in the most formal manner to grant you all your reasonable petitions: "Ask," He says, "and it shall be given you: seek, and you shall find: knock, and it shall be opened to you.

<sup>1</sup> Ps. cxliii. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Nun danket Alle Gott.

For every one that asketh, receiveth : and he that seeketh, findeth : and to him that knocketh, it shall be opened. Or what man is there among you of whom if his son shall ask bread, will he reach him a stone ? Or if he shall ask him a fish, will he reach him a serpent ? If you then, being evil, know how to give good gifts to your children ; how much more will your Father, who is in heaven give good things to them that ask Him ?<sup>1</sup>

Again, He solemnly inculcates the duty and advantage of prayer : "Amen, amen, I say to you : If you ask the Father *anything* in My name, He will give it to you." He even reproaches His disciples for their neglect to pray : "Hitherto you have not asked anything in My name : Ask, and you shall receive, that your joy may be full."<sup>2</sup>

The obligation to pray becomes still more imperative and its neglect is more inexcusable, when we consider the sovereign majesty of Him whom we address, and the facility with which we can have recourse to the throne of grace.

To have a private audience with a distinguished crowned head is always deemed a great honor and privilege, although certain formalities must be observed before the audience can be obtained. You are required to appear in court-dress ; you must hand in your card, or present a letter of introduction, stating who you are and the object of your visit ; you must await the monarch's good pleasure in the ante-room, till he appoints the time and place for the interview. He can spare you but a few moments, he may be secretly bored by your presence, and he will dismiss you with a formal bow and a faint smile, whilst you esteem yourself exceptionally favored if he bestows some gift upon you. And so elated are you by the interview that you devour every word uttered by royalty with as much avidity as Lazarus desired to be filled with the crumbs which fell from the table of Dives, and you treasure up the gift he bestowed with as much care as you would preserve a saintly relic.

But how much greater is the honor to be admitted into the presence of the King of kings and Lord of lords, to converse familiarly with Him, and to present to Him your petitions !

And to be favored with an interview with the Divine Majesty you have not to appear in court-dress. The garment He desires you to wear is the robe of innocence, or the sackcloth of humiliation. You are not obliged to be furnished with a letter of introduction, for no one knows you as well as your Creator. You are not compelled to wait till the place of interview is appointed, for He is everywhere. He restricts you to no time, because He is never engaged, or preoccupied, but always at home, always ready

<sup>1</sup> Matt. vii. 7-11.

<sup>2</sup> John xvi. 23, 24.

to receive and hear you: "The eyes of the Lord are upon the just; and His ears unto their prayers."<sup>1</sup> And when you enter His holy presence, you need not have your petition engrossed on vellum or satin, expressed in choice language and well-rounded periods. Those eloquent and impressive prayers of which we sometimes read in the papers, reach no farther, I fear, than their authors intended them to go. They tickle men's ears, but do not pierce the clouds. To such prayers we can apply the words which God saith in Job: "Who is he that wrappeth up sentences in unskilful words?"<sup>2</sup> The prayers which move the heart of God are those which flow directly from the soul, such as the prayer of the publican when he cried out: "O God, be merciful to me a sinner!"

You are not ordinarily required to clothe your prayers in any words at all. It is sufficient to express them in thought; for thoughts are acts in the sight of God, who is the searcher of the hearts and the reins of men. Nay, there are times when your prayer may be most acceptable in the sight of God, though your mental conceptions may assume no definite shape, and though they formulate no particular need. Your prayer will be most salutary, if you place yourself in the attitude of a suppliant, like Magdalen speechless at the feet of her Lord, humbly bewailing your misery, adoring the loving-kindness of your God, and patiently awaiting the action of divine grace on your soul, like the infirm multitude that lay around the pool of Bethesda, waiting till the angel descended into the water.<sup>3</sup>

To sum up: Prayer is the most exalted function in which man can be engaged, because it exercises the highest faculties of the soul,—the intellect and the will; it brings us into direct communication with the greatest of all beings,—God Himself; it is the channel of Heaven's choicest blessings; it excludes no one, it embraces all in the circle of its benedictions; it gives us access to our Heavenly Father at all times, in all places, and under all circumstances. In a word, prayer renders us coöperators with our Creator in the moral government of the world, since many of the events of life are shaped in accordance with our pious entreaties. Conceive, then, the dignity of God's saints. The affairs of life are decreed from all eternity; and the eternal decrees themselves are in a measure, regulated by the prayers of His servants. "Prayer moves the Hand that moves the universe."

## II.

The remaining portion of this article will be devoted to the consideration and refutation of some of the most popular objections urged against prayer.

<sup>1</sup> Ps. xxxiii. 16.

<sup>2</sup> Job xxxviii. 2.

<sup>3</sup> John v. 2-4.

1st. Some men have condemned the practice of prayer as vain,<sup>1</sup> on the assumption that there is no Providence.

If the assumption were correct, their conduct would be logical. But this objection need not detain us, as the existence of a Providence, and the reality of a divine government can easily be demonstrated.

2d. All prayers have reference to some future event. In all our petitions, we ask God to grant us some temporal or spiritual favor, or to avert some calamity. Now, all future events are foreordained by the eternal decrees of the Divine Legislator and regulated by His immutable laws. Therefore, our prayers cannot alter these laws, and hence they seem to be useless. How can we expect God to change these laws for our good pleasure,—not once, but at every instant, throughout the world? Would not a favorable response to our prayers disturb at every moment the stability of order, existing in the physical and moral world? Would not science be an impossibility, based, as it is, on fixed and uniform laws?

Of what use, for instance, were the prayers of Moses for Josue and the Israelites, when they fought against the Amalecites? Of what benefit were the prayers of the primitive Christians for Peter's deliverance from prison?<sup>2</sup> Would not these events have turned out precisely as they did, whether Moses and the first Christians had prayed or not?

Of what use were Samuel's prayers for thunder and rain?<sup>3</sup> Of what avail were the prayers of St. Paul for the safety of the passengers during a storm in the Mediterranean?<sup>4</sup> Was it any advantage to Ezechias to pray for the recovery of his health?<sup>5</sup> The wishes of the suppliants were all fulfilled, it is true; but were the results due to their prayers? Are not rain and storms and fevers controlled by fixed and immovable laws? And how can Providence interpose, in answer to our prayers, to alter or modify those laws which His wisdom has framed? In a word, is it not vain to ask of God grace to avoid sin, since our salvation or condemnation is already determined in the eternal decrees of God?

ANSWER: The efficacy of prayer does not infringe on the eternal decrees of God, and is entirely compatible with the immutability of His laws. I will quote the lucid exposition of St. Thomas on the subject: "In proclaiming," he says, "the utility of prayer, we are not to be understood as putting any restraint on human acts, subject to Divine Providence, nor are we supposing any change in the ordinances of God. Divine Providence has determined in advance, not only the effects which are to be produced, but also

<sup>1</sup> Malach. iii. 14.

<sup>4</sup> Acts xxvii.

<sup>2</sup> Acts xii. 5.

<sup>5</sup> IV. Kings xx. 1-6.

<sup>3</sup> I. Kings xii. 18.

their order, and the causes which are to produce them. Among these causes are included human acts. These acts are not intended to change the arrangement of God, but to concur in producing certain effects in accordance with the divine dispensation. Just as it is with regard to physical causes, so is it, too, with regard to prayer. The aim of prayer is not to alter the designs of God, but to ask that they be accomplished by our prayers. In the words of St. Gregory: 'Man prays that he may merit to obtain from the Almighty what He has decreed from all eternity to grant.'"<sup>1</sup>

This explanation strikes at the root of the objection. It shows that prayer is efficacious without disturbing, for a moment, the order existing in the world; that God has no after-thoughts; that He is never surprised by our petitions, and never compelled to review or correct our account in the Book of Life. The dawn of creation, the present moment, and the day of judgment, are all simultaneous with God. Though in point of execution, my prayer is posterior to God's absolute decrees, yet before God it is anterior to them.

They who invoke the immutability of God's universal laws, lose sight of the great law of prayer itself. They forget that prayer holds a conspicuous place in the harmony of creation. They forget that it is a powerful leaven in shaping and moulding the mass of human actions, and an essential element and factor in framing His eternal decrees. As well might we suppose that the Signal Service Corps would leave out the winds in calculating the state of the weather, as that God would take no note of the spirit of prayer in determining our moral condition, and our future destiny.

Euler, the famous mathematician, expresses himself lucidly on this point: "Religion," he says, "prescribes to us the duty of prayer, in giving us the assurance that God will listen to our supplications, provided they are conformable to the rules which He has laid down for us. Philosophy, on the other hand, teaches us that all the events of life happen in accordance with the course of nature established from the beginning, and that nothing can happen which has not been foreseen and decreed. But, I answer, that, when God established the course of nature, and arranged all the events that were to occur, He evidently had regard to all the circumstances which accompanied each event, and particularly to the dispositions and prayers of each intelligent being, and that the arrangement of every event has been placed in perfect accord with all these circumstances. When a Christian, therefore, addresses to God a prayer worthy of being heard, it must not be imagined that this prayer has just come to the knowledge of God. He has al-

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<sup>1</sup> Summa Theol. II<sup>a</sup>. II<sup>ae</sup>. Quæst. LXXXIII.

ready heard it from all eternity, and if, as a compassionate Father, He has judged it worthy of being granted, He has arranged the world expressly in favor of this prayer, so that its accomplishment might be the succession of the regular course of events."<sup>1</sup>

Let us now apply these principles to the special objections which I have adduced. From all eternity, God decreed that Josue and his hosts should conquer the Amalecites in answer to the prayer of his servant Moses, and that Peter should be rescued from prison in response to the prayer of the first Christians. The petitions of the Jewish Lawgiver and of the early Christians, were a potent element in deciding the earthly career of the Hebrew people and the Prince of the Apostles. From all eternity, God decreed to send rain in answer to Samuel, to rescue the passengers in view of the prayer and merits of St. Paul, and to prolong the life of Ezechias in compliance with his petition.

Hence, we see the fallacy of Mr. Tyndall's assertion that science regards a prayer for rain as involving a miracle just as much as a prayer for water to run up-hill;<sup>2</sup> for, should we ask for a stream to run up-hill, we would beg for a phenomenon clearly contrary to nature's laws; but when we pray for rain, we ask for an atmospheric change which is habitually occurring throughout the world without any disturbance of the established laws of nature.

But, if the laws of nature are immutable, are they emancipated from divine control? Does God allow them to run their course blindly, like the vessel which is launched at the river's source, and which rushes headlong without a pilot? By no means. It should be borne in mind, as Mr. Ward observes, that, though "it is true, on the one hand, that the laws of external nature are strictly invariable (waiving the case of miracles, which are not here discussed), it is equally true, on the other hand, that those laws are premoved and directed by God at every moment, according to the dictates of His uncontrolled and inscrutable will."<sup>3</sup> God is not self-excluded from interference in the movements of His own works. He has not surrendered the reins of government in the moral and physical world. His knowledge, power, and influence are all-pervading. *He is behind the veil of nature, working always.* When God wished to chastise Egypt, He caused a burning wind to blow for a whole day and night. The next morning the wind spread the locusts over all Egypt, and He then made a very strong westerly wind to blow, which cast the locusts into the Red Sea.<sup>4</sup> Here we have a series of inanimate and irrational creatures, acting in phenomenal sequence, following the law of their nature, but directed to a specific purpose by a supreme, intelligent Being.

<sup>1</sup> Lettres à une Princesse d'Allemagne.

<sup>2</sup> "Dublin Review," 1867.

<sup>3</sup> "Fragments of Science," p. 39.

<sup>4</sup> Exod. x. 13-19.

How true are the words of the Prophet : " The Lord's ways are in a tempest, and a whirlwind, and clouds are the dust of His feet. He rebuketh the sea, and drieth it up ; and bringeth all the rivers to be a desert. Basan languisheth and Carmel, and the flower of Libanus fadeth away. The mountains tremble at Him, and the hills are made desolate ; and the earth hath quaked at His presence."<sup>1</sup> Yes, He is behind the veil of nature, working always !

3d. But does not prayer paralyze human energy and encourage indolence, by resigning everything to God and neglecting the natural means of safety ? Lord Palmerston is reported to have put this objection in a terse and plausible form, in reply to a delegation that asked him to recommend a day of public prayer and fasting, to avert the cholera : " Gentlemen," he said, " never mind prayer and fasting, but cleanse your drains."

This objection is more specious than solid. It supposes, what is not true, that natural remedies are to be disregarded, because supernatural aid is invoked. The advocates of prayer teach that every human means is to be resorted to, that all the appliances of science and the rules of prudence are to be employed to avert calamities, for, " God helps those that help themselves."

There are four ways in which the deputation referred to might be answered. 1st. An unbelieving scientist would reply with Palmerston : " Cleanse your drains, let prayer alone." 2d. A superstitious Christian (if such is to be found) would say : " Never mind the drains, but attend to your prayers." 3d. A fatalist would advise the deputation to do nothing at all, as, do what they would, their fate was sealed. 4th. A Christian philosopher would enjoin, as St. Charles Borromeo did during the plague of Milan, that prayers be offered up to God, but he would, also, direct that the drains be cleansed and the doctors consulted ; for he knows that God ordinarily works His wonders through the established laws of nature, and it is not His will that the laws of hygiene and the science of medicine should be disregarded.

Lord Palmerston was right in advising that the drains be cleansed ; but he was wrong in discouraging the invocation of the Deity, since prayer enters largely into the divine economy. The superstitious Christian would be doing right in counselling supplications to the Divinity, but in discouraging natural remedies he would be tempting God. The fatalist, in rejecting both human and divine assistance, pursues a course condemned alike by reason and revelation. The Christian philosopher, in enjoining prayer *and* the remedies approved by science, acts in accordance with sound sense and the ordinances of God.

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<sup>1</sup> Nahum i. 3-5.



4th. But, perhaps, you will say with Rousseau :<sup>1</sup> "I commune, indeed, with God; I adore Him; I am sensibly touched by His benefits; I bless Him for His gifts; but why should I petition Him?" In representing my wants to God, would I not be calling in question His infinite knowledge and insulting His uncreated wisdom? Do I pretend to enlighten Him of whom our Saviour says: "Your Father knoweth that you have need of all these things?"<sup>2</sup>

Our object in petitioning God is not, of course, to enlighten Him in regard to our condition, but to manifest our filial piety towards Him and our entire dependence on Him, and to acknowledge Him as the Author of every good gift. The obligation to implore God's mercy, is quite as imperative as the duty of worshipping and thanking Him. Experience shows that those who never ask favors of God, seldom bless Him, or give Him thanks, and often end by forgetting their Benefactor, if they do not even go so far as to deny His Providence altogether.

The practice of supplicating God fosters a spirit of devotion, filial gratitude, humility, and dependence, and keeps alive those hallowed relations which, as loving children, we ought to maintain with our Eternal Father. O say not, then, that prayer is a mark of spiritual bondage! On the contrary, the more frequently we commune with God in prayer, the more we exercise our glorious prerogative as children of God; for, surely, the children enjoy more familiar intercourse with the father of the family than do the servants of the household. Wretched, indeed, would be those children who would live under their parents' roof, without ever holding any conversation with them!—and tenfold more wretched are they who abstain from all communion with their Heavenly Father!

Our purpose in laying our wants before God, is not to excite His benevolence, which needs no incentive, but to discharge a duty, to fulfil the law of prayer, and to comply with a condition to which He has annexed some of His gifts.

There are, indeed, some blessings which the Divine Bounty bestows upon all without being solicited; for, He "maketh His sun to rise on the good and the bad, and raineth on the just and the unjust." But there are, also, many favors which are attached to prayer; for our Saviour says: "*Ask* and it shall be given you: *seek* and you shall find: *knock* and it shall be opened," evidently implying that there are certain gifts which we shall not receive, if we do not ask for them.

When our Lord says: "Your Father knoweth that you have need of all these things," His aim is certainly not to dissuade us from asking of God (for, in the same discourse, He is encouraging

<sup>1</sup> Profession de foi du vicaire Savoyard.

<sup>2</sup> Matt. vi. 32.

prayer), but to inspire us with unbounded confidence in Divine Providence.

5th. Supplication, I now admit, forms an integral and essential element of divine worship. But, as "we know not what we should pray for as we ought,"<sup>1</sup> is it not sufficient to make our petition in general terms, or are we enjoined to descend to particulars?

Most assuredly: for the duty of prayer is prompted by a sense of our wants. But who is concerned about his general wants? It is our daily and particular necessities that excite our solicitude, and, taught by our Master, we ask "this day our daily bread." Hence, if we habitually restricted ourselves to vague petitions, we would soon cease to pray at all. As the bond of domestic union and friendship is maintained, not by indefinite sentiments of benevolence, but rather by specific acts, so is our devotion to our Heavenly Father quickened and fostered by asking Him for daily needs. And, although we know not of ourselves what is expedient to ask, "the Spirit (of God) helpeth our infirmity" by inspiring us with holy desires.

6th. Again, it will be objected, perhaps, that many persons have been justified in giving up the practice of prayer, because they have often failed to obtain the particular object of their petition. A Maryland physician informed me that, in the course of one of his professional visits, he expressed to the mother of the family the hope that God would spare the life of her sick child. "I have never," she replied, "bent my knee in prayer for the last two years, when I lost my other child, for whose recovery I earnestly, but vainly prayed."

And did not the death of the late President Garfield, notwithstanding the prayers that were offered for his recovery, tempt many persons to doubt the efficacy of prayer? Did they not say in their heart, as a certain lady said to myself: "I have prayed for the life of the President, and prayed in vain. My family prayed for him; our congregation prayed for him; the city of Baltimore prayed for him; the State prayed for him; the nation prayed for him, and prayed in vain. How can you reconcile the futility of the nation's appeal to heaven with the promise of our Saviour when He says: 'If you shall ask the Father anything in My name, He will give it to you.'"<sup>2</sup>

Having put the objection as strongly as possible, I answer, nevertheless, that the words of our Saviour are most true, and are to be received with unshaken faith. No good prayer ever goes unanswered. If a single drop of water, or breath of air is never anni-

<sup>1</sup> Rom. viii. 26.

<sup>2</sup> John xvi. 23.

hilated, still less is the faintest aspiration of prayer uttered in vain that ascends from a fervent heart to the throne of grace.

And now, in reply to your difficulty, I affirm that God answers our prayers in one of two ways, either directly or indirectly. Sometimes He grants us the direct and specified object of our petitions; sometimes He denies us what we particularly ask for, but He grants us something equivalent to, or even better than that for which we seek. Just as a prudent father withholds from his child a dangerous toy, and bestows on him, instead, something harmless and useful, so our Heavenly Father gives what to Him seems best, and our wisdom is but folly compared with the infinite wisdom of God.

First. In regard to the President: If God, in response to our prayers, did not save his life, He has done more,—He has saved the life and preserved the peace of the nation, and the life of the nation is of more value than the life of any individual.

Secondly. He was pleased to prolong the President's life for nearly three months after he had received the fatal wound. Had he died immediately from the wound, what terrible consequences might have ensued! So intense at the moment was public feeling; so strong (though most unjust) was the suspicion aroused against the leaders of a certain political party; so bitter was the animosity engendered by those suspicions, that, if the President had immediately succumbed, it would have needed but a spark to ignite the flame. The first assassination might have been followed by others, and anarchy and confusion and sedition might, for a time, have reigned supreme.

But God mercifully prolonged his life till the excitement subsided, when cool reason could regain her throne, and men could plainly see that the crime was the work of one man alone, having no collusion with others.

Thirdly. As another fruit of our prayers, God inspired the country with a more intense abhorrence of assassination, and a greater reverence for the Chief Magistrate of the nation.

Fourthly. As another result of our prayers, during the trying ordeal through which we were passing, party spirit yielded to the nobler and healthier sentiment of patriotism and love of country. Men forgot, for the time being, that they were Stalwarts or Conservatives, Republicans or Democrats, Administration or Anti-Administration partisans. They remembered only that they were Americans and citizens of a common country, children of the same mother, and they came together to shed a tear of sorrow by the sick-bed of their ruling brother.

Is not this a satisfactory answer to your difficulty? Did not God hearken to our petitions by sparing the life and saving the peace of

the Republic, by prolonging the President's life till public feeling was quieted, and by inspiring men with a greater abhorrence of the crime of assassination and a deeper love for our country and its institutions? And have not our prayers been profitable, also, in another sense? Have they not been an eloquent rebuke to atheism and infidelity, and a solemn and national profession of faith in God's existence, in His power and wisdom, and in His superintending Providence? Let us remember that the chief object of prayer is not to ask and receive favors from God—that would be a narrow and selfish consideration. God forbid that He should always grant us according to the desires of our heart! This would be abandoning us to our own folly, and the withdrawal of His Providence from us, as happened to the Jews when they importuned God for a king. We are always safe in leaving the result of our prayers to His discretion. The primary motive of prayer is to acknowledge our filial dependence on God and His Fatherly care of us.

Hence, we may judge how inconclusive and revolting to our religious instincts was the prayer-test of Mr. Tyndall, who proposed that the virtue of prayer should be tried by placing in two different wards an equal number of patients, afflicted in the same degree with similar maladies, and that the inmates of one ward should pray for their recovery, while those in the other should make no appeal to heaven.

Besides tempting God, the chief fault of the prayer-test lies in the false assumption that prayer is useless, unless the express object of the petition is granted. For my part, while protesting against the blasphemy involved in doubting the efficacy of prayer for temporal blessings, I would infinitely prefer to be a patient in the praying ward through a painful and lingering illness, if even death itself were to follow, than to be an indevout patient in the other ward, though I were to be restored to health. For I would be placing myself in the loving arms of my Father: "Although He should kill me, I will trust in Him."<sup>1</sup> I would expire in the blessed assurance that His mercy would follow me beyond the grave. Immeasurably sweeter to me would be the spiritual consolation, the blissful hope, the solid peace, and the friendship of my Heavenly Father, than the possession of a healthy frame, animated by a soul without God in this world, or the hope of Him in the life to come.

7th. But I may be met here at the end of the discussion by a more subtle objection. I have prayed, you will say, for a spiritual blessing,—the conversion of a friend or relative, or the moral reformation of a wayward son, and my prayer seems to have been thrown away. For what more legitimate blessing could I ask?

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<sup>1</sup> Job xiii. 15.

I answer, in the first place, that you will very probably obtain the object of your petition, if you pray with perseverance. It was only after sixteen years of earnest entreaty that Monica obtained the conversion of her cherished son Augustine. It was only after persistent solicitations that the Canaanite woman procured the recovery of her daughter's health;<sup>1</sup> and St. Francis de Sales obtained the mastery over his temper only after a prayerful struggle of twenty years.

Secondly. But, perhaps, your friend for whom you constantly prayed, died without manifesting any certain signs of grace and repentance. Be it so! Did God make manifest to you the condition of your friend's soul at the moment of his demise? He may have sanctified that soul by a sudden ray of grace in the moment of dissolution, and concealed from you, for your present humiliation, the blissful fruit of your entreaties, that your joy may be full on the day of the Lord. He may, also, have concealed the conversion of your friend from all who knew him, that they might fully realize the necessity of an early conversion to their Creator, and of securing a happy death by a holy life. Even at the last moment, there is, indeed, hope of salvation; but, then, true conversion of heart after a long life of neglected duties, requires a miracle of grace. Of the conversion of the good thief, St. Augustine says: "One was converted at the hour of death, that you might not despair; *only* one was converted, that you might not presume." God's unrevealed mercies are over all His works. Who would have imagined the salvation of the dying thief, if the Evangelist had not recorded the expiring words of our Saviour: "This day thou shalt be with Me in Paradise!"<sup>2</sup>

But, lastly, even admitting that your friend gave manifest evidence of final impenitence and died with a blasphemy on his lips—what then? God compels no man to accept His proffered mercy, neither can your prayers force any one to surrender his will to the influence of divine grace. Nevertheless, your prayer was not offered in vain. If the heavenly waters find no lodgment in his stony heart, they will flow back abundantly into the valley of your own soul, and the words of the Psalmist will be fulfilled in you: "My prayer shall be turned into my bosom."<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Matt. xv. 22-28.

<sup>2</sup> Luke xxiii. 43.

<sup>3</sup> Ps. xxxiv. 13.

## WILLIAM M. THACKERAY.

*Thackeray; the Humorist, and the Man of Letters. The Story of his Life, including a Selection from his Speeches.* T. Taylor. London, 1864.

*English Men of Letters; Thackeray.* Anthony Trollope. New York, 1879.

A COMMON outcry among the disciples of what may be termed the school of extremists in modern culture, is, that the mind of the age is no longer productive, but reflective; no longer original, but critical. In the humble judgment of another class, however, there is a vast deal of solid comfort in certain indications which seem to carry proof of the assertion. When one realizes the amount of so-called literature launched every year upon the public attention, and recollects how small a part, comparatively speaking, will have even transient recognition, still less a lasting place in men's regard, it becomes a matter of congratulation that a check is somehow being laid upon such over-supply. Not only is it true of the recurrent sameness of the modern novel, the unending records of travel, the maunderings of infidel theorists, or the speculations of scientific inquiry, whether of the genuinely earnest or of the self-seeking charlatan. There is another class of writing, which arrogates to itself a large space and claims a sort of pre-eminence by right of artistic excellence heretofore unattained, with which we are in danger of being surfeited. A member of this fraternity not long since informed the world that "the art of fiction has become a finer art in our day than it was with Dickens and Thackeray. We could not suffer the confidential attitude of the latter now, nor the mannerism of the former, any more than we could endure the prolixity of Richardson, or the coarseness of Fielding." Leaving out of sight the merits of these last, as painters of their own times, and emphasizing their faults, this fastidious critic couples them, in one flourish of his pen, with the two names in all the world of letters which most completely overthrow his assertion. To talk of having improved upon the art which gave us *David Copperfield* and *Vanity Fair*, while the sight of the authors' living faces is fresh in our remembrance, and the sound of their voices yet lingering in our ears, is almost too much for ordinary patience. Besides the insufferable presumption of the thing, there is a surprising inconsistency in such an assertion, as

applied to Thackeray, the undisputed master of style, by one of the class whose leading tenet seems to be the entire subordination of matter to manner. Form is everything, substance an unconsidered trifle. The most ordinary incident, or commonplace sentiment, is so dwelt upon in well-chosen and polished words that the mind unconsciously begins to feel itself somehow enriched and elevated, until the moment of afterthought, when the charm of diction has a little faded, brings out the prosaic fact that the seeming gem was, after all, but a pebble. The world is quite able as yet to dispense with such "improvement," and content to feed upon the fruits of an older tillage, rather than grasp originality at the price of being so nearly inane.

The period of Thackeray's advent in the world of English letters was one of marked activity in every department of thought. Philosophy, metaphysics, political enlightenment, the long-impending reaction in poetry, each had begun to bear part in a new era. The generation that was passing away had left its indelible impress upon the times. The oracular utterances of Coleridge, the quaint humor of Lamb, the subtle criticism of Hazlitt, the recondite studies of Southey, and the love of external nature awakened by the poetry of Wordsworth, had widened the scope of the literary thought of England, and on the foundations laid by these master-builders new edifices were being erected by younger hands, while the wealth of a still earlier literature had not yet receded so far out of sight as to be practically obsolete. In the circumstances which led Thackeray into a literary life there were no rough nor specially painful experiences. He could in no wise lay claim to the distinction, so nobly won by Charles Dickens, of being self-made or self-educated. It can never be known whether or not he could have borne such a struggle or conquered such adverse fate as did his brilliant and gifted contemporary. Certain it is that he was never tried. By birth, inheritance, and training he was a gentleman, bred up from his earliest years with all the surroundings of comfort and refinement; an only child, possessed of a moderate, but ample fortune, and accustomed to the society of cultured people all his life. That he knew exactly the value of such advantages is as evident as that his estimate of character in others was not in the least dependent upon such knowledge. Judged by his books, which are the expressions of himself in a more literal sense than is usual with authors, we know of nothing more characteristic than the words of Thomas Newcome to his son, upon this point: "I think every man would like to come of an ancient and honorable race. As you like your father to be an honorable man, why not your grandfather, and his ancestors before him? But, if we can't inherit a good name, at least we can do our best

to leave one, my boy; and that is an ambition which, please God, you and I will both hold by."<sup>1</sup>

Sent home from India when a mere child, Thackeray's training in the school-life at Charterhouse was the substantial basis on which his whole future was moulded, and his loyal attachment to the old foundation is traceable in many of his finest touches. Every one will remember the allusions through the delightful pages of *The Newcomes* to the old Grayfriars, where, through a Gothic archway one catches now and then a glimpse of some black-gowned pensioner gliding across in the sunshine, his feeble step scarcely waking an echo from the pavement, while on the other side, close by the ancient buildings of the hospital, merry schoolboys shout and laugh and carry on their games, lighthearted and careless, as if sorrow and pain and disappointment were nowhere in the world. Thackeray sketches such scenes with an especial fondness, and in one of the simple talks between Clive Newcome and his father, he brings out the sort of influence which such a school life should exert upon a manly nature, the love of straightforward honesty, a hearty respect for goodness however homely, and a contempt for everything mean and pretentious and untrue. The boy's views of his own little world are essentially boyish, but they speak a kindly heart as well as a shrewdly observant eye. Supplemented by the gentle charity of the good old Colonel, they form an outline from which may be readily filled up the presentment of the author himself, with the candor, sincerity, and human sympathy which he strove to inculcate in all he wrote, however he may have been wilfully or blindly misunderstood.

There is no evidence of any striking mental precocity in these youthful days, his career at Charterhouse having been highly creditable but with nothing remarkable about it, if we except an unusually rapid rise in the school. Thence he went to Cambridge, and spent seven or eight terms within its classic precincts, making for himself a fair record, and forming valuable friendships, which, in some instances, lasted to the end, notably that with Tennyson, for whom he had the warmest admiration as man and as poet. Another less intimate companion was the great Anglo-Saxon scholar, John Mitchell Kemble, who became as famous in his way as his two fellow-students in their respective spheres. He left Trinity, however, long before Thackeray, and went to Germany in order to devote himself to the study of ancient dialects. A few years later he became known as one of the profoundest of modern scholars in Saxon philology and antiquities. A host of lesser lights, as regards distinction in literature and science, but including names honored in various paths of private life, were among

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<sup>1</sup> *The Newcomes*, chap. vii.



the comrades of those college days, and Thackeray's earliest essays in practical fun were under the influence of such companionship. A poem by Tennyson, which won the Cambridge prize, was the subject of Thackeray's first travesty, and the two productions singularly foreshadow the intellectual future of the boyish authors. A sort of leadership appears to have been, by common consent, assigned to the young satirist, and the editorship of the college journal, *The Snob*, fell by natural selection into his hands. The greater number of the sketches bear unmistakable traces of his pen, and the communications of Dorothea Julia Ramsbottom have a clearly-defined resemblance to the marvellous orthographic feats achieved long afterwards by James Yellowplush.

Thackeray manifested no marked fondness for the Greek classics, at least his writings bear little evidence of it, but he was an elegant Latinist, and delighted especially in Horatian wit, whose pungency, tempered by his own delicate fancy, gives flavor to numberless passages throughout his works. His life at Trinity must have been one of genuine enjoyment, without much reference to the gravities and responsibilities of the future, and, whether from indifference to college honors or indolence as to effort, he did not attempt to attain them, but left at his own pleasure when not yet nineteen years old. With a party of English youths, numbering about a score, we find him shortly after at Weimar, where, with letters to the right people, they were soon received at the charming little court, and fully entered upon a new and singularly agreeable phase of life, as Thackeray says of himself, "for study, or sport, or society." The late Mr. George H. Lewes mentions Thackeray's habit of making droll impromptu sketches in Weimar albums, which are still displayed with pride as the work of the genial young Englishman, and that they were even honored by the amused notice of Goethe, to the immense gratification of the youthful artist. A letter to Mr. Lewes,<sup>1</sup> written in 1855, describes the routine upon which the collegians were launched, in terms which, with all allowance for the glamour cast by the five-and-twenty years intervening, present one of the pleasantest of pictures. He tells of the invention of gorgeous costumes, and the wearing of uniforms, military or diplomatic, by such of them as could contrive a reasonable pretext for such splendor, of their being carried in sedan chairs to court balls on snowy nights, of the charming ladies who spoke such admirable English as to preclude the young Englishmen from improving their German, and of the unvarying kindness and courtesy of the Grand Duke and Duchess. The odd mingling of stately etiquette and homely simplicity in the little court is delightfully sketched,

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<sup>1</sup> This charming letter is given by Mr. Lewes in the first edition of his *Life of Goethe*, which appeared in London in December, 1863.

and he speaks of the continual meetings at dinners, assemblies, and theatre, as of a large family party. The greatest honor was paid to Goethe, who, although withdrawn from active life, was yet interested in all that happened around him, and received strangers in semi-royal fashion. His influence in dramatic affairs had not yet passed away, and no finer theatrical performances could be witnessed in all Germany than those given in the theatre which had been so long under his direction. The bright particular stars in that winter of 1831 were Ludwig Devrient, who played *Hamlet*, *Falstaff*, *Shylock*, and other widely differing rôles, with wonderful power, and Madame Schroeder Devrient, whose marvellous voice and acting in *Fidelio* have become traditional.

Thackeray gives an amusing account of the perturbation of mind with which he prepared for the honor of an interview with the Herr Geheimrath, his boyish embarrassment on finding himself in Goethe's presence, and the sense of relief that came to him with the discovery that the great man did not speak French so well as himself.

The habits of observation and reflection, which were to bear fruit in after years, found large scope among these Weimar associations, and the pictures of Continental life and customs, drawn with such skill in his books, owe much of their force and truth to actual experiences. A few lines of his own, in reference to this period, are characteristic of the man as to his whole-hearted appreciation of what may be termed the commonplace virtues of mankind. "With a five-and-twenty years' experience since those happy days, . . . and an acquaintance with an immense variety of the human kind, I think I have never seen a society more simple, charitable, courteous, and gentlemanlike than that of the dear little Saxon city, where the good Schiller and the great Goethe lived, and lie buried." Goodness of the poet whom he never saw comes first in his thought before even the greatness for which he had such profound admiration. A sword, which had been Schiller's, became one of his most valued possessions, and always hung upon his study-wall, a memento of "days the most kindly and delightful." One is tempted to dwell somewhat upon this period as one of largely formative influence in Thackeray's life. His natural bent was artistic rather than literary, and with that touch of Bohemianism which gave an added sweetness to his frank and kindly nature, and which was never quite eradicated, he was always seeking out delightedly everything characteristic in the quaintness and novelty of his surroundings. Studying the inner life from the outward seeming, he learned to separate reality from assumed disguise, to distinguish false from true, and became a painter indeed, not of face and form, but of mind and motive. Like many another, he seems to have been unaware

of his real power in early life, and, if he looked forward to anything as a profession, it was certainly to art, and not to literature, that he was most strongly attracted. His admiration of Paris as a centre of artistic and social brilliancy was very great. He often spoke of it as the Paradise of painters, and was frequently tempted thither by the galleries so freely opened to students, and by the presence of valued friends. An anecdote is told of his having once, in his boyhood, taken a stolen trip, which was successfully concealed from the authorities, at the cost of a fib told to his tutor, who was given to understand that the time of absence was to be spent in Lincolnshire. Years afterwards, when fame had come to him, this act of wrong-doing was still unforgotten, and he sought out his old preceptor in order to confess the matter to him, adding in his emphatic way, "Guilt, sir, guilt always remained stamped on the memory, and I feel easier in my mind, now that it is liberated of this old peccadillo." His fondness for Paris, however, did not imply in his case a love for the French as a people. He had an Englishman's prejudices, and he clearly saw the evil features of certain phases of life among the higher classes. He was severe upon their political weaknesses, too, no less than upon the peculiar literary taste, which found expression in the works of Sue and George Sand, and his horror of its influence, as of Atheism, in any form or tendency, was unbounded.<sup>1</sup> Yet, all the same, he recognized and loved the goodness and purity which he found to outweigh the evil, and the intellectual strength, which has achieved so much for human progress; while he sincerely honored the simplicity of earnest hearts who held intact through all the evils of the time the old faith, which differed from his own. Some of his papers on "Art and Artists," sent to various periodicals at home, during his residence in Paris, after quitting Weimar, give a foretaste of the charm of his later works, when life had taught him lessons as yet unlearned. His first acquaintance with Rome dates from this period, and he drank to the full of her wonderful inspiration. His heart seems to swell with a boundless enthusiasm, whenever he speaks of the Eternal City, and no finer descriptions of it are to be found in the English tongue than his own.

Within a comparatively recent period there has been a marked

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<sup>1</sup> As evidence of Thackeray's abhorrence of that school of wickedness, we recall the following passage, in which his very soul seems stirred by the blasphemous daring of some of its leaders:

"O awful, awful Name of God! Light unbearable! Mystery unfathomable! Vastness immeasurable! Who are these who come forward to explain the mystery, and gaze unblinking into the depths of the light, and measure the immeasurable vastness to a hair? O Name that God's people of old did fear to utter! O light that God's prophet would have perished, had he seen! Who are these, now so familiar with it?"—*Madame Sand and the New Apocalypse.*

change in the popular estimate of Thackeray. It might almost be said that at one time a sort of proprietary right in his works was tacitly assigned to the scholarly or distinctly critical element of society, as compared with that far larger class possessed of average intelligence and cultivation. It was rare to find any degree of enthusiasm awakened by the mention of his books, and the ordinary mind was content with an opinion at second hand, or still more remotely derived, that he was a writer whose views of life could do nobody any good, whose aim was to make the world appear a very poor place, indeed, and whose principal claim to be read at all lay in the classic elegance of his style. Such ideas, however, in the nature of things could not long prevail, and his recognition as a master of English fiction, and as one of the most delightful of writers, was a foregone conclusion. In nothing, perhaps, is his many-sidedness more plainly proved than in the various kinds of criticism called forth by his works, and his life, that is to say, the little that is known of his life. The leading periodicals of the day, one and all, have something to say about him, from time to time, which generally speaking is worth saying, even though certain of the writers occasionally fall into grievous error through misunderstanding the man upon whom they are passing judgment. The most extended account of him in his private relations, as well as in his literary career, which has yet been given us, is the *Life*, by the late Anthony Trollope. Himself a polished and facile writer, familiar with books and bookmakers, associated for some time with Thackeray in connection with the *Cornhill Magazine*, it would seem that no more fitting choice of a biographer could have been made. Yet the work has greatly disappointed those who looked to it as a means to the final estimate of Thackeray, the man and the author. There is a half-hearted sound even in its praise, an air of constraint in its utmost cordiality, which perforce suggests a book written to order, and when, now and then, a passage occurs in the old pleasant vein of Trollope's usual style, it only serves to deepen one's regret that such passages are so rare. But when one remembers how soon after these pages were finished the illness which was to close that busy life began, the harshness of fault-finding softens into sorrowful sympathy at thought of that failing of mind and body which had been stealthily creeping on for a long time unsuspected. While the book gives credit to the tenderness of Thackeray's nature, the generosity which nearly approached excess, the kindness and overflowing charity continually manifested in his daily life, yet the impression left upon the mind is one of dissatisfaction; there is a lack of reality, a sense of something superficial in the delineation as a whole. The reader perceives that Mr. Trollope, in the fear of being too laudatory, has been led to

insist upon certain peculiarities of temperament, until they stand out as grave faults instead of the trifles they really are. Again, while giving an accurate and splendid synopsis of a range of work which would make a creditable showing as the result of double the number of years actually spent upon it, he dwells strongly upon the lack of energy, of promptness, and of systematic labor, displayed by Thackeray. The story, as Mr. Trollope tells it, is not simply a statement of facts, which leaves the reader to form his own conclusions as to the character they might serve to illustrate, but is everywhere interspersed with comments, largely hypothetical. He fancies, doubts, and supposes, in regard to the condition of Thackeray's mind, or the design of this or that portion of his work, to the verge of tedium. At one moment it is said that "he was from an early age fully conscious of his own ability;" and within two pages there is found such a passage as this: "There is a touch of vagueness which indicates that his pen was not firm while he was using it. He seems to me to have been dreaming ever of some high flight, and then to have told himself with a half-broken heart that it was beyond his power to soar into those bright regions. I can fancy, as the sheets went from him every day, he told himself in regard to every sheet that it was a failure."<sup>1</sup> It is hard to conceive how any reader of Thackeray could consider vagueness to be a feature of his style. If any writer of modern times can be cited as setting before him a definite purpose, and carrying out that purpose with steadfast determination, in language as clear as his hand is firm, that writer would seem to be he. A manly confidence in his own power is as plainly evident as is his genius itself, and it would have required a courage almost superhuman to persevere as he did, through years of labor like his, if a sense of failure had been upon every page he wrote. It is a truism to say of every genuine artist, whether painter, sculptor, or poet, that the realization is always short of the ideal, as an inevitable condition of mundane limitation, but this is not what one means by the word failure.

Had Thackeray accomplished but a moiety of what he did, his name would have been deservedly held in honor as one of the strongest no less than one of the purest writers who ever laid bare the mysteries of the human heart, as well as one of the most truthful, generous, and kindly of censors. It may be said without fear of contradiction that any one of his mature works would have sufficed to stamp him as great in the world of letters. Whether he leads us through the mazes of *Vanity Fair*, perhaps the most finished in detail of anything he wrote, or shows us that profound study of thought and motive in what some one has called

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<sup>1</sup> Trollope's *Thackeray*, p. 19.

the saddest of his books, *Pendennis*; whether he traces the fortunes of *The Newcomes*, painting with caressing hand that immortal figure of the Colonel, with Clive and Ethel, the gentle J. J., and angelic Madame de Florac, or pointing out the friends and foes, the joys and sorrows of Philip in his *Adventures*; everywhere and always there is visible the hand of the master, compelling the acknowledgment of its power. He elaborates nothing, he never dwells too much upon one fact or scene, whether droll or sorrowful, realistic or fanciful; he sketches with unerring touch and ready grace, and a sort of superb reliance upon the certainty of the effect. His pathos is inexpressibly delicate and touching, but he seems afraid to trust himself too long upon such ground, and turns away with a quick movement as if to hide his melting mood. It was so too in the events of every day. His eyes would moisten and his lip tremble at some moving story, and then he would burst out with some expletive by way of hiding his emotion, at the same moment that his hand would instinctively find its way to his pocket for the wherewithal to relieve the need described. An incident somewhat in point is but one among many known to that inner circle which comprised his chosen friends, and beyond which very little of his benevolence ever transpired during his life. A gentleman, greatly pressed in business affairs, was required to raise at very short notice a large sum of money, and without it would be inevitably ruined. He was by no means an intimate of Thackeray's, but well known to him and to a friend of his, who, meeting him by chance one day, mentioned the matter. "Do you mean to say that I am to find £2000?" exclaimed Thackeray, adding some angry words of rather a strong nature. His informant disclaimed having entertained the thought of suggesting such a thing. As he spoke an odd look came upon the face of his hearer, and in a hesitating tone, as if ashamed of the smallness of his offer, he half whispered: "I'll go half, if anybody will do the rest."<sup>1</sup> Such stories might be multiplied very largely, but it is not needed. He went about doing good out of the kindness of his great, tender heart, and with never a thought of gaining credit thereby. Love to his fellow-men was but another form of manifestation for the deep reverence for holy things which characterized him. The keen arrows of his satire were never aimed at sincere feeling, however grotesquely expressed. It was only towards that which seemed to him sham, pretence, or hypocrisy that his shafts were directed, and his personal faith was as simple and humble as a child's. One evening, when at Edinburgh, he was walking with two friends along a road which brought them in view of a portion of Corstorphine Hill. The

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 59.

sunset was one of peculiar beauty, a crystalline clearness of atmosphere and unusual splendor of coloring making every object stand out in phenomenal delicacy of outline. At the summit of the hill a wooden crane, used in quarrying rock, was so placed as to present the figure of a cross. By a common impulse the three men stood still, gazing silently. Thackeray uttered a single word: "Calvary!" and then, as the light faded, the little group turned quietly away and passed on. It was remembered afterwards how serious and gentle he was all that evening, speaking, as he seldom did, of the life beyond and of things belonging to the soul's destiny.

He could not bear to hear a brother author unjustly attacked, his own sensitiveness making him keenly alive to the pain thereby inflicted. One of the strongest regrets of his life was that he had in early years cast ridicule upon the works of Bulwer, whom he heartily appreciated. Long subsequently he wrote: "There are two performances especially among the critical and biographical works of the erudite Mr. Yellowplush which I am very sorry to see reproduced, and I ask pardon of the author of *The Caxtons* for a lampoon, which I know he himself has forgiven, and which I wish I could recall. I had never seen that eminent writer but once in public when this satire was penned, and wonder at the recklessness of the young man who could fancy such personality was harmless jocularly, and never calculated that it might give pain."

The particular form in which the literary genius of Thackeray found expression may be characterized as reactionary. It was the natural protest of his downright and truth-loving spirit against the sentimental exaggeration of the romantic school, which, once passed out of the magic sway of Scott, was fast degenerating in the hands of less gifted adherents into feebleness if not actual absurdity. Impossible situations and equally impossible heroes, unreal views of life, ideal heroines, as airy and unsubstantial as the robes of white muslin in which they habitually arrayed themselves for all occasions however incongruous with the homespun facts of everyday, were intolerable to him on the same grounds which rendered snobbery and pretension and sham of every sort odious in his sight. His argument seems always to rest upon the bare facts in the case. He cannot reproduce what never to his consciousness has existed; he can only present things as he sees them.<sup>1</sup> He never deals in melodramatic effect, because melodrama is an element conspicuous by its absence in his knowledge of men and things. He paints no faultless creatures, never meeting such in his own experience; neither does he draw monsters of unre-

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<sup>1</sup> The English Humorists, Charity and Humor, p. 210.

deemed blackness for the same reason. His work is, in short, realistic; he analyzes with subtle skill the motives and the minds of men, but his bad people are never wholly bad, any more than the opposite class are perfectly good. He recognizes the fact that every soul into which the breath of life has been breathed preserves some trace of its divine source, even in its deepest darkness, and his bitterest invective against wickedness, deceit, and crime is always suggestive of at least a possible return to better things. It is incredible that people of a high order of intelligence are to be found maintaining that Thackeray teaches an easy-going acceptance of the evil in the world. His whole work rings with a passionate cry for reform. He calls himself a preacher, and his teaching from beginning to end of every sermon is a paraphrase of the old text: "Pull out the mote that is in thine own eye, and then shalt thou see clearly." A kind moralist, he bids us examine into the recesses of our own hearts, not that we may be only shamed and grieved by what we find, but that we may judge our brother-man less hardly seeing how little we have to pride ourselves upon. And having shown us thus much, he leaves us with a generous confidence in the good within us to strive towards that higher plane his very blame has shown to be possible for us. What reader has ever risen from the study of one character in his books feeling that *seeming* could ever stand for *being*? What record among all the thronging figures of those matchless pages has ever made vice, or treachery, or selfishness in any of its forms other than detestable? Apart from the idle pleasantries of his youth, there is nothing in all that he ever wrote which does not tend to elevate and purify, to exalt what is good, and to teach scorn of the unworthy. The reaction brought about by such writers as himself has been widespread and unmistakable. From his first appearance among the brilliant circle of Fraser's the incisive clearness of his style commanded attention, even when his work was scarcely more than pastime, although bearing traces of the force which afterwards made him famous. But his hold upon the literary world was gained only by slow degrees. The new leaven was long working beneath the surface before its presence was recognized, but when the recognition came it was cordial, full, and lasting. With the appearance of *Vanity Fair* was ushered in a new school of fiction, in which real people lived and moved through a real world, and the day of sickly sentiment and transcendental affectation was over. The book itself he called a novel without a hero, but there are few stories in which such heroism of self-abnegation is to be found as in the character of Dobbin. True to his protest against the traditional high-born, high-bred, and polished ideal of such a personage, Thackeray seems to have gone



to the very limit of opposition in this creation. Having made him the son of a grocer, plain in person, awkward in manner, and totally unattractive at first sight, he yet contrives to invest him with a nobleness so far above the accident of station that his simple manliness stands out in the memory forever as a type of what is truest and best in human nature. Of Becky Sharp it is needless to speak at any length. If ever preacher taught effectually the evils of selfishness it has been done in this portraiture, and in her bad pre-eminence she is known to all the world. Immortal in infamy, there is yet a touch, here and there, which rouses something like sympathy, and the author himself does not always hate her. She is the direct and visible outcome of a social condition whose defects were ever present and ever hateful to him, and her character, never unnatural or overdrawn, is his unanswerable comment upon those defects. Amelia has been severely, and, it must be added, unjustly criticised as a weak, spiritless creature, too silly to be otherwise than good, and quite unworthy of her place in *Vanity Fair*. Women resent her as a sort of libel upon the feminine intellect, and cite her as evidence of Thackeray's contempt for the sex. The question here is, not whether all women are like Amelia, but is she a real representative of the class to which character, mind, and conduct, as drawn by the writer, would assign her? Undoubtedly the answer must be affirmative. She is not brilliant nor especially beautiful. She has no broad views of woman's sphere; she is childishly ignorant of public affairs; knows nothing of politics or statecraft, philosophy, or metaphysics, and so, in the advanced opinion of the day, is a most insignificant person. But she is versed in the lore of home and heart; she loves her parents, her friend, and afterwards her lover, with the sweetest, tenderest devotion; and when her father's fortunes change she accepts poverty and privation with a boundless patience, cares for those nearest to her with angelic goodness while they repay her with harsh injustice; loves and believes in her worthless husband in the face of reason and common sense as long as he lives, and mourns him dead with all her loyal soul through years of uncomplaining sorrow; and finally, when convinced by proof which even she can no longer combat of his unfaithfulness, turns to the true heart which has so long held her in its silent keeping, and marries Dobbin. Few men would feel ashamed of such a daughter, or be unwilling to see in her the womanliness, gentleness, and truthfulness of Amelia Sedley. It must be confessed that the baronet, Sir Pitt Crawley, is too strongly drawn to be altogether satisfactory. But it may serve the purpose of controverting an absurd and utterly unfounded assertion which has been lately made regarding the great novelist, that he had an undue es-

time of rank and station. Judged by his own utterances, which form the best possible data for the purpose, since no author can be named who puts more of his own individuality into his books, there is no shadow of proof for such a charge. Yet certain writers of our own day have not hesitated to declare him subject to such weakness. Notable among these, one of our unfledged diplomats, a contributor to a leading magazine, has recently announced that this man, whose whole teaching, from first to last, has been on the side of virtue and truth and honor as the highest good, independent of all extraneous circumstance, had made himself unhappy because he never could by any possibility stand on a social level with the eldest son of a peer.<sup>1</sup> He also informs a benighted world that the mind of Thackeray was in some respects *turbid* and *confused*, through the influence of this abiding discontent. It is to be doubted if so surprising a discovery has had its intended effect of belittling that noble soul or even of impressing the reading public with the brilliant originality of its author, but it may give rise to a suggestion that such discontent in his own person may have made it possible for him to attribute it to one far above such pettiness. Thackeray's pen is rarely employed with either the virtues or vices of the titled classes, and when so employed it would seem to be with a marked impartiality. Sir Pitt is a baronet, but he is none the less a coarse brute; Major Dobbin is unqualifiedly plebeian, but one of the noblest of men. The Marquis of Farintosh is almost a fool, yet he is not altogether contemptible, and Lord Kew is as fine a young fellow as ever sowed his "wild oats" under the guiding hand of "society," and gathered his barren harvest, and began over again, with a manly repentance and an honest purpose to become the true-hearted gentleman nature meant him for. The Lord Steyne is as nearly satanic in blackness as the moralist could permit himself to paint him; and the Earl and Countess of Dorking calmly and cheerfully sell their fair young daughter to the rich purchaser who bid against poor Jack Belsize, whom she loved. Yet it was not because they were titled that Thackeray saw fit to pillory them, but because they were worldly and hard, false and selfish. He tells of the bishop in his lawn sleeves and his dignity, blessing the perjured pairs who have knelt before him with sacred words befitting only the truest, holiest union; and he sketches the smooth-tongued clergyman who, in gown and bands, stretches out white hands in benediction over his fashionable congregation, while his mean soul is filled only with thoughts of his own advantage. Yet no one imagines that the writer means to cast contempt upon the office which such things

<sup>1</sup> "Thackeray's Relations to English Society," Scribner's Magazine, February, 1881.

desecrate. It was not class or condition at which he aimed his satire. It was at things wrong in and of themselves. He was a storyteller who used his story as a vehicle for his lesson, neither undervaluing the one nor overestimating the other.

And in the use of the wonderful power by which he holds his readers there is no stronger characteristic than his great suggestiveness. There are numberless names among writers of fiction whose constructive faculty surpasses his own, but there is not one who can by a touch, a hint, as it were, bring before us such a host of images. As in a kind of free-hand drawing, he presents to us the living personages of his tale, clear, vivid, real, winning our love or pity, our hatred or contempt, by force of their intense individualism. He fascinates, whether by attraction or repulsion, and we follow the fate of one and another with intensest interest, scarcely pausing to realize the skill of the delineation. And when the spell is removed by which he has held us, it is found that much more has been done by the artist than the portrayal of character. To name any one of his greater novels is to call to mind a presentation of the entire period in which the events are passing. When Barry Lyndon, that incomparable picture of a scoundrel delighting in his own wickedness, and in his own proper person speaking his delight, comes before us, he brings with him a perfect panorama of his day. Places, people, and events are present to the mind, filling a canvas far wider than the story itself, and the reader finds himself looking with a sense of actual acquaintanceship and familiarity upon the social life of those times in England and Ireland, or sharing the gay insouciant life of Continental scenes, breathing the same air, and thinking almost the same thoughts as the various groups around him.

In *Esmond* it has been asserted that Thackeray reached his highest point of artistic excellence in the arrangement of incident, the perfectly-preserved tone of the dialogue, and the development of the plot. It is in truth a marvellous creation, and in its perusal one realizes that only a mind imbued with the very spirit of the eighteenth century could have produced it, or that earlier work, which it strongly suggests, the *English Humorists*. The manner of the telling is indescribably charming, making the dry bones of history to be clothed upon with life, and its prosaic details to become absolute realities. The keen insight and almost pre-Raphaelite minuteness of analysis remind one of Balzac, but with a higher purpose and a purer pen. In *Esmond*, as in everything he wrote, this great-hearted preacher of morality repeats again his constant lesson in such witching fashion that the dullest learner must needs be in love with learning, and so delicately is it conveyed, so beautifully set in the heart of the story, as to be recognized rather by

inference than by plainer means. The hold which the book had upon his own mind may be judged by the fact that *The Virginians*, following it after an interval of several years, takes up the interests of some of the leading personages in *Esmond*. A friend once congratulating him upon the success it had achieved, he laughingly accepted the compliment, and observed, with that drollery which was part of him, "Yes, but after all, Esmond was a prig!" If Sidney Lanier's definition of the term be accepted as true, there is ample ground for the wish that such priggism might abound.<sup>1</sup>

The historical unity of the work is absolutely unbroken, and the treatment of the chief personages bold and strong, yet shaded as delicately as an etching. The incidental appearance among them of Harley and St. John, of Marlborough and his generals, with now and then a glimpse of certain features of royalty not usually displayed to the eyes of an admiring people, are so quietly and naturally managed that the keenest criticism can find no trace of incongruity. Henry Esmond himself is as noble a character as is to be found in literature, and Lady Castlewood, with all her faults, as perfect an artistic conception as if drawn by a Rubens or a Titian. Beatrix is a wonderfully successful presentation of a most difficult subject, and, fascinating as she is, it is so clearly an evil charm which she exerts that no one can be misled thereby. Her story is like a beacon-light, carrying far and wide its unmistakable warning. The vein of comedy cropping up here and there through the rather sombre coloring of the story, owes much of its richness to Dick the Scholar, or Captain Steele, as he preferred to call himself. The odd combination of good principles never put into practice, and noble views of life's duties, unsupported by the least endeavor to fulfil them, the indomitable cheerfulness, the generosity which would bestow his own and other men's money with gayest impartiality, the wit, simplicity, and kindness which won over the most disapproving observer, are so delightfully brought out that the reader is more than willing to cast the mantle of charity over the faults of a man who never quite ceased to be a child.

Addison too, whom Steele worshipped and raved over in his wild way, is a familiar companion of Esmond, and, since the latter has fought in Flanders, permits him to hear the lines of his famous poem, *The Campaign*, one day in his little room in the Haymarket, over a bottle of Burgundy sent by my Lord Halifax. A glittering courtier, all splendor and gold lace, enters and begs for the verses, which, being yielded to him, he bears away in vast excitement to the great people at court, and Mr. Addison's fortunes are made.

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<sup>1</sup> The late Sidney Lanier somewhere described a prig as one whose goodness is so downright and uncompromising as to make the rest of us uncomfortable.

Yet one feels somehow that, in the grandeur that soon afterwards came to him, he was not much happier than when Esmond first knew him and admired the splendid courtesy and dignity of the man that made his shabby lodgings finer than many a castle, and his worn snuff-colored suit a lordly garb.

The character of Marlborough is one of the strongest features of the book, and may be regarded as one of the most masterly efforts of Thackeray's pen.<sup>1</sup> The action of the story is mingled with the highest glory as well as the downfall of the "greatest captain in the world," and the handling of the subject shows what the author might have achieved as a historian had he been so minded. A single sentence will serve to illustrate the concentrative force and fullness of his descriptive power. "He achieved the highest deed of daring or deepest calculation of thought as he performed the very meanest action of which a man is capable; told a lie, or cheated a fond woman, or robbed a poor beggar of a half-penny with a like awful serenity and equal capacity of the highest and lowest acts of our nature."

The intrigues of the court, the jealousies of the great, the plans for bringing back the rightful sovereign to his throne, the plots and counter-plots of ambitious leaders are vividly presented, while the interest attaching to the private history of the Esmonds is never allowed to flag. Especially fine is the sketch of General Webb, commanding under Marlborough at Wynandael, and unjustly deprived of the honor due him on that occasion, through the favoritism of his chief. The account of the humiliation and final triumph of the old hero doubtless owes something of its excellence to a feeling of kinship on the part of Thackeray, who was related to the Webb family.<sup>2</sup>

The book closes with the accession of George the First, the ruin of Beatrix, and the marriage of Esmond to Lady Castlewood, with whom he retires to his estates in Virginia, where, many years

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<sup>1</sup> At very nearly the time when these words of Thackeray were written, we heard Mr. Edward Everett's oration on the "Character of Washington," containing a description of Marlborough's palace of Blenheim, which is worthy to stand beside even the masterly sketch in "Esmond." "But to me, at noontide or in the evening, the gorgeous pile was as dreary as death, its luxurious grounds as melancholy as a churchyard. It seemed to me not a splendid palace, but a dismal mausoleum, in which a great and blighted name lies embalmed like some old Egyptian tyrant, black and ghastly in the asphaltic contempt of ages, serving but to rescue from an enviable oblivion the career and character of the magnificent speculator and miser and traitor to whom it is dedicated; needy in the midst of his ill-gotten millions; mean at the head of his victorious armies; despicable under the shadow of his thick-woven laurels; and poor and miserable and blind and naked amidst the lying shams of his tinsel greatness."—EVERETT'S "Orations and Speeches," vol. iv., p. 44.

<sup>2</sup> "Henry Esmond," chap. ix.

<sup>3</sup> William M. Thackeray, grandfather of the novelist, married a Miss Webb.

afterwards, the story is supposed to be written for their grandchildren. Apart from the accuracy, power, and finish of *Esmond*, in a strictly literary point of view, there is in it a charm of tenderness, sweetness, and purity which would make one envious of the reader who has in store the delight of a *first* reading of it.

The word realistic, as applied to Thackeray's writings, must be received in a dramatic rather than a literal sense. He distinctly claims to be the painter of commonplace as a neglected corner of the great field in which so much had been done before his work began, and he will not be tempted aside from it. What is called fine writing he avoided by artistic instinct—a natural distaste for all affectation, which led him always to choose the simplest and most direct means to his object. Humor, as distinguished from the narrower gift of wit, was the leading feature of his mind, and to its development he brought a thorough refinement, an exquisite purity, and an unyielding fidelity to truth. His realism is that of a perfectly sustained probability, consistent at every point with the conditions presented, and, rebel as we may against the ending of some of his stories, we cannot successfully combat their absolute truth to the life. There is, indeed, through all he wrote, an undertone of sadness, a tacit recognition of that unceasing struggle between good and evil which must be ever present to great souls like his; but it is never the sadness of despair. It is rather the melancholy inseparable from his genuine sympathy with his fellow-men in the tangled web of this world's troublous history. His natural temperament is described by a friend as tinged with this element of sadness, but united to a "capacity for instant frolic" which made him the most delightful of companions for a passing hour and won him hosts of friends. It is only since his death that the world has known what a burden of physical pain he had to endure through long years—suffering borne so quietly that very few knew of its existence, but which was steadily sapping the springs of life, and which make it a marvel that he should have done the work he accomplished. Added to this there came upon the home he loved a blight which nothing could remedy, and the young wife who was unspeakably dear to him was severed from him by a barrier impassable as death itself.<sup>1</sup> Had there been in his nature a fibre of unmanly weakness, these accumulated ills must have told fatally upon him; but the brave heart remained always true to itself, and the desert places along his own pathway were made to blossom into kindly charities for others.

The story of his life, as regards incident or event, may be briefly traced. He had, as we have said, studied art, but rather as the pastime of a man of fortune than with any serious intention: Af-

<sup>1</sup> A severe illness resulted in the loss of Mrs. Thackeray's reason.

terwards he read law, and was, in fact, regularly admitted to the bar by the Society of the Middle Temple, but never held a brief nor probably desired to do so. The Benchers were glad to testify their satisfaction in adding his name to the long list of those lights of literature already enrolled among them, and Thackeray himself was not indifferent to being associated with so much of ancient and honorable renown. It is said that, at his death, there was an effort made to obtain the consent of his family to lay him in those quiet precincts of the old Temple Church, where lie the ashes of Goldsmith, with whom his name will be ever united through the noble tribute in his *Humorists*; but it was finally decided, in compliance with the wish of his daughters, that he should rest in Kensal Green, where those he loved best might sleep near him, and the Benchers erected a memorial tablet in their church.

As has been stated, the young art-student who so delighted in the freedom and gayety of his "prentice days" in Paris, had become a writer for periodicals at home long before he had any thought of literature as a profession, and when but three-and-twenty he was a regular contributor to the brilliant pages of *Fraser's*. A trace of the experiences of those days is to be found now and then in his later works, when an impecunious Grecian, who has all knowledge except the practical, appeals to our laughter or our pity. The then editor, Maginn, was an extreme type of this character, and the relief afforded him by the almost princely generosity of the Parisian contributor more than once opened the doors of the debtor's prison for him. It was, indeed, rather a reckless set over whom the still more reckless editor presided, and it is sad to recall the names of several who afterwards belied the splendid promise of their great powers, and ruined lives full of grand possibilities. Although no article from Thackeray's pen is to be found under any of his afterwards well-known pseudonyms until 1837, his youthful face, with the familiar spectacles, is found in a picture, by Maclise, of a banquet which was given more than two years earlier. The figures included twenty-seven persons, among whom were Coleridge, Southey, Carlyle, and Edward Irving. The first contribution bearing the signature of "Charles Yellowplush" appeared in the form of a review of a silly book on etiquette put forth by a woollen-draper named Skelton, and entitled *My Book; or, The Anatomy of Conduct*. The writer seems to have been possessed of the harmless mania of instructing the world in an art in which he was probably as little versed as might be, and, the book happening to fall under Thackeray's notice, his hatred of snobbery led him at once to seize upon it as lawful prey. For consistency's sake he decided to present his criticism as the work of a fashionable footman, throwing it into the form of a letter from No. — Gros-

venor Square (N. B., Hairy Bell), and addressed to the editor. An added touch of absurdity was the name "Skeleton" in speaking of the author of *The Anatomy*, and the letter itself was described as containing "Fashionable Fax and Polite Annygoats." The attention which it attracted made Charles's letter one of the features of the day, and the ambitious footman was requested to continue his contributions, which accordingly were presently forthcoming in the form of *Yellowplush Papers*, and adorned with those characteristic illustrations which, once seen, can never be forgotten. It was about this time that the first meeting between Thackeray and Dickens took place, concerning which so many misstatements have been made. It has been said that when the latter writer was seeking for some one to illustrate *Pickwick* Mr. Thackeray presented some of his own sketches, but that they were rejected as unsuitable. Greatly chagrined at the disappointment, he put up the drawings, exclaiming angrily: "Well, if you will not let me draw, I will write," and thenceforward set himself before the public as a rival of the already popular "Boz." The coloring given by such a form of the incident is unjust in every particular to Thackeray, whose literary career did not, in fact, practically begin until a year later, and whose whole tone towards Dickens was always that of the most cordial admiration and regard. The story as given above is materially different from his own account of what he used to call "Mr. Pickwick's lucky escape." At a dinner of the Royal Academy long afterwards, he said, after some graceful allusions to the early success of Mr. Dickens, who was present: "I recollect walking up to his chambers in Furnival's Inn with two or three drawings in my hand, which, strange to say, he did not find suitable. But for the unfortunate blight which came over my artistical existence it would have been my pride and my pleasure to have endeavored one day to find a place on these walls for one of my performances." The only interruption that ever occurred in the friendly relations of the two, who were destined to an inseparable union in literary fame, was on the occasion when Mr. Dickens unfortunately, and, as it seems from all the facts of the case, unwarrantably interfered in a difficulty between Thackeray and Mr. Edmund Yates. The latter was certainly entitled to the strongest possible condemnation, having, without a shadow of excuse, made an attack upon Thackeray, not only uncalled for, but utterly unjustifiable. It was printed in a periodical little known this side of the water, called *Town Talk*. The article was coarse in tone, false in statement, and personally offensive—in short, unworthy in every particular of its author, who doubtless repented his foolish and wrong-headed act as soon as it had passed out of his control. Had the writer been a stranger to Thackeray, or an obscure person, it is nearly certain



that it would have been passed by in contemptuous silence. But it was well known to be from the pen of a member of the Garrick Club, well acquainted with Thackeray, and recognized as one of the cleverest reviewers of the day. Thackeray's indignation found expression in a scathing letter, which appeared two days later, and which, though evidently written under the utmost exasperation of feeling, left him clearly master of the situation. But shortly afterwards, carried away by his sense of the injustice and malignity from which he suffered, he determined to submit the question to the decision of a committee of the Garrick as to whether the license for such attacks would not be "fatal to the comfort of the club and intolerable in a society of gentlemen." Up to this point the honors had been all his own, but this further step was undeniably a mistake. The committee took his view of the case and decided that the offending member was bound, in honor, to make an apology or to retire from the club. The latter refused to recognize the authority of the committee, and threatened to bring suit for his vindication. In this undignified aspect of the affair,—to make matters worse,—Dickens, of whose support Thackeray was entirely certain, entered into the difficulty as on the opposite side; that is to say, he desired to act as mediator between the disputants, but voted against the decision rendered, declaring that the committee "had nothing on earth to do with the question." If he had been content to believe that he personally "had nothing on earth" to do with it, further, he would have saved the warm heart of Thackeray from a bitter pang and himself an uncalled for and unfriendly act. He did interfere, and added fuel to flame by assuring Mr. Yates that it was not "possible for him to set right what was amiss," in view of a communication couched in such terms as used in the above-mentioned letter. The coolness to which the affair gave rise between Dickens and Thackeray was never removed until only a few days before that Christmas Eve which, for the greater of the two, was to end all strife, and pain, and bitterness. Meeting in the lobby of a club-house, they looked into each other's eyes, and, moved by one impulse, coming from what heart-deeps who can tell, they clasped hands in perfect reconciliation. From the first dawn of Dickens's fame, Thackeray was always one of his most appreciative and kindly critics, although he protested strongly against the tendency of such books as *Oliver Twist*, classing them among what he called Newgate calendar literature. In *Fraser's* he thus speaks of that novel: "The power of the writer is so amazing that the reader at once becomes his captive and must follow him whithersoever he leads—and to what are we led? Breathless to watch all the crimes of 'Fagin,' tenderly to deplore the errors of 'Nancy,' to have for 'Bill Sykes'

a kind of admiration and pity, and an absolute love for the society of the 'Dodger.' . . . A most agreeable set of rascals, indeed, who have their virtues, too—but not good company for any man. We had better pass them by in decent silence, for as no writer can or dare tell the whole truth concerning them and faithfully explain their vices, there is no need to give *ex parte* statements of their virtues." It is evident that the mind of Thackeray, wide as was its grasp, had not the capacity to foreshadow a possible Zola as one of the products of the century, or that, having "dared" to do such work as his, there should be found not only publishers but admiring readers of it, and more monstrous still that a woman should be the translator by whose means the hideous evil should obtain a yet wider scope.<sup>1</sup>

The terrible story of *Catharine* was written as a check upon such a class of romance as represented vice in false colors by showing its sunny side, so to speak, and it is certainly a powerful plea against the sentimentalism which sometimes runs riot among us, when murderers' cells are turned into bowers of beauty by floral offerings of enthusiastic sympathizers, and hysterical professions of religious conversion held up for the edification of the uninteresting or respectable portion of the community. "As tender a hand to the poor, as kindly a word to the unhappy as you will, but in the name of common-sense, let us not expend our sympathies on cutthroats and other such prodigies of evil."

It is needless to say that the attack upon Thackeray, which has been described, was supplemented by others which he did not deign to notice. Occasionally, however, something more pretentious or ridiculous than the average would arouse either his wrath or his sense of humor to the extent of calling forth a reply. One of these was a critique in the *Times*, brought out by his Christmas book, *The Knickerburys on the Rhine*, in which the writer aimed to be strongly sarcastic, and succeeded in being weakly impertinent. The amusement it afforded Thackeray was only equalled by the relish with which the public received his answer, in the shape of the preface to a second edition published immediately after, entitled *An Essay on Thunder and Small Beer*. The satire with which Jupiter Jeames was described as trying to "dazzle and roar like his awful employer," was such as only Thackeray could use, and all London laughed at the result of the unequal contest. But an animus to the prejudice of every after work of Thackeray was thenceforward noticeable in the great journal; and it was remarked as a significant fact, that the *Times* alone, of all the dailies, on the

<sup>1</sup> A few years ago we were informed by the late Mr. John T. Crow, then managing editor of "The Sun," of Baltimore, that a woman of that city, calling herself "John Stirling," is the translator of Zola's works.

occasion of his death, had no special article on the mournful theme.

The *Paris Sketch Book*, Thackeray's first independent publication, appeared in 1840, and *The Great Hoggarty Diamond*, in *Fraser's*, came out soon after. The latter called forth a letter from John Sterling, as given in his *Life* by Carlyle, which is doubly valuable as a tribute and a prophecy. "What is there better in Fielding or Goldsmith? The man is a true genius, and with quiet and comfort might produce masterpieces that would last as long as any we have, and delight millions of unborn readers. There is more truth and nature in one of these papers than in all —'s novels together." The biographer adds: "Thackeray, always a close friend of the Sterling house, will observe that this is dated 1841, not 1851, and have his own reflections on the matter."<sup>1</sup> Close upon these came *The Confessions of Fitz-Boodle*, followed by a series of short stories,—*Men's Wives*, *Raven Wing*, *Mr. and Mrs. Frank Berry*, while numerous sketches were appearing in other magazines less prominent than *Fraser's*, and at the same time the author was assistant editor of *The Examiner*.

The *Memoirs of Barry Lyndon*, already mentioned, was the strongest of his efforts at this period. So entirely sustained indeed is the realism of this wonderful creation that, like the acting of a Macready or a Booth, it requires an effort of the will to shake off the illusion. It seems singular that this work alone should not have sufficed to make the author famous, so great is it in every element of skill and strength; but while it did much to secure the position already achieved, the work which was to place him "first among the first" of English novelists was yet to come. He was fully entered upon the career of a man of letters, having suffered the loss of a large part of his patrimony in a journalistic enterprise, which also seriously involved his stepfather. The dilettante habits of early life were of necessity laid aside, and it behooved him to set himself steadily to work—the more that he had married in 1837. But the pathetic story of his weary struggles with which romancing correspondents used to entertain us some thirty years ago, had no foundation in fact. In his visit to America, in 1852, such tales both amused and annoyed him, and he thought it worth while to contradict them by the jesting assertion, more than once repeated, that he had never been without a good dinner and the means to pay for it.

His domestic life seems to have been singularly happy until the shadow fell which darkened all after years, and made him "a widower to the end of his days." Of one child, who died in infancy, he could never speak without emotion, and his love for those

<sup>1</sup> Carlyle's "Life of Sterling," p. 287.

who grew up to womanhood is too well known to need mention. An adopted daughter was added to his household at the death of her father, an old friend of Thackeray, and was in all respects as his own child until her marriage to an officer in India, whither she accompanied her husband and where she died. When his mother was widowed for the second time, she also became a member of the little circle, honored, beloved, and happy in the fame of her gifted son and in the companionship of his children, until the sorrowful day when he was taken from them, and England and the world mourned with them.

There is a curious parallel in the history of *Vanity Fair* and *The Pickwick Papers* as to the chances upon which hung their success or failure. It is said of the latter that so little impression had been made upon the public mind by the earlier numbers that the publishers were seriously contemplating the withdrawal of the series, when suddenly the appearance of Mr. Samuel Weller upon the scene turned the tide and secured for the brilliant young author the hearing which was all he sought, or needed. In the case of *Vanity Fair*, a still more adverse fate seemed appointed. The first chapters were submitted to the editor of the *New Monthly Magazine*, under the title of "Pencil Sketches of English Society," but were declined, with the kindly-expressed regrets and compliments which do so little to take the sting out of such refusals. Had Thackeray been weighed down by the broken-hearted sense of incapacity which Mr. Trollope has attributed to him, here would have seemed a fitting occasion for its manifestation, but quite the contrary result ensued. The instinct of genius made him conscious of the value of the rejected papers, and he determined to submit them to a wider jurisdiction, bringing them out in monthly parts, whose yellow covers soon became as well-known as the long-familiar green wrappers of Dickens's stories. Coldly received by the critics at first, the wonderful power of the book soon became evident to the best minds of the day, and so, at last, his place in literature was won. During its publication he began to have that court paid him which eminent literary service is wont to command, and for the first time the reputation he had achieved in *Fraser's* and in *Punch* was practically recognized beyond the clubs and the literary circles of London. People of rank and fashion sought him out, and he became known as Tennyson, and Dickens, and Landseer, and Macaulay were known. But there was something more than fame and position for himself to be thought of,—the future of his children, than which no stronger motive could be conceived by a nature like his. This it was which led him to seek public place, and brought upon him the disapproval of many, who thought it derogatory to his greatness as a literary man that

he should desire other distinction. But it must be remembered that he was perhaps among the last to find out how deep and strong was his slowly-won hold upon the world of letters, and literature at best is not the most lucrative of professions. He seems to have always expected, or at least accepted as a matter of course, the disappointments which paved the way to his success; and it was a common thing for him to say at a dinner-party, or even more publicly, "They don't read my book," or "They are getting tired of my novels." On one occasion he said to a gentleman in a large company, "So you don't mean to publish my book?" There was not the slightest affectation in such openness, it was simply a recognition of facts as they were, and he saw no reason for concealing what all present had the means of knowing, whether they actually did know of them or not. It will readily appear, then, that such a man would be apt to look forward to a diminution of popularity, and consequently of fortune, rather than to the reverse, and while he certainly did not undervalue his calling, he was not especially sanguine as to his own pecuniary prospects therein. Had he possessed the calm assurance of continued success which characterized Charles Dickens, he would probably never have thought of joining the English legation at Washington, or of entering the civil service at home, or of standing for Parliament. He would have felt, like his brilliant contemporary just named, that to be himself was to be something far higher and greater than any title or any place that could be bestowed upon him. He was not so constituted, however, and it is in nowise derogatory to him to say that, had the offer of elevation to a title which Dickens received been made to Thackeray, he would not, like Dickens, have declined it. A letter of his own puts the matter beyond question. "I don't see why men of letters should not very cheerfully coincide with Mr. — in accepting all the honors, places, and prizes which they can get. The amount of such as will be awarded to them will not, we may be pretty sure, impoverish the country much; and if it is the custom of the state to reward by money, or titles of honor, or stars and garters of any sort, individuals who do the country service, . . . there can be no reason why men of letters should not have the chance as well as men of the robe or the sword; . . . nor surely need the literary man be more squeamish about pensions and ribbons and titles than the ambassador, general or judge."<sup>1</sup>

With the feeling that his own term of life might not be very long, Thackeray set himself then to the task of replacing the fortune lost to him in early manhood, and one marvels at the steadfastness of purpose carried out to the end, in view of that ill-health

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<sup>1</sup> Trollope's "Thackeray," p. 37.

which his great self-control kept so successfully out of sight; for with all his native frankness, he was very reticent in matters purely personal. There was in fact scarcely a trace of egotism, strictly speaking, in his nature, and while he never hesitated to give his opinions upon any subject, and was singularly, almost excessively, candid in expressing himself, yet there was a limit beyond which no one passed,—a sacred reserve never broken, even in the closest intimacy of friendship, as to his inner life. It used to be said of him that he was not a man of much feeling, since he carried his burden with so cheery an air, but the world knows better now, and honors the manly courage which covered his wounds, bearing them silently and alone.

After the great success of *Vanity Fair*, *Pendennis* came out, and met with cordial reception, and it soon became known that Thackeray was to appear as a lecturer. He seems to have made the venture without any very glowing anticipations, but simply as a matter of duty. The "Humorists of the Eighteenth Century" formed his theme, and Willis's Rooms in London where they were delivered, were crowded with persons of the best type, who came not to learn anything new of the men treated of, but to hear the acknowledged leader of English humorists of their own day give his views of those worthies whose mantle might be said to have fallen upon himself. As was to be expected, they were found well worth hearing, and became at once an event in the literary circles of the metropolis.

In Edinburgh he was especially honored, and it was said that no lecturer of the time, not even Carlyle, ever aroused such enthusiasm there as did Thackeray. Quiet and undemonstrative, using no gestures, and depending rather on the thing to be said than on the manner of saying it, there was that of earnestness and sincerity about him which won upon the downright character of his Northern hearers to an extent greatly surprising and gratifying to him, and his popularity was unbounded. At a subsequent period he was approached in regard to his willingness to stand for election to Parliament from Auld Reekie, and though he would have been more than glad to have accepted the honor intended for him, he felt obliged to let them know that he was in favor of providing innocent amusements for the people on Sunday, a fact which he was aware would at once end the matter. But only thus could his essential truthfulness and honesty be satisfied, and the result brought him neither regret nor resentment.

Of his journeys to America, in 1852 and 1855, and his lectures in the larger Eastern cities, it is needless to speak at length. Everywhere he won friends and admirers, and if for a time some of us, fearing a repetition of the Dickens episode, held aloof from

any marked expression of welcome, lest the satirist, distinctively so called, should in return deal more harshly with our national foibles than even Boz, the ideal of good-fellowship, had done; yet the unpretending simplicity of the man soon conquered such reserve, and he was treated everywhere with honor and respect, although without the overwhelming demonstrations whereof his genial brother in letters complained with such ostentation of fatigue. So great was the influence of the lectures, that booksellers declared themselves unable to fill the demand for Queen Anne literature; and Swift, Addison, Steele, and Sterne, Pope, Prior, Gay, and Goldsmith became the themes of the day, as familiarly discussed as Scott and Byron, or Bulwer, Dickens, and Thackeray. A special beauty of the lecturer's method was a sort of unstudied modulation of the voice, and it is remembered by many who used to hear him, that his reading of those wonderful lines of Addison,—

“Soon as the evening shades prevail,”

was one of the few absolutely perfect renderings to be heard in a lifetime.

But the value of his lectures lies more in what is essentially his own, that tender touch which brings out the highest and best of the men he speaks of. Can one forget that sketch of the old mother whom Pope loved better than fame or honors, to whom he turned in the hour of his greatest triumphs for a sympathy dearer than triumph? There is something indescribable in the effect with which, after picturing the struggle, “the fever of victory, genius, and hope, and anger,” through which the brilliant, bitter, relentless, and undaunted poet fought his way to fame, the lecturer suddenly turns to that other figure, the fond mother, “as she sits in the quiet cottage at home,” and writes, “I send you my daily prayers and I bless you, my deare.” It has been thought by some that Thackeray has rather overrated the genius of Pope, so earnest is his admiration, so strongly does he dwell upon the immense mental force which subdued difficulties seemingly insurmountable; yet when he has told all there is to tell, ennobled as is the story by his own eloquence, he bids us, in forming our estimate of Pope's character, “always take into account that constant tenderness and fidelity of affection which pervaded and sanctified his life, and never forget that maternal benediction.” So does he always pay homage to that which is true, and sweet, and sacred in our nature, this great-souled satirist, this gentlest of cynics, whom the world is learning now, at length, to understand.

How generous he was in his praise—not alone of the dead, but of the living. A single sentence of his about his favorites in literature is worth a volume of common eulogy. He was always ready

to acknowledge the claims of his contemporaries, too, and on numberless occasions he found opportunity for words of manly commendation of writers in this country as well as in his own.

Thackeray returned to England a much richer man for his American ventures, and with enhanced reputation as a lecturer. The pleasant house in Kensington Gardens, which became the family residence, purchased and remodelled after plans of his own, was among the substantial fruits of his success, and all pressing anxiety as to his children's future was ended. A friend, noticing the pains bestowed on the new home, quoted the line of Horace:

"Sepulchri  
Immemor struis domos,"<sup>1</sup>

when Thackeray, in a matter of fact way, replied that he was, on the contrary, *memor sepulchri*, since, in the event of his death, the house would always rent for so much a year.

His first attempt at delivering his lectures to the youth of Oxford gave rise to an amusing episode which he used to relate with great relish. It was, of course, necessary to obtain leave from the authorities as a matter of form, which would have required but the slightest intimation of Thackeray's wish, had the application been made to the Chancellor, the Duke of Wellington, who was an admirer of the then famous author. But the dignitary to whom the request was made knew nothing of such trivial matters as novels and novelists. The lecturer presented himself in due form, and the following colloquy ensued: "Pray, what can I do for you, sir?" in the blandest of tones. "My name is Thackeray." "So I see by this card." "I seek permission to lecture within the precincts." "Ah! you are a lecturer; what subjects do you undertake—religious or political?" "Neither; I am a literary man." "Have you written anything?" "Yes; I am the author of *Vanity Fair*." "I presume a Dissenter. Has that anything to do with John Bunyan's book?" "Not exactly; I have also written *Pendennis*." "Never heard of those works, but no doubt they are proper books." "I have also contributed to *Punch*." "I have heard of that; is it not a ribald publication?"

One can almost catch the gleam of fun behind those familiar spectacles as the narrator recalled the scene. Thackeray's admiration and esteem for Charlotte Brontë is associated with these lectures in an especial manner from the fact that, on the occasion of the second of the series, "Congreve and Addison," delivered at Willis's Rooms when its gilded splendors were graced by the presence of "the cream of London society," as she expresses it, he singled her out of the brilliant throng, and asked her opinion of

<sup>1</sup> "Od.," ii. 18.



his essay with that naïveté which was never subdued into strictly conventional bounds.<sup>1</sup> He always paid her marked attention when possible, and held the highest appreciation of her genius. On the other hand, Miss Bronte was among the first to acknowledge the greatness of Thackeray, and the second edition of *Jane Eyre* had been dedicated to him, long before she ever saw him, "as the social regenerator of his day, as the very master of the working corps who would restore to rectitude the warped state of things."

We have said that Thackeray has never written but with a distinctly moral purpose, warning against evil as a thing hideous in itself; inculcating goodness, purity, and truth by inference, by contrast, or by direct teaching. But it has been charged that, in one instance, at least, he deviated from this rule. His account of Fielding has been declared mischievous in its influence, from the light way in which the character, the follies, and vices of that author are treated. Among those who felt most strongly upon this point was Miss Bronte. She took the ground, in common with many others then and now, that it must harm the morals of the young, as painting in colors far too alluring courses which, in their very nature, must lead to sin, disgrace, and ruin, and both in her correspondence and in her talk she protested against its influence with intense earnestness. But, with her own sad experience in life, no other view was possible. With all her wonderful intellectual gifts, she was a person of strong prejudice and self-opinion, measuring everything by the narrow standard of individual judgment, and constitutionally incapable of that broad toleration of human frailty which made Thackeray as utterly fearless of misconstruction in his portrayal of Fielding and Steele as of "Becky Sharp" or "Blanche Amory." The miserable fate of Miss Bronte's only brother made the question too painful and personal for an unbiassed estimate, as her narrow and secluded training rendered her intolerant towards certain forms of religious belief opposed to her own.<sup>2</sup>

It is well known that Thackeray was a candidate for the representation of Oxford in Parliament, and his conduct throughout the whole affair was so characteristic as to deserve at least passing mention. His exercise of "personal influence" upon the voters consisted in the simple inquiry as to whether the person approached had or had not promised to support the other side. In case of an

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<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Gaskell's "Life of Charlotte Bronte," vol. ii., p. 175.

<sup>2</sup> Mrs. Gaskell's "Life of Charlotte Bronte," vol. ii., p. 179. In an admirable paper—"The Anti-Catholic Spirit of Certain Writers"—which appeared in the "Catholic World" for February last, Mr. Eugene L. Didier has directed attention to the inexcusable bitterness against everything Catholic shown by a number of literary lights.

affirmative answer, he would say: "Sir, keep your word; here is my hand on it; let us part good friends," with an unaffected heartiness that made him almost as many friends among his opponents as among his adherents. Of the other candidate, Mr. Cardwell, he spoke in the kindest terms, using no trick or artifice on his own behalf, and stating in a simple, straightforward way his views on the Liberal side and his grounds for believing that the country would be better and more truly represented by an admixture of the middle-class element than by the continuance of an exclusively aristocratic control. When he was defeated it was a matter of surprise that the majority against him was so small, and, in fact, it seems likely that the increased popularity gained for him by the better knowledge of his character on the occasion more than compensated for the natural disappointment to him. His English love of fair play was illustrated by an incident occurring on the day which made known the result of the election. A party wearing his colors were passing along the street in view of a window at which Thackeray was standing with some friends. From the other direction they were met by a smaller group of the successful voters, and, as a natural result, a scuffle began in which the superior number seemed to be getting the better, when, to the amazement of the lookers-on, Thackeray, with one of his hasty expletives, dashed out of the room, down the stairs, and, the next moment, was seen collaring one of his own partisans, striking right and left, his tall stature giving him ample scope, until he actually turned the tables in favor of the other side, and came back in perfect good-humor and satisfaction, no serious harm having been done to anybody.

Thackeray's Liberalism was not the outgrowth of any special combination of circumstances. He had all his life a leaning towards such opinions, as is evident from his youthful views on French political questions, and his unreserved and enthusiastic admiration of Washington's cause and career, no less than in the character of the journal which he had attempted to make the medium of his influence upon English thought, and of whose failure he wrote that it made him understand how the gentleman felt who found himself following his own funeral. A wide toleration of the feelings and opinions of others, while reserving with firmness his right to think as he pleased, was a strong element in the power which he finally attained as a man and a writer. In mind, as in body, he was cast in a large mould, possessing some of the traits of both the countries in which his character was formed. To the sterling honesty and straightforwardness of an Englishman he joined the delicacy of insight and smoothness of expression characteristic of his neighbor across the Channel, and a great deal that is admirable in his style has an unmistakable Gallic flavor. The rapier-like

flash with which he is wont to impale the objects of his scorn, no less than the sparkling grace of his lighter vein, is strongly suggestive of a writer trained in the use of *la belle langue*, even without the further proof of his almost unconscious adoption of French words. In the use of what is termed broken English he is unsurpassed, and there is nothing more amusing in this particular than the eager incoherency of "Monsieur de Florac," nor more gracious and winning than the sweet blunders of his gentle mother. Perhaps no lovelier image is reflected in Thackeray's works than that of this exquisite character, although she fills but a small space upon his canvas. Her faithful remembrance of her early lover, lost to her in the first days of their happiness, her patient submission, her spotless purity, her childlike faith and goodness, the tender sorrow with which she mourns the death of "Thomas Newcome," after long years in which they have grown old apart, and the sacred earnestness of her prayers for his departed soul are beyond description. But, aside from its touching beauty, this delineation serves to illustrate a point in regard to Thackeray which has been rarely or never commented upon,—his respectful attitude towards the Catholic Church. While other writers—less great than he, perhaps, yet great in certain lines of thought—have used invective, scoff, and scorn against her where they did not purposely ignore her altogether, he has not, so far as we know, in a single instance so demeaned his high powers. In the character of "Father Holt," the Jesuit priest, in *Esmond*, there are numberless touches of genuine admiration, and it is to be noted that no other tone is used in the book, where the author speaks in his own person.

*The Newcomes*, full of satire from first to last, has yet no shaft to wound any sincerely Christian heart. The bad people in it are not even Catholics in name, and surely, in a work which deals so much with Rome, there would seem to be ample opportunity for any lurking animosity to the Church to show itself. Far from such a spirit is a letter from "Clive Newcome" to his father, which embodies, perhaps, as much of Thackeray's real feelings towards the Faith as could be put into words, and which seems to us the fittest possible close to a sketch which aims to present, at the least, a truthful picture of one of the grandest of intellects, as well as one of the noblest of human souls:

"There must be moments, in Rome, especially, when every man of friendly heart who writes himself English and Protestant, must feel a pang at thinking that he and his countrymen are insulated from European Christendom. An ocean separates us. From one shore or the other one can see the neighbor cliffs on clear days; one must wish sometimes that there were no stormy gulf between us, and from Canterbury to Rome a pilgrim could pass and not

drown beyond Dover. Of the beautiful parts of the great Mother Church I believe among us many people have no idea. We think of lazy friars; of pining, cloistered virgins; of ignorant peasants, worshipping wood and stones; bought and sold indulgences; absolutions; and the like commonplaces of Protestant satire. Lo! yonder inscription which blazes round the dome of the temple! so great and glorious, it looks like heaven almost, and as if the words were written in stars; it proclaims to all the world that this is Peter, and on this rock the Church shall be built against which Hell shall not prevail."<sup>1</sup>

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## THE CHURCH IN SPAIN.

1. *El Concordato de 1851, anotado con las leyes, decretos y disposiciones que se han publicado en su aclaracion*, por D. Antonio Elias de Molins. Madrid, 1882.
2. *Manual de Derecho Administrativo civil y penal de España y Ultramar para uso del Clero Parroquial*, . . . 3 tomos, by the same author.
3. *Histoire Politique de l'Espagne moderne*, par M. de Marliani, Sénateur, etc. 2 vols. Brussels, 1842.

### I.

TRAVELLERS in the ancient Catholic lands of Continental Europe who look beneath the surface of things, examining carefully the social and material conditions of the people, and comparing conscientiously the present with the past, will soon discover how much the Church has had to do with developing and fostering the admirable qualities of the respective populations, and how exclusively the backwardness, the unrest, and the lawlessness so generally prevailing are to be traced to misgovernment and the revolutions begotten by it. Speaking of France, of Italy, and of Spain in particular, prejudiced or superficial observers are constantly heard to say: "The Church has had the exclusive training of these peoples for upwards of fifteen hundred years, and see what she has made of them!"

After seven years spent, at various intervals, in France, and three years just given to leisurely travel and serious study in the Italian

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<sup>1</sup> "The Newcomes," chap. xxxv.

and Spanish peninsulas, the writer of this article has found no cause to blush for the Church's husbandry in any of these countries: the fruits of her culture, in spite of all the manifold and destructive agencies that have marred her work, are apparent in the noble institutions which still fill the land, in the intellectual qualities, the gentle lives, and the striking virtues of the people. When it is assumed that in any one of the three great countries mentioned, the Church ever had the free and untrammelled control either of the social institutions, or of the intellectual and moral training of the nation, the assumption, when calmly considered in the light of history, is found to be inconsistent with the facts. There never has been a single century, nor half a century, in the life of any one of these nations when Religion has been allowed to exercise, even within her own legitimate sphere, an undisputed sway over men's minds and actions, not to speak of the wider sphere where the statesman and the politician are supreme.

Not even within the small territory known as the States of the Church, was the Pontifical Government, in its palmiest days, permitted to mould its own subjects to the best purposes of Christian civilization during the reign of two successive Popes. Take any one of them, from the days of St. Gregory the Great, be it St. Leo I., or Gregory VII., or Innocent III., or Sixtus V., or the Ninth Pius, and on looking into the acts and events of each pontificate, it will be found that in each the very existence of the Church seemed in peril. Age after age it was one long and fierce battle for life, in which Religion had to confront domestic foes, allied with all the political power and worldly passions of European sovereigns and statesmen.

In Spain, looking back to the age when St. Leander, with his illustrious brothers, St. Isidore and St. Fulgentius, sustained so deadly a conflict with Arianism led by Leovigild the Great, I do not find a single century, a single reign, during which the Church had not to struggle either with the victorious Mohammedan, or the pagan pride and grasping greed of Gothic feudalism, or the selfish ambition, the insatiable avarice, and the unscrupulous despotism of the many dynasties who reigned simultaneously over the kingdoms of the peninsula, or swayed the united sceptres of Ferdinand and Isabella.

The Concordat of 1851, like those of 1737 and 1753, is only a hard, bad bargain, wrung by a revolutionary government from the Holy See. The Spanish Concordats of 1737 and 1851 imposed on the Head of the Church conditions which were only accepted as a grievous necessity by the latter, in order to close a long series of oppressive acts, and to ward off the danger of a formal schism. We shall presently look into these transactions and point out the

scant measure of religious liberty they guarantee to the Spanish Church. But neither this, nor, indeed, the calamities which have befallen Spanish Catholics within the last hundred years, nor the worse calamities with which the near future is pregnant, can be understood by Americans unless they lay aside certain false notions about the Spanish monarchy. Most of us have been brought up in the conviction that the Kings of Spain, from the reign of Isabella the Catholic to our own days, were the most devoted subjects of the Holy See, the most watchful protectors of Catholic interests within their vast dominions, the very ideal of Catholic sovereigns, in one word, just as the nation they governed is still held up to us as the model Catholic nation. A very cursory study of authentic Spanish history suffices to dispel such fond illusions.

There is nothing like looking facts in the face. Religion, to maintain her hold on our faith and reverence, needs only to be known in the clear light of truth. We shall hope all the more confidently for the future of Catholicity in Spain when we see what a curse to religion was the government of such despots as Charles V., Philip II., Philip III., and the other members of the Austrian dynasty, and how greater still was the evil inflicted on Spain and on religion by the Bourbon dynasty, beginning with Philip V. and continued down to the second Isabella.

The greatest misfortune that ever befell the land of St. Ferdinand was the discovery of America; and this was closely followed by the accession of the Austrian dynasty,—the ruinous reign of Charles V., which impoverished Spain to maintain the imperial supremacy, despoiled the Church, and gave the first fatal blow to the communal and provincial liberties, the only safeguard of religion and the people. For the first time since St. Leander and his glorious brother, St. Isidore, instituted the Spanish Cortes, the authority of this august assembly—the revered source of Spanish law and the protector of the religion and liberty of Spaniards—was openly contemned by the grandson of Isabella the Catholic, while a junta of foreigners, like Charles himself, natives of the Low Countries, was intrusted with the government of Spain and the management of her finances.

Just as we see the France of 1883 satisfying the national craving for military glory by insane projects of colonization and conquest on the remotest shores of Africa and Asia, while the last remnants of religious liberty and judicial independence are being destroyed at home, even so the Spain of 1517 was dazzled by the discoveries of Vasco Nuñez Balboa, followed in quick succession by the military expeditions of Cortez and Pizarro. Her noblest and bravest soldiers were drawn away from their own fertile and

neglected domains to desolate France and the Netherlands, to wage a bootless and inglorious war in Germany, to waste again and again the fairest tracts and most flourishing cities of Upper and Central Italy, and to disgrace the very name of Spaniards and Catholics by attacking the Pope in the City of the Holy Apostles, and there committing, during many long months, horrors and excesses which would have shamed the hordes of Attila and Alaric. And all these inhuman and sacrilegious Italian wars were undertaken or continued to enable the *Condottieri* in the imperial service to pay themselves by plundering the Italians and sacking Rome!

The present prostration of all industry, agriculture, and commerce in Spain; the incredible exhaustion of its financial resources, which, at this very moment, compels the King to recall the former Minister of Finance, Señor Camacho, and to allow him to carry out his baneful project of alienating all the forests and waste lands of the state, together with what remains unsold of the confiscated property of the Religious Orders, can only be understood and accounted for by remembering the wide and deep gulf of ruinous expenditure first opened by the wars of Charles V., widened and deepened still more by the mad enterprises of Philip II., and rendered hopelessly impassable by Philip III.

Into this flowed, never to return, all the wealth of the Indies, all the taxes wrung year after year for centuries from the greatly diminished and still more greatly impoverished agricultural populations of Spain, as well as the oppressive contributions exacted from all churchmen who could be forced to yield a single maravedi.

Let us hear on this point an author bitterly hostile to the Church, though a Spaniard, and probably professing to be a Catholic: "Disorder in the administration, the wasteful extravagance of the court, war, arbitrary rule as blind as it was violent, and the contempt of all law, such were the causes of the exhaustion felt by the country. In 1520 taxation of every kind was so enormous that the municipalities declared that the taxes were quite sufficient to meet the demands of the crown without having recourse to fresh imposts, and without, as they expressed it, 'burdening the king's conscience.' . . . The Catholic kings (Ferdinand and Isabella) spent twelve thousand maravedis daily; Charles V. spent one hundred and fifty thousand.

"The usual contributions proved inadequate to these expenses, and the Cortes opposed an insuperable obstacle to fresh exactions,—they would only vote subsidies when the grievances they complained of had been remedied. . . . Charles V. thereupon obtained from the Pope permission to create imposts and taxes on ecclesiasti-

cal property. Among the concessions wrung from the Holy See was the tax levied through the Bull of the Cruzada; besides that, commerce and industry were laid under fearful burdens. In 1526, Charles V. scrupled not to alienate his wife's dowry to support the war; in 1527, his army, being without pay, set out for Rome in order to force from the Pope what it could not get from the Emperor. In 1529, Charles, finding himself too poor to go to Italy, sells to Portugal the right of Spain over the Moluccas. He sold for 150,000 ducats to Cosmo de' Medici the strongholds of Florence and Leghorn. He was even on the point of selling to the Farnese family the states of Milan and Siena. When all these moneys were expended, he had recourse to foreign loans, the extremity of his need compelling him to pay 10, 20, and 30 per cent. interest. Is not this the Spain of our own days? Then, as now, all the revenues of the State were swallowed up in advance.

"In 1550 Charles V. had alienated nearly every source of public revenue: those of Castile for 800,000 ducats, that kingdom only yielding 920,000; those of Naples and Sicily for 700,000; . . . those of Milan, amounting to 400,000 ducats, were alienated to their full extent, as well as the greater portion of those of Flanders. In all this were not comprised the gold and silver produced by America, the amount of which has been so variously estimated, but which, in any case, must have been very great.

"These usurious contracts were ruining the nation. Nevertheless, what they yielded proving to be insufficient, the Emperor solicited new money loans, but nobody accepted such proposals without receiving in advance the most substantial securities. Thus it was that the foreign money-lenders, the only persons willing to give him money, acquired exclusive privileges which killed all home industry and commerce. Thus did foreigners obtain from Charles V. the monopoly of all the export and import trade of Spain, both of these being by law forbidden to Spaniards. Thereby the domestic trade of Spain, as well as that with India and America, passed almost entirely into the hands of foreigners. All remonstrance on this subject was of no avail; the ever increasing needs of the imperial exchequer compelled the sovereign to shut his ears to the just complaints of his subjects."

Thus began the domination of the House of Hapsburg in the Iberian peninsula. Were things any better under Philip II., the

<sup>1</sup> The Bull of the Cruzada mentioned in this extract was obtained as a privilege for the Spanish race in both hemispheres. It authorizes the Spaniard to eat meat on the days when the Church prescribes abstinence. In Spain the bull is published annually, and recounts the long, heroic struggle of the nation against Mohammedanism—the long crusade of seven hundred years against Arab and Moor. This is the ground on which the privilege rests. The alms given yearly by each individual for a copy of the bull is claimed by the royal exchequer. Marliani, i., pp. 43, 44.



son and successor of the Emperor Charles? We are so accustomed to hear this prince lauded to the skies as the great champion of Catholicity against Elizabeth of England and the Protestants of the Continent, that to write anything to the contrary would seem, to the unlearned majority of Catholics, to savor of heterodoxy. It is time that the championship of Philip II. and the services by him rendered to the cause of the Church should be submitted to the judgment of impartial history.

Philip began by annihilating whatever remained of the free institutions of his country. So great was the need of money and so universal and unblushing had public venality become, that deputies to the wretched Cortes of that reign had to purchase the votes of their electors, a choice costing the candidate 14,000 ducats.<sup>1</sup> In order to provide some remedy for the national ruin and bankruptcy bequeathed by the preceding reign, the ministers of Philip II. proposed seriously to their master to legalize the system of *repartimientos*, by which the natives of the West Indies and America were divided into large land lots, and, with these, sold to the highest bidder. This inhuman proposition was rejected by Philip because it would create in the New World a feudal system more iniquitous and more oppressive than that of Europe, and more dangerous to the Crown. They next advised him to repudiate all the contracts entered into by his father with foreign or native bankers, under the plea that these had already been overpaid by the exorbitant interest exacted and by the fruitful monopolies so long enjoyed by the usurers. This, again, Philip rejected because he feared to close against himself, by such repudiation, all the money-markets of Europe. Finally, in 1556, they bethought them of coining a depreciated currency, and only discontinued the vile practice, forbidden by the Councils of the Church under pain of excommunication, because the rogues who carried on the work quarrelled about the profits.<sup>2</sup>

Then followed a series of unworthy and oppressive financial measures which one would regard as incredible were they not attested by contemporary writers, themselves eye-witnesses of the facts they related. Ruy Gomez de Silva was sent into the provinces of Castile with full powers to mortgage or sell everything on which money could be raised, and to obtain loans or grants by every possible expedient. Even the Princess Juana was compelled to surrender the greatest part of the revenues bestowed on her by the Cortes or inherited from her parents. The King of Portugal sent a large quantity of East Indian wares, which were disposed of to great advantage in Flanders. Philip himself demanded of the

<sup>1</sup> Marina : "Teoria de las Cortes," p. 27.

<sup>2</sup> Micheli : "Relazione d'Inghilterra," fol. 79.

Low Countries a loan of twenty-four tons weight of gold, and got it. Encouraged by this, he forthwith asked a further grant of 800,000 florins, and, under various pretexts, in a single year he extorted from these oppressed provinces the enormous sum of 5,000,000 of ducats.

Following the example of the foolish dame who killed the hen that laid the golden eggs, the ever-needy despot imposed a tax of one ducat on every sack of wool carried on Spanish bottoms to the Low Countries and two ducats on every sack exported to France and Italy. When the ships were not Spanish this export tax was doubled. The woollen manufactures of Spain, like that of silk and every other national industry, were already perishing beneath the load of taxation or sacrificed to the interests of foreign monopolies controlled by the King's creditors. The raising of wool for foreign exportation was one resource left to Spanish producers. This was now imperilled by the new taxation. The nation sent forth a cry of alarm, and the Cortes of 1558 remonstrated with the King. He answered that sheer necessity compelled him to this measure.

This, however, was only one among many similar administrative acts equally ruinous to the national prosperity. The King mortgaged or farmed out to the highest bidder the crown domains, hamlets, villages, towns, fiefs, jurisdictional privileges, commercial property of every description. When the same Cortes of 1558 reminded him of the oath he had taken and the obligation he had contracted to protect all vested rights against violence and abuse, Philip only replied by putting up for sale the commanderies of the military orders, titles of nobility, the offices of *regidor*, *alcalde*, and register, all of which, up to that time, had been bestowed gratuitously as a reward for great public services.

And, these means proving to be insufficient, Philip asked the Pope to be allowed to sell all the Church property from which the clergy derived their resources, promising to indemnify them at some future day. At length he was driven to the necessity of seizing the goods and money of all merchants and travellers arriving in Spain from the East or West Indies.

Philip II. pretended to be, like the ancient caliphs of Damascus and Cordova, *dueño de vida y hacienda*, "master of the life and property" of every subject. The men who acted as his agents and instruments in this reckless course of oppression played the tyrant, each in his own sphere, and appropriated to themselves a goodly share of the spoils thus collected. Thus only a portion of the public plunder found its way to the royal treasury and went to defray the expenses of Philip's interminable wars. Meanwhile unspeakable misery reigned among the Spanish populations.

Ranke tells us that from 1575 to 1578 they were reduced to despair by the intolerable burdens placed on them.

When Philip had taken from the people all that the tax-gatherer could obtain by force or terror, and stripped the Church of the possessions guaranteed by the nation and by the rightful ownership of centuries, he cast about for some device for compelling the aristocracy to give up a part of their wealth. Setting aside all the titles and letters-patent granted by former kings of Spain, he decreed that all noblemen, of whatever rank, should have their titles examined and renewed. The court established for this revision began its labors with some of the highest and most ancient families in the kingdom, whom it deprived of their right to collect tithes of the sea-fisheries near their domains. But the ancient feudal power of the nobles was not so weakened nor their spirit so broken by long servility, that they did not take alarm at this invasion of their rights and resent this infraction of their privileges. They had been insensible to the sufferings of the oppressed popular classes; they had rejoiced at seeing the clergy despoiled and impoverished. Now that the King's hand was extended to seize their coronets and challenge their titles, they banded together like one man, and royalty gave way before them.

Disappointed and irritated by the ill success of his scheme, Philip, whose pecuniary need was ever on the increase, had once more recourse to the familiar expedient of plundering the clergy and the communes. Pius IV., sorely against his will and to avoid greater evils, granted the King one-half of the entire Church revenues in his dominions, and this concession was soon followed by yearly subsidies for the support of the Spanish fleet, these subsidies to be drawn from the same source and to continue so long as the King needed them. To be sure, the fleets of Spain in the Mediterranean and along the northwest coast of Africa were presumed to be chiefly employed in watching the Mohammedan pirates. We know, however, that they were more frequently destined for a far different service.

Nevertheless the battle of Lepanto stands out, at this period, as the one mighty event which saved Europe and Christendom from the yoke of Islam. For Spain's principal share in this memorable victory the world is indebted to the eloquence and saintly influence of Francis of Borgia, who gave the last years of his life and the last efforts of his apostolic zeal toward organizing this crusade against the Turk, thereby consummating the work begun by St. Bernard of Clairvaux. Then it was that Pius V. renewed in favor of Philip the *escusado*, or concession in perpetuity, of the tenth of all ecclesiastical revenues, as well as the revenue arising from the sale of the bull of the *Cruzada*. These heavy burdens laid on

the clergy did not suffice ; and Gregory XIII., after a long negotiation, had to grant a further tax of 170,000 gold crowns annually on all church property.

Simultaneously with these exactions, and when the Church of Spain found it impossible to bear the load of taxation thus laid on its members and its possessions, the people were called upon to furnish the King with additional subsidies. The *alcabala* tax, so heavy before, was then raised ten per cent. The government monopolized the manufacture and the sale of playing-cards—a most profitable industry—for the passion for gambling increased among all classes in proportion to the progress of the public misery ; the extraction and sale of mercury also became a government monopoly ; enormous duties were imposed on all objects imported into Spain, and an additional tax was placed on every pound of wool taken out of the kingdom.

Again the Cortes protested against the crushing load thus placed on property-holders and producers. The King was courageously reminded that his conduct was in open violation of his coronation oath. What cared Philip ? His reply was to ask for contributions in kind, when it became impossible to obtain gold or silver. Every province throughout its length and breadth was ransacked for produce of every description. Andalusia was forced to furnish 2000 quintals of hard-baked bread ; Seville had to contribute 10,000 barrels of wine ; Galicia 6000 quintals of salt meat. Then came, in 1589, the oppressive impost, known as that of *millones*, which fell on the articles most necessary to the sustenance of the people in Spain,—wine, olive oil, and meat of all kinds. This impost yielded 8,000,000 ducats annually. At length, when clergy and people could give no more, reduced, as they were, to such extreme poverty as had never before been heard of ; when industry and commerce were prostrated under the load of taxation, Philip was, literally, forced to beg a subsidy from his nobles. They were the only class in the kingdom whom his long series of exactions had left untouched. They gave generously. It was only a drop of water thrown into the bottomless gulf.

"In 1595," says Marliani, quoting Gonzalves de Avila, biographer of Philip II., "a year thrice as fruitful as most of the preceding, 35,000,000 of crowns in gold and silver are landed at San Lucar (near Cadiz) ; in 1596 not a trace was to be found of all that money in Castile ; the difficulties of the royal treasury still subsisted in all their hideous nakedness. Then Philip wished his counsellors to inform him of the cause of this phenomenon, thereby showing himself to be as ignorant an administrator as he was a cruel despot. He deplores his abject poverty after all the money extorted by violence, and finds no remedy to it save in a new course of

spoliation. Taking up the project first set on foot in 1575, he decrees that the creditors of the state shall forfeit all their revenues, their rights, the property held by them in pledge, all the title-deeds intrusted to them; all these were to be restored to the government. This system of public robbery, adopted and legalized by a great sovereign, filled Spain and Europe with consternation. Everywhere the unfortunate men thus despoiled had recourse to bankruptcy. The remaining creditors demand the restitution of their capital. Philip replies by asking them for more money, and accepts loans on the most usurious conditions, pledging in advance all the revenues of the state, and spending the money loaned as soon as received. When he found himself once more penniless, and when the state could no longer claim as its own a single source of public revenue, . . . . when the cities of Spain refused to grant him a single contribution, because the produce of the soil and the other property revenues no longer sufficed to pay the taxes, the sovereign of the empire on which the sun never set, was forced to hold out his hand and beg." (Vol. i., pp. 57, 58.)

We are accounting here for the present impoverished condition of Spain, for the chronic lethargy in which are sunk, and sunk hopelessly, to all seeming, the once splendid industrial activities of the nation, the intelligent and successful commercial enterprise, the prosperity once so unrivalled and so envied. More than that, we are explaining the apparently inexplicable contradiction of a national Church despoiled, impoverished, and restricted in the use of her most sacred rights in a land where no rival faith exists; of a clergy reduced, in the immense majority of its members, to a state of poverty so degrading, that their lot is more pitiable than that of our hod-carriers; to a loss of influence so utter that the meanest can insult them with impunity. It is commonly thought that this sad state of things began with the French invasion under Napoleon I. But the "origin of contemporary Spain" is to be sought for as far back as the beginning of the sixteenth century. We have only pointed out to the intelligent reader where he has to seek for the causes which, century after century, and reign after reign, were at work to ruin and debase Spain, to despoil, fetter, and degrade religion.

And, while urging this consideration on the students of history, we are anxious to dispel from their minds a very serious error. They must have read a hundred times, at least, that up to the nineteenth century Spain was the most priest-ridden of countries, since there the Inquisition kept souls in subjection, and repressed by sheer terror free thought, free inquiry, and free speech on all matters touching on religion. We think we can promise American readers a true history of the Spanish Inquisition from the pen of

the illustrious Joaquin Guichot y Parody, whose *History of Seville* is just completed, and whose *History of Andalusia* has already won for him such distinction among his countrymen. Thoroughly conversant with the manuscript archives of Seville, he has been able to follow, step by step, the rise of the Inquisition in that city and its progress down to the days of the untrustworthy Llorente. As he affirms in the former of the two works published by him, and, as he repeatedly asserted in his conversations with the writer of these pages, "the Spanish Inquisition was purely and simply a political institution, a formidable *police organization* in the hands of the government." The pity was that religion ever was induced to take any share in its proceedings, or to give any countenance whatever to the designs of a government already become most arbitrary and greedy under Ferdinand of Aragon. His consort, the wise and good and gentle Isabella the Catholic, reluctantly yielded a half consent to its establishment. The Holy See more than once condemned its atrocious cruelties and wholesale confiscations. But the opportunity of confiscation, not the preservation of religious unity, was the motive of the avaricious and un pitying Ferdinand. The aristocracy and the wealthy mercantile classes were glad to find, in denunciation, an easy means of cancelling the debts contracted toward the hated Hebrew race, or of ridding themselves of successful rivals in business. This, and much more than this, will be made clear, when the annals of the Sacred Tribunal are given to the public without note or comment, ungarbled and unmutilated. Then every fair-minded man will be able to judge for himself of Llorente's merits or demerits as an historian. Then, also, men will see that churchmen, as well as laymen,—nay, the very highest dignitaries in the land,—were the victims of this watchful and all-pervading police organization, whose *detectives* penetrated everywhere, saw and heard everything, and respected neither place, nor rank, nor character.

The royal treasury profited too well by these confiscations, even under Ferdinand and Isabella, not to work so sure a mine of wealth under Charles V., Philip II., and their successors. Kings of Spain who could send an army of Lutheran mercenaries to sack Rome, desecrate and plunder her churches and monasteries, and imprison a Pope in his own palace, or who, like Philip V., could bring their kingdom to the very verge of schism, while pretending to be the upholders and defenders of Catholicity, were not likely to respect religious freedom at home, or to scruple to employ the Inquisition to stamp out among the clergy themselves every expression of opinion contrary to their own policy, every sentiment that did not conform to the government standard of political and religious orthodoxy.

In order to see the rapid progress of the national ruin under the third Philip, it is only necessary to quote the following passage from Marliani: "Under Philip III., America poured immense wealth into Spain. From 1608 to 1616 the sums thus received amounted yearly to ten or eleven millions of ducats. From 1620 to 1624 this yearly tribute ascended to fourteen millions. But all these were absorbed in advance by the extravagance of the court and the peculations of those in power. One might sum up the result of this reign in the picture drawn of it by the Council of Castile and the national Cortes. The former declared to the King: 'Our dwellings fall into ruin, and no one thinks of rebuilding them; our country folk forsake the land, the villages are deserted, the fields uncultivated, the churches empty.' The Cortes say, on their side: 'If these evils continue, we shall soon be without a peasantry to till the soil, without pilots to steer our ships; people will even cease to marry. Should this poverty continue, the kingdom must perish within another century.'" (Marliani, vol. i., p. 60.)

Forty years later, on November 25th, 1667, Spain, being at war with Portugal and the Netherlands, and the Council of State despairing of finding money anywhere for the public expenses, sent in a memoir to the Queen Regent, which is still preserved in the archives of Simancas. "Never," it is there said, "since the reign of Ferdinand the Catholic, was Spain so near its ruin, so exhausted, or so destitute of the means required to meet so great a danger. Wherefore, among the various expedients proposed for finding money, the Council advises Your Majesty to rise above every fear, and to apply to the need of the state one-half of the gold, other precious metals, and diamonds coming to Spanish ports on the galleons. It is the only speedy means to meet our present need and to ward off the danger which threatens the monarchy; the loss will fall on wealthy persons, who are for the most part foreigners, and not subject to Your Majesty. . . . In submitting this project, the Council of State does not forget what a detriment its execution would cause to commerce and to the credit of the state. For the persons to be injured by it contracted in the Indies, under the guarantee of our national honor, that their property should be safely sent to destination, and this engagement was confirmed by the King. Still, we are equally aware that men daily consent to the loss of an arm or a leg to save their lives; that, in a fire, people throw out of the windows, at the risk of ruining them, their most precious articles of furniture; and that, in a storm, a captain will not hesitate to cast overboard the richest cargo in order to keep his ship afloat. . . . Considering, moreover, that the extreme peril of our situation will not permit us to overlook

any means of obtaining money, the Council of State begs Your Majesty to examine, in your prudence, whether it would not be expedient to ask one thousand persons of all conditions, churchmen and laymen, to lend the Government, each of them one thousand ducats. Your ministers most familiar with the public business and most distinguished for disinterestedness, should draw up the first lists, and the persons named on these should, in turn, designate one thousand other citizens able to contribute each five hundred ducats." (*Ibid.*, pp. 63, 64.)

Down that steep incline the Spanish monarchy continued to descend, sometimes with a fearfully accelerated speed, sometimes with less velocity; but it descended slowly and surely, at the best of times, till the calamitous administration of Godoy invited the ambition of Napoleon. Utterly unprepared as was the Spanish nation to resist and repel the Corsican's veteran and victorious armies, we know what virtues were then displayed by all classes, and how glorious a share the Spanish clergy of every degree had in the long, heroic struggle against the invader.

The sacrileges, the spoliations, the robberies previously committed in Italy and all over Continental Europe by the inundating French armies were renewed with aggravating circumstances throughout the Iberian peninsula. The treasures of gold and silver and precious vestments carried away by the Imperial troops and their generals, as well as the priceless masterpieces of Spanish art, constituted, comparatively, a trifling loss. The irreparable loss was in the confiscation of ecclesiastical property and revenues, in the suppression of the Religious Orders; in the confusion caused in the time-honored relations between the Church and the Government, between the religious guides of the nation and all classes of their flocks. The Church of Spain, ever since the short-lived but disastrous Napoleonic domination, may most aptly be compared to the fertile and lovely regions around Verona desolated by the inundations of the last two years. The soil in this classic region of Northern Italy was naturally fruitful; as all travellers know, the intelligent husbandry of a most laborious and frugal people had increased its fertility to the utmost. It was, or seemed to be, a paradise of delight when the destroying waters were let loose upon it. The most deplorable result of this calamity was not that villages were swept away; that the fair hopes of the harvest were ruined; that the herds perished, and with them, in many instances, both the herdsman and the owner. What cannot be remedied by man's utmost industry, or by the exertions of any government, is the ruin of the soil itself. The land far and wide is covered with a bed of stones and gravel so thick that no labor can remove it. Nothing will ever grow there save weeds and brambles!



The property and revenues of the Spanish clergy, though sadly diminished and frequently alienated almost in their totality by the sovereigns of the Hapsburg and Bourbon dynasties, were still guaranteed by the Constitution, under the safeguard of laws which went back to the reign of the Visigoths. Most of this property had been won from Moor and Arab in the heroic struggles in which priest and prelate had been the leaders of the nation, the inspirers of the popular faith and enthusiasm. Napoleon swept all that away; and the grudging good-will of the best subsequent administrations has been as ineffectual in restoring a decent independence to the nineteen-twentieths of the Spanish clergy as have been the efforts of the Veronese country-folk to remove from the fields once waving with golden grain the ten, twenty, or thirty feet of gravel left there by the pitiless flood. Since Ferdinand VII. to Alfonso XII. the great mass of the Spanish priesthood have had to subsist on twenty-five cents a day, and that wretched pittance is not always regularly paid!

Men of the world who will read this statement, and take in at a glance all the hardship of the situation, will say at once that to reduce to such abject poverty any class in the community, is to degrade its members, to take away from them not only their independence and their manhood, but their own self-respect and the respect of their fellow-men. Besides, things among the Spanish clergy are far from being, in very many respects, what they are among their American brethren. The beneficed clergy—and they form quite a large minority—live in their families, their less favored assistants and inferiors being also compelled to live in theirs. Whatever may be the merit of the poor assistant, obliged to live on twenty-five cents a day, the sacredness of his ministrations and the honor and reverence due to his character cannot add much to the scanty fare which twenty-five cents may purchase for an entire household, or to the comforts indispensable to the lowliest and the poorest. How few, alas! are the comforts and how insufficient the fare in so many of these, need not to be told here. Thank God! our own parochial clergy are otherwise provided for: pastor and assistants reside under the same roof, and the household expenses are paid out of the common perquisites, the modest salary of either pastor or assistant going to supply his own personal wants, to meet his charities, to buy books, and purchase raiment. In many of our poor missions the resident clergy have a hard battle to fight with the necessities of their situation. But they can ever rely on the rich poverty of a generous-hearted people, who honor themselves in honoring the ministers of religion, and are willing to share with their guides and teachers the last dollar and the last loaf. And, then, it is no sneering officer of the state who

doles out here to God's priest what government deems sufficient to keep body and soul together.

We, here in the United States, do not and cannot conceive what it is for a priest to live in a country where the people have never been accustomed for generations to support their clergy, and to create out of their own resources what is necessary to the maintenance of religion,—the church edifice, the school, the hospital, and all the institutions of education and beneficence. Imagine how much, among rural populations like those of Galicia, for instance, the most devoted and generous tenant-farmer can give to his parish priest and his assistants in addition to the wretched government stipend. In Spain, every farmer, like all other producers, pays one third of the value of his crop to the tax-gatherer, one-third to the landlord, and of the remaining third a large percentage goes to the city or commune when the farm-produce is brought to market. How is it possible to live on the rest? you will ask. Ah, there is the rub! And, then again, where is the possibility of being generous to church or priest? And yet these poor creatures, who never eat meat twice a year, and who live on corn-bread and a wretched substitute for soup, never refuse to share their poor meal with a poorer neighbor, or to help the priest and his charities with donations as blessed as the widow's mite.

But degrading to religion and its ministers as must be this abject poverty, coupled with the servitude toward the state which the Spanish legislation and practice impose on the poor priest like a yoke of adamant, there is another result of the French invasion which is even more hurtful to religion. This is the ridicule and contempt cast on the Church and the priesthood by the Voltairian philosophy of the eighteenth century, and so widely and powerfully used by the irreligious press established under the French rule, and which, like the upas tree, planted in a favorable soil, soon waxed strong, and grew, and overshadowed the land, poisoning the atmosphere of public opinion. In our own happy country, where reverence for religion and respect for holy things and for the sincere convictions of others seem inborn in all classes of the people, and where men who do not profess to belong themselves to any denomination will, nevertheless, show a deferential regard to the opinions of their neighbors, we can form no idea of the hatred and contempt of all religion with which Voltairianism has leavened so many generations of the upper and middle classes in France, Italy, and Spain. When the united arms of Wellington and the insurgent Spaniards drove the Gallic invaders across the Pyrenees, and Spain was left alone to reconstruct her social institutions, this sneering Voltairianism was left behind to poison the minds and hearts of the nation. In Voltaire's native country

ridicule was the destroyer's most potent weapon. He made all who could read his witty and obscene blasphemies laugh unceasingly at what their fathers had adored and revered; and then came the day when, under the leadership of Voltairian *avocats*, the famishing French masses arose and made a hell of the kingdom of St. Louis. That the French episcopacy and priesthood were not deserving of the contempt lavished on them by the contemporary skepticism, their invincible fidelity to conscience and their unparalleled constancy in suffering have proved beyond dispute. Still the blood shed in torrents by the *avocats* assembled in convention and the horrors and sacrileges committed by the masses under their guidance, did not permit that they or their children after them should love religion or its ministers. It is the man who is wronged that will be the first to forgive the evil-doer and to extend to him a helpful hand in his need. The evil-doer seldom, if ever, forgives his victim, and his hatred of him and his will be commensurate with the greatness of the wrong done them.

In Spain the very seriousness and dignity of the national character, while allowing the ridicule cast on religion by Voltaire to have its natural influence on men's minds, superadded to the contempt thereby begotten, that hearty hatred of the priest which is, at the present day, a characteristic of the manhood of Spain. This renders the situation almost hopeless. Not even the extreme radical press of France or Italy is more bitterly hostile to Christianity than the liberal and irreligious journals of Spain. Even the most rabid of the Madrid "dailies" observe toward religion and its ministers certain forms of respect which are entirely cast aside by the provincial papers. The radical journals of Seville, for instance, rival in violence *La Riforma*, of Rome; and the miserable little *Concordia*, of Vigo, makes up in satanic malice for what it lacks in size and ability. Indeed, in the Peninsula, for one paper that is professedly religious or treats religion with deference, there are at least ten which hold up its doctrines, its institutions, its priesthood to the hatred and ridicule of their readers. This education given to Spaniards by the majority of the press is furthered by the teaching of the universities and other public schools, as well as by the energetic and widespread propaganda exercised by the Socialist and Anarchist societies.

Most well-informed non-Catholics consider the political relations of the Church in Spain toward the government and the nation to be those of a body most privileged and favored. Even to Catholics who read the letter of existing concordats, the position of the Spanish Church would seem to be one of exclusive privilege. Indeed, the last Concordat, that of 1851, is more explicit than any of the preceding on this point: "The Roman Catholic and Apos-

tolie religion, which, to the exclusion of every other form of worship, continues to be the sole religion of the Spanish nation, shall be always upheld in the dominions of Her Catholic Majesty, together with all the rights and prerogatives that belong to it according to the Divine Law and the sacred canons."

Such is the letter of Article I. of the Concordat concluded between Pius IX. and Isabella II. In conformity with this fundamental declaration, Article II. guarantees that "the teaching in the universities, colleges, seminaries, and all public and private schools shall be, in its totality, conformable to the doctrine of the same Catholic religion, and that, in furtherance of this purpose, no obstacles shall be opposed to bishops and other diocesan prelates bound by their functions to watch over the purity of doctrine, the morality of the scholars, and the religious training of youth whenever they fulfil this duty, even in the public schools."

But, like the concordats concluded with Philip V., in 1737, and with Ferdinand VI., in 1753, that signed by Isabella II. was only used by the government to rivet more firmly on the necks of the clergy the intolerable yoke imposed first by Charles V. and the other sovereigns of his dynasty, and made still heavier by Philip V. and the other Bourbon kings. The sole object of Philip, on ascending the Spanish throne, was to naturalize in the peninsula the autocracy in temporals and spirituals practiced by his grandfather, Louis XIV., in France.

If the Austrian dynasty had ruled the people and clergy of Spain with a rod of iron, Philip V. and the Bourbons scourged them with scorpions. The grandson and disciple of the man who was wont to say, *l'état c'est moi*, soon made the Court of Rome and the Spanish nation feel that he knew how to improve on his worthy ancestor's maxims and methods of political government and ecclesiastical administration. The Concordat of 1737 put an end, for the time being, to what was virtually a state of schism; but, by leaving the King free to nominate to all the episcopal sees and benefices of his kingdom, by allowing him to regulate according to his own will the revenues of all ecclesiastical property, the Pope prevented the consummation of a formal and final rupture. The universal *jus patronatus* claimed by the Spanish sovereigns and tacitly conceded to Philip V., was explicitly acknowledged by Benedict XIV. in the Concordat of 1753. It was a hopeless struggle, that maintained for ages by the Holy See against the absolutism and greed of princes bent on reducing the Church within their dominions to a state establishment solely dependent on themselves, and bent, as well, on considering all church property and revenues as a part of the public domain, of which the king was, by right, the original owner, *dueño de vida y hacienda*.

The liberty and property of the Spanish Church, in spite of the solemn stipulations of concordat after concordat, were more than ever at the mercy of the government during the century which elapsed from 1737 to 1837. The suppression of the Jesuits, the sequestration of their property, the arbitrary and cruel disposal of their liberty and their lives both within the Peninsula and within the vast colonial empire of Spain, afford an instance—unique in the history of Christian civilization—of the abject helplessness to which a long course of despotism had reduced a proud and once powerful nation. Alfonso the Learned, the son and successor of the great St. Ferdinand, says, in one of his laws, accepted as fundamental by the national Cortes: "The people should prevent the king's doing, of his own act, anything which may prove hurtful to the kingdom, and this opposition should consist first in counselling him to the contrary, and then in withstanding all who urge him to the wrong course. Thereby the people do what becometh good and faithful subjects, inasmuch as it would be acting the part of traitors to let the king persist in such evil courses as would draw on him contempt."

Such was the spirit of the ancient legislation—of the thirteenth century monarchy. No one of the constituted authorities or of the great bodies of the state ventured to resist or protest when Charles III., without deigning to consult the Holy See or to cover his tyrannical conduct with the veil of judicial forms, on the same day and at the same hour, in both hemispheres, seized the thousands of Jesuits in his dominions and disposed of them as absolutely as if they were his bond-slaves, solely dependent on his will for their freedom—their very existence.

The revolutionary governments that have successively ruled Spain within the last half-century have not shown themselves more careful of the rights of the subject or of the liberties of the Church than the despots of a hundred years ago. We know how the ministers of the Queen-Regent Maria Cristina dealt with the Church, with the imprescriptible rights of the Holy See, trampling under foot the most sacred engagements, the constitutional rights of whole bodies of citizens, and repeating, without reasonable pretext or a shadow of justification, the worst crimes and most unpardonable blunders of the great French Revolution.

Did the political situation of the Church in Spain improve after the Concordat of 1851? Did the clergy derive any further security from such solemn declarations as those contained in the passages above quoted? The very nature of the various governments which, in our own days, have rapidly succeeded each other in Spain, forbids our thinking so for a moment. They resemble those summer resorts built on the sandy shores of Long Island, fair to

the eye and overflowing with the tide of the pleasure-loving or health-seeking so long as the brief season lasts, then deserted by the crowd and swept out of existence by some fearful winter storm.

Spain, like France and Italy, is governed by the councils of the Masonic societies, half in league with Socialists, Communists, and Anarchists. What favor or security can the Catholic Church, can religion of any kind, expect from men who look upon the former as the great obstacle to progress, and upon any form of religious belief and worship as an enemy to be removed at every cost?

Amedeo of Savoy gave up the crown of Spain because he could not hold it without becoming the passive tool of the men who had drawn up the Constitution of 1869, which set aside the Concordat and inaugurated in Spain the worst features of French university teaching, severing the connection between Church and State, only to make the former the bond-servant of the latter.

When the Liberal-Conservatives under Canovas de Castillo recalled from exile the son of Isabella II. and placed him on the throne, the new Constitution, proclaimed on June 30th, 1876, declared, in Article XI., that

"The Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Religion is that of the State. The nation binds itself to support divine worship and its ministers.

"No one shall be molested on Spanish territory on account of religious opinions, nor on account of the exercise of one's respective worship, save always the reverence due to Christian morality.

"Nevertheless, no other ceremonies or public manifestations than those of the State Religion shall be tolerated."

This was a wide departure from the Concordat of 1851, and the scientific vagueness of the language permitted the toleration here extended to "religious opinions" to be interpreted in a very wide sense. The Catholic religion was not altogether set aside as the only acknowledged form of national faith and worship, because the numerical majority of the nation still clung to the Church of their fathers, and because Don Carlos, who counted so many adherents in the northern provinces, would then be hailed as the true King and political saviour of Catholic Spain.

But the political situation of the Spanish Church and its clergy is none the less uncertain, insecure, and dependent on the goodwill or caprice of the ministry in power, of the army of officials, civil and military, who are left free to misgovern, to oppress, and to annoy.

One would think, on reading in Article II. of the Concordat of 1851, the words guaranteeing to the diocesan authorities such unlimited freedom in visiting the universities and schools of the

kingdom, that every precaution had been taken therein to secure youth against irreligious teaching and bad morals. It is one of the vital points on which the Church never can surrender her right of superintendence. Well, so bitter was the feeling shown by the Liberal (?) press, as well as by government followers inside and outside of Parliament, that a royal decree of March 23d, 1853, enjoined on the episcopal authorities to limit, during the official visitation of their flocks, their inspection of educational establishments "to *primary* schools alone, making known to the government the defects observed by them, . . . without forming themselves any resolution thereon"!

Moreover, and in view of the invincible repugnance which the majority of men in Spain, the educated classes especially, manifest toward clerical interference in education, the government of Alfonso XII., by a royal decree of February 24th, 1876, declared that "the reverend bishops have, each in his own diocese, the superior direction and inspection of the instruction given to girls in religious communities, without, however, trenching in any way on the right of inspection belonging to the government. . . ."

The obvious result of the restraints thus placed on the action of the bishops was to increase the boldness of the skeptical and irreligious teachers. Things came to such a pass that, on October 23d, 1876, another royal decree was issued forbidding, in all government schools, the teaching of any doctrine hostile to that of the Catholic Church.

Of the utter futility of such prohibitions in face of a public opinion as anti-Catholic and anti-Christian as ever pervaded the schools of the French University, one may be reasonably assured without having long sojourned in Spain. Six months spent in Seville, with every opportunity of observing closely the nature and tendencies of the teaching there given in the public schools, have convinced me that concordats and royal decrees have no more power to stay the triumphant progress of infidel teaching than "shovelling the wind" can arrest the course of a hurricane.

The Jesuits had opened, in one of the ancient palaces of the city, and under the direction of Father Velez, a pupil of the great seminary of Woodstock, Md., a school in every way admirable. It was a modest establishment, hidden away in a narrow and obscure street. But Catholic parents had soon found it out. Meanwhile, the official university courses were held in the former magnificent College of the Jesuits, one of the many creations of St. Francis Borgia. In the last week of April, 1882, the Catholic young men of Seville, together with deputations of their fellows, having dared to celebrate the centenary of the death of Murillo by marching through the streets of Seville and depositing a crown

at the foot of a statue of the great painter before the Academy of Fine Arts, were there assailed by the University students, ill treated, and dispersed. The rioting continued all day and all night; peace being only restored by the Jesuits abandoning their college in Seville and retiring to the neighborhood of Malaga.

So much for free Catholic education in Spain, as guaranteed by the last concordat, and further secured by royal decrees and legislative enactments. As we have said, these are but feeble safeguards in a country where institutions have no hold on the confidence of the people, and where perpetual change has accustomed all classes to be law-breakers with impunity, instead of law-abiding.

To be sure, the highest dignitaries in the Church are, by their office, members of the legislature. But their presence, their eloquence, and their influence are as ineffectual to secure good laws or to prevent the passing of bad ones as the authority of the remotest Galician village rector is to control the civil and military governors of his province, or even to moderate the intolerable tyranny of the local *alcalde* and commander of the *carabineros*.

It may be safely said that the political *status* granted in Spain to religion and its ministers, very limited and precarious as it is, is still the result, not of the deep reverence arising from the conscientious belief of the legislators, but of the wholesome fear of Carlism, backed by the indomitable courage of the believing and liberty-loving Basques, Navarrese, and Aragonese. The last remnant of former privilege, the feeble shadow of religious liberty still left to the clergy of Spain is due not to existing concordats or constitutions, but to administrative policy, founded on the attachment still felt by the masses for the religion of Leander and Isidore, of Fernan Gonzalez and the Cid Campeador, of the heroic Pelagio and the no less heroic St. Ferdinand.

As to the *social status* of the Church and her clergy in the peninsula, I had rather not write at length.

What is said in the first pages of this paper about the incredible oppression, wastefulness, and spoliations of the Austrian and Bourbon dynasties in Spain, crowned by the wholesale robberies of Napoleon, and by the unjustifiable confiscations of Maria Cristina and her daughter, explains the irremediable poverty and hopeless degradation of the lower clergy, as well as of the few remaining representatives of the ancient monastic orders in the peninsula. Every intelligent and thoughtful reader can easily gather from the picture I have outlined only in part and very faintly, what must be the social condition of men and women, consecrated by their profession to the service of God, the highest and holiest of ministries, and made dependent on the state for a pittance barely sufficient to keep them from starving.



To be sure, we are reminded by the spoiler that Faith was never so powerful over the lives of its professors as when it celebrated the Divine Mysteries in the obscurity of the Catacombs; that its ministers were never more honored or more powerful for good than when, like St. Paul amid the learning of Athens and the splendid luxury of Corinth, they obtained by manual labor what supported themselves and their companions in the apostleship. We know as well that the religious guides of the New England and the Maryland Pilgrims were never more dear to their followers than when they shared with these the poverty of the first log-huts built on the shores of the Potomac and of Massachusetts Bay; that the piety of both preacher and hearer never sent up to heaven a brighter flame than when they worshipped together beneath the rafters of the first rude temple erected in the wilderness. But our Pilgrim forefathers were not always destined to live in log-cabins and to worship in these naked and unsightly structures. These struggling colonies were destined to become great civilized communities; and each community, as it rose higher and higher, lifted up with itself into new wants and new forms of culture, comfort, and splendor, religion and its ministers, and the public worship religion enjoined.

When Christianity, under Constantine and under Theodosius the Great, embraced the social classes of the entire civilized world, Religion could no longer be domiciled in the Catacombs; nor would the great Christian communities in the East and West permit the priest or the bishop to earn his bread by manual labor. Narrow indeed must be the intellect which does not perceive how new necessities and a new law of life grow out of a total change of circumstances.

It is a cruel derision, when you have robbed a swarm of wild bees of the honey they have been gathering up for generations in the depths of the forest, and destroyed all the winged toilers but the few absent from the hive, to say that these will soon build up another hive. What is to keep even these few from starvation during the long winter months and till the flowers of springtide invite once more their labor and industry?

Was not each monastery in the beginning a bee-hive, sending forth swarms of indefatigable toilers far and wide? And was not the late monastic pile, with its wealth of manuscripts, of books, of painting, and sculpture, with the broad and teeming lands that surrounded it, as much the fruit of associated religious labor as the stores of honey gathered by the bee? And had the monks no more rights than the insects? Are they no more deserving of pity from us who enjoy the treasures accumulated by their centuries of toil?

People who have read with delight the history of the colonization of Iceland, and who have enjoyed, like the writer of these lines, the rare, rich treasures of Icelandic literature, will not be likely to look with contempt on the present generation of Icelanders, suffering the extremes of poverty and famine, brought on by the terrible climate and the perpetual convulsions of the soil beneath them.

Not more violent, more desolating, or more unceasing than the terrible upheavals of Hecla and its sister volcanoes have been the social and political convulsions which have visited unhappy Spain. English eye-witnesses have told the world the story of the ruin there caused by French Jacobinism and Napoleonic ambition. Their joint action left the clergy poor enough to satisfy the worst enemies of clericalism. The revolutions which followed are, every one of them, like that of 1793 in France, the lawful offspring of Voltairianism,—a fruitful seed of social calamity sown by the Bourbons on both sides of the Pyrenees.

As these lines are written, the telegraph informs us that Spain is experiencing the first throes of another upheaval. The joint forces marshalled under the leadership of Serrano and Moret have been unable to drive from power the fusionist ministry of Sagasta. The secret societies which are behind them, and which represent also the Republicans and Radicals of Castelar and Ruiz Zorilla, are essaying their power in local risings. They pretend to want the republican Constitution of 1869. We may be sure they will not be content till they have radically changed the public institutions of Spain. They want neither King nor Church.

The Spanish clergy have, therefore, a fearful outlook before them. We should extend to them a warm, generous, and brotherly sympathy. The danger for them is—as for the clergy of Italy before 1859–70, and for the French clergy before the advent of Paul Bert—that they should remain unconscious of the magnitude and nearness of the coming earthquake. This one thing, however, is certain, that from out these mighty throes which seem to threaten the very foundations of the earth, God will cause to spring the liberty of His Church.

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## WHO WROTE THE "IMITATION OF CHRIST"?

*L' Auteur de l' Imitation et les Documents Néelandais*, par Victor Becker, S. J. La Haye, 1882.

*Controversia Gersoniana*, by C. Mella, S. J. Civiltà Cattolica, 1875.

*I Diritti di Tommaso da Kempis diffesi contro le vecchie pretese de' Gersonisti moderni*. Revmo. P. Luigi Santini. Roma, 1879, 1881.

AFTER the Gospel, the *Imitation* undoubtedly is the book that reflects with the greatest perfection the light which Jesus Christ brought us down from heaven. It eminently contains the Christian philosophy. Humility, poverty, meekness, purity of heart, sorrow for sins, forgiveness of injury, joy in the midst of persecution, were held by the Saviour, in the sermon on the mount, as the characteristics of His disciples. Nowhere else do we find the same doctrine inculcated with a more persuasive eloquence and simplicity than in the unpretending little volume that all of us have a hundred times perused.

Nothing certainly is more opposed to our corrupt nature; still all, even non-Christians, have admired and praised the book. Filled with the spirit of Christianity it is most uncongenial to the *animalis homo*; still not a single voice has ever dared to protest against it,—precisely as in our day the men least inclined to submit to the Saviour are often the loudest in professing their admiration for his moral precepts. Such is at all times the power of true virtue!

Hence, after the Bible, and particularly the New Testament, the editions of the *Imitation* have been far more numerous than those of the noblest productions of the human mind. Not only the MSS. of the Latin text, written before the discovery of printing, are counted by hundreds; but the printed editions, since the middle of the fifteenth century, almost defy calculation. And they are not limited to the Latin text, because it has been translated, in prose and verse, into all the languages of Europe,—nay, into a great number of the tongues of Asia and Africa, besides a few of the Western continent.

Moreover, the commentaries and treatises suggested by the text bear testimony, by their great number, to the estimation it has always enjoyed. The books and pamphlets also published on the question of authorship alone amount, in the opinion of Mr. Edmund Watherton, to about three hundred volumes,—a wonderful fact, considering the small importance of such questions in ordinary cases.

These assertions, which could be considerably increased in number, are not mere guesses and wild approximations. The modern

Bollandist, Fr. Aloys de Backer, has given the most accurate details on the subject in his remarkable *Essai Bibliographique sur le livre De Imitatione Christi*. A folio volume was required for publishing this extraordinary catalogue; and the collection of these books, if complete, would form a large library.

Still, for the last two hundred years and more, a violent controversy has arisen and continues at this moment in the literary world on the simple question, Who wrote the *Imitation of Christ*? It is after all an unimportant question, because the high value of the book is altogether independent of the name of its author. Still, since in recent times nearly all Catholic reviews have spoken of it in one sense or another, and several non-Catholic periodicals of note have published important articles on it; since, moreover, new documents and MSS. have been quite lately found out, it seems proper that the readers of the AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW should also receive some exact information on this side of the Atlantic, and know at least the latest aspect of the controversy.

The primary cause of this conflict of opinion was undoubtedly the modesty of the author, and his determination to remain unknown. *Ama nesciri et pro nihilo reputari* was one of the maxims he practiced before inculcating it on others. Accordingly it is worthy of remark that the oldest MSS. did not put forward any name whatever; and it is only from the middle of the fifteenth century that a change was made, and different names of authors appeared in a quite unaccountable manner, namely, those of St. Bernard, St. Bonaventure, Ludolph the Carthusian, Gerson the chancellor of the Paris University, and many others. In an uncritical age a claim of this nature was often decided by the whim of the copyist, what he thought the most probable opinion.

In course of time two names alone remained prominent, those of Thomas à Kempis and of Gerson. The French inclined for Gerson; the remainder of the world proclaimed Thomas à Kempis. This last opinion was almost universal at the end of the sixteenth century; and, as late as 1657, Mabillon acknowledged that he—Thomas—"still enjoyed the *fiduciary possession* that had been granted him from early times." Though the claim of Gerson is now nearly abandoned—the reasons for it will soon be briefly stated—it is proper to insist on the fact that, long before the contestation of the seventeenth century, he had many advocates in opposition to Thomas à Kempis. Old MSS. are found with his name inscribed as the author; and it is not true that "Charles Labbé, charged by Cardinal Richelieu to examine into the question, . . . . *proposed* another claimant for the honors of the hotly-contested authorship

in the person of John Charlier de Gerson, Chancellor of Paris." Labbé only *revived* the title of the chancellor, that was then nearly extinct, as it is to-day. But, after the testimony of Mabillon, confirmed by that of his *confrère*, Thuillier, it must be considered certain that, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, Thomas à Kempis was universally recognized as the author of the *Imitation*. How did a *new* name come later to light in the controversy, and on what grounds could this unexpected claim be sustained? This is the first subject of inquiry.

## I.

In 1604, Fr. Rossignoli, a Jesuit, found in the house of his order, at Arona, near Milan, a MS. of the *Imitation*, in which the author was called *Abbas Johannes Gersen, Gessen, or Gesen*; these three forms were unaccountably written in the same subscription. That religious house at Arona had formerly belonged to the Benedictines, and Rossignoli concluded that Gersen had been a Benedictine abbot. He was congratulated on his discovery by Bellarmine, who mentioned it as an acceptable solution in his work, *De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis*.

But the celebrated Father Rosweyde, of Antwerp, declared himself directly against this opinion, "because," he said, "the claims of Thomas à Kempis were too well established to be in the least shaken by the new discovery." Moreover, Father Maggioli, of the same Society of Jesus, protested that "he himself had brought that identical MS. from his own father's house in Genoa, during the year 1579." The Benedictines, who had left Arona long before, could not have had the MS. in their possession, and the conclusion of Rossignoli that Gersen must have been a Benedictine abbot was altogether unwarranted. Bellarmine, better informed, and having received letters from Rosweyde, changed sides again, and in the following editions of the *De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis*, he went back to the advocacy of Thomas à Kempis.

But the existence of this MS. had already come to the knowledge of Dom Constantine Caietani, a Benedictine of renown, whom Pope Paul V. had made his secretary. A man of great erudition, he was, however, known to his contemporaries for a peculiar mania he had of claiming for his order nearly all great churchmen of former ages. Not only Pope St. Gregory I.; but St. Francis of Assisium, St. Thomas Aquinas, and a multitude of other great men had been, in his opinion, Benedictines, though everybody else knew the contrary.

St. Ignatius Loyola, likewise, had been, he said, a novice in a monastery of St. Benedict, and his celebrated *Book of Exercises*

was but an open plagiarism, being simply a reprint of the *Exercitatorium Spirituale* of Garcia de Cisneros, O. S. B.

The discovery of Rossignoli, consequently, was a godsend to Caietani. He managed to obtain the loan of the MS., and published it at the same time at Rome and Paris, in 1616. But the conclusions he drew from the simple title were, in truth, astounding. Abbot Gersen, or Gessen, had been a Benedictine; the MS. had been written by his hand or at his dictation; he himself belonged to a noble family of the name of Gessen or De Gessate (quite common in Gessa), whose residence near the Benedictine monastery of St. Peter yet bore the name of the newly-discovered abbot. He did not speak of the age of the MS.; there was no date to it.

None of these assertions could ever be proved, but they were boldly affirmed by Caietani, and soon many believed them among the Italians, who felt flattered by this new illustration of their noble country.

Fr. H. Rosweyde, a few months later, published his *Vindicie Campenses* at Antwerp, in which he refuted the arguments of Caietani, and directly the contest assumed vast proportions and has been since carried on with great vigor on both sides. The chief cause of the conflict lay in this, that Thomas à Kempis was a canon regular of St. Augustine, and Gersen, or Gessen, was said to have been a Benedictine abbot. The Augustinians and the Benedictines were naturally desirous of the success of their champions, and on both sides proofs, or at least probabilities, were eagerly canvassed and discussed with all the subtlety natural to interested combatants.

The first question which naturally comes to the mind is the personality itself of the supposed authors. Who was Thomas à Kempis and who was Gersen? The answer to the first question has always been simple, clear, convincing; the biography of Thomas was, in course of time, as solidly established as any historical fact can be. This will be examined later on. The case was wholly different with regard to the personality of Gersen. The first attempt by Caietani to give it life was a failure. He had substituted conjectures for facts. MSS. and old records might, perhaps, furnish more reliable information, and the Benedictines have always, since that time, been ready to furnish the treasures of their erudition in furthering the cause of Gersen. They did so heartily on this occasion.

In 1501 Sessa printed, at Venice, the four books of the *Imitation*, under the name of *Johannes Gerson, Chancellor of Paris*. (It is known that the name of this celebrated writer, who, in the sixteenth century, was thought by many to be the author of the book, was

spelt in half a dozen different ways—Gerson, Gersen, Gersenna, Gorson, etc.) A copy of that edition, when the contest arose, was found at Genoa, with the following note: "*Hunc librum non compilavit Johannes Gerson, Sed D. Johannes. . . . Abbas Vercellensis, ut habetur usque hodie propria manu scriptus in eadem abbazia.*" Caietani found in this note another clue to the biography of his champion. Though the copy itself attributed it to J. Gersen, *Chancellor of Paris*, Caietani contended from the note that the real author, J. Gersen, had been abbot at Vercelli, and in order to be more precise, as there had been two Benedictine abbeys in that city—St. Stephen's and St. Andrew's—Gersen had been abbot of St. Stephen's. Unfortunately this monastery was destroyed in 1580, and the name of Gersen could not any more be seen, *hodie propria manu scriptus*, etc.

The contestation over this copy of the *Imitation* has now lasted two hundred and fifty years, and an impartial reader must now conclude that if it supports any claim it must be that of Gerson of Paris, now abandoned. Moreover, it has been proved recently that the celebrated note is a fraud. It contains a name that has been erased so as to render the sentence illegible. This argument of the Gersenists falls to the ground, if it does not turn against them.

Still it is out of this note that the greatest part of the biography of Gersen has been evolved by his partisans, led by Caietani. Gersen was not only, according to them, a Benedictine abbot but the author of the *Imitation*. His monastery was that of St. Stephen, at Vercelli. The university of that city enjoyed a great renown during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries,—an undeniable fact,—but it was not so well ascertained that Gersen "had been a professor in that university," as Caietani pretended, and that by means of the young men who flocked to it from all parts of Europe, he could send copies of the book north, west, and south. The chief proof the Gersenists gave of it was that "a great number of MSS. of the *Imitation* have been ascertained to belong to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries." In case this were true, Thomas à Kempis's claim would be futile, since he was born at the end of the fourteenth century, and he did not publish any work before the beginning of the fifteenth. This was the strong position of the Gersenists.

But none of these assertions can any more, at this moment, be maintained. From the middle of the seventeenth century to a recent epoch there were *doubts* with regard to the existence of the *Imitation* prior to the fifteenth. Had it not been for these *doubts* such men as Mabillon, Thuillier, Monfaucon, and their brethren of the Order of St. Benedict would not have enlisted themselves

under the banner of Gersen, Abbot of Vercelli. The cause of their steadfastness in their opinion lay in the considerable number of MSS. which, from their ordinary rules of criticism, they judged older than the time of Thomas à Kempis. On this question of paleography, consequently, rests the only real difficulty of the case. We shall come back to it as we proceed in this discussion.

It would be tedious, and it is impossible in this short paper, to describe the intricacies of the controversy which then became universal throughout Christendom. Mr. Ed. Watherton has done it in his paper of June 12th, 1880, published in the *London Tablet*. He proves that every new attempt of the partisans of Gersen was successfully met by those of Thomas à Kempis. Thus, in 1630, Walgrave, O. S. B., was answered by Fronteau, Simon Werlin, and Thomas Carr.

In 1650 the Parliament of Paris was applied to by the Gersenists on account of the insults, as they called them, levelled at Caietani and at the whole Order of St. Benedict by Naudé and other partisans of Thomas à Kempis. Parliament ordered that those insults, on both sides, should be withdrawn, but it "forbade the *Imitation* to be printed with the name of Gersen, and gave permission to the canons regular to print it with the name of Thomas à Kempis." Many champions of Thomas since the time of Rosweyde have enlightened the public on the subject. The chief among them were Philip Chifflet, Abbé de Balerne, Fronteau, an Augustinian, G. Hesper, S. J., and F. Raynaud, of the same society.

In 1671 the Gersenists again applied to Harlay, Archbishop of Paris, for permission to call a meeting of learned men, who should decide if the MSS. on which rested the cause of Gersen had been tampered with. Thirteen MSS. were brought forward, which were pronounced intact. Mabillon, one of the Benedictines present, gave his opinion that some of them belonged to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. This question will be directly attended to.

In 1724 Thomas A. Erhard, O. S. B., revived the contest, and the year following Eusebius Amort published his *Plena et Succincta Informatio*—a powerful work in favor of Thomas. It was followed, in 1728, by his *Scutum Kempense*, and later by his *Deductio Critica*, followed, in 1764, by his *Moralis Certitudo*. The case appeared decided in favor of Thomas à Kempis.

Finally, in this century, the discovery of the *Codex de Advocatis* by M. de Grégory produced the last phase of contention. This must be kept for future consideration.

## II.

The first important point to be examined is the opinion of Mabillon and other learned Benedictines that several MSS. of the *Imita-*



tion still extant belong to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. This being well ascertained, the cause of Thomas would be hopeless; but that of Gersen would still remain doubtful. A great many MSS., particularly from Benedictine monasteries, were brought to Paris in 1671, and attentively examined by the best living paleographers. Among thirteen of them, several were pronounced to belong to the thirteenth or, at least, fourteenth century. Can such a decision be considered irrefragable? Much has been said on both sides of this question. The reflections of Father Victor Becker, S. J., in his *L'Auteur de l'Imitation et les Documents Netherlandais*, appear reasonable—nay, conclusive. He says: "Do you ask a truly competent man if a MS. without date," as they all were, "*can* belong to a certain epoch? He will be able to give a categorical answer. He will have only to examine if there is nothing in it incompatible with the usages of that epoch; if, for instance, there are no forms of letters or ciphers belonging to a different one. In this case he will say it *can* belong to it. But should you ask further if it *does* actually belong to it, he will have to qualify his answer and submit his judgment to the rules of approximation, because such a question cannot be solved in an absolute manner, and the best paleographers are often deceived. Experience shows that unless his limits as to time are very large, you are not bound to follow his judgment. It will give you only a certain measure of probability. In case there is against it a positive historical evidence the verdict of paleography is altogether valueless. Most competent men have occasionally fallen into errors involving periods of one or two hundred years." Father Becker quotes here a case in point, given *in extenso* by Dr. Acquoy in the London *Spectator*. Hoffman von Fullersleben, at the request of Professor Moll, undertook to decide on the age of a MS. offered him by the Professor. He insisted on the exactness of his decision, after objections had been made, and yet was obliged, in the end, to admit that he had made a mistake of two hundred years. Dr. Spitzen, of Zwolle, has lately proved beyond contradiction that not a word of evidence in favor of Gersen belongs to a period anterior to the fifteenth century, and, moreover, that not a single MS. of the *Imitation* can be with certainty assigned to the thirteenth or fourteenth. More shall be said of Dr. Spitzen.

This he demonstrated in particular with regard to the celebrated *Codex de Advocatis*, which Mgr. Malou, of Bruges, and other recent writers had already before discussed and disproved. M. de Grégory, a Piedmontese, living at Paris, discovered this *Codex* in 1830. It became immediately the cause of a violent outbreak of the old controversy. The MS. itself, being without date and giving no name of author, could not be of any weight in deciding the ques-

tion; but M. de Grégory, whose bias for Gersen was already well known, entered into correspondence with some living members of the Avogadri family, to whom it was pretended the MS. had previously belonged. Hence the name *De Advocatis*, the Latin form of Avogadri.

Soon after, a *Diarium* was discovered among the papers of the family, stating that on February 11th, 1349, a precious *Codex de Imitatione Christi* had been given as a legacy from one brother to the other, and it was immediately averred that this *Codex* was the identical one purchased by M. de Grégory. On a more serious examination, M. Tourlet, of the "École des Chartes," declared that in the date 1349 the 3 might as well be a 5; and the Avogadri family, after ransacking their archives and all the parish registers, announced that not a single entry of births and deaths in the family could be found earlier than the seventeenth century. They believed, however, that their pedigree *could* be traced to 1400. M. Gence, besides, has collected the opinions of many distinguished paleographers to the effect that this *Codex* is not earlier than the commencement of printing.

The whole exposure of this great discovery of M. de Grégory can be read with advantage in the paper of Mr. Ed. Watherton, published in the *London Tablet* of June 12, 1880. The excess of zeal of Dom Caietani in the seventeenth century, and of M. de Grégory in the nineteenth, has more injured than helped the cause of Gersen; and, in particular, the *Codex de Advocatis* has been rendered not only valueless, but positively injurious to his claims, in the eyes of sensible men, by the frantic efforts of its great advocate since 1830, whose labors have all ended in smoke.

Beyond the authority of MSS. whose character is but doubtful, the external evidence is totally wanting on the side of the supposed abbot of Vercelli, since the existence of MSS. anterior to the fifteenth century is not proved. Nothing that he did or wrote, according to his partisans, can bear the light of criticism. It cannot be ascertained that any one ever spoke of him, or quoted the *Imitation* as a work of his, prior to 1400. The pretended texts of St. Bonaventure, containing passages of the *Imitation*, are now admitted to be the production of an unknown author of a later epoch. All the details of Gersen's biography, discussed with an apparent erudition by Dom Caietani and his followers on the same side of the controversy, are evidently spurious; and the assertion of Mgr. Malou, that "the abbot Gersen is a *myth*," seems to be the simple truth.

In the warm debates that took place in Paris in 1671, and the following years, the Gersenists boasted that they had on their side, if not the Parliament, at least the Congregations of Propaganda

and of the Index at Rome, and the deliberate opinion of Cardinal Richelieu. It is now proved that the Congregation of the Propaganda refused to interfere, and referred the petitioners to the Congregation of the Index. Quite recently the R. F. Luigi Santini, Superior-General of the Canons Regular of Lateran, applied to the R. Saccheri, the Secretary of the Congregation of the Index, to ascertain what had been its action at the time referred to, namely, the year 1639; the secretary answered that he had unsuccessfully gone through the records of the sessions of the court during that year. No decision had been taken on the subject. As to Cardinal Richelieu the only share he had in the discussion consisted in ordering that the magnificent edition of the *Imitation*, published at Paris, under his auspices, in 1640, should bear no name of author, as he considered that the question of authorship had not yet been decided. It was still doubtful in his eyes, and he took side with neither of the claimants.

At the end of this brief discussion of Gersen's title to the authorship of the *Imitation* a few words must be added on the claims of Gerson, the Chancellor of Paris. It was seen that, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, a certain number of MSS. bore his name, which was then spelt in various ways,—Gerson, Gersenna, Gersen or Gersem, Garson, etc. It is now difficult to imagine why Gerson was considered the author by any one. The most probable opinion seems to be that his well-known work, *De Meditatione Cordis*, and several others of his ascetic treatises, were often bound together with the *Imitation*, or some of the four books of which it is composed; and several careless amanuenses attributed the whole compilation to the same author. But during his life—he died in 1429—and directly after his death, the *Imitation* was never mentioned in the list of his works. His own brother, the Prior of the *Célestins*, at Paris, being requested by a friend to give an authentic catalogue of them, did not include the *Imitation* in the list. This took place in 1423. A few months before the death of the chancellor, *Jacobus de Ceresio*, one of his intimate friends published another catalogue, which is found in the oldest printed editions of his *Opera Omnia*. The *Imitation* does not appear among them. In several of these early editions it is expressly attributed to Thomas à Kempis. At Lyons, where the chancellor died, the *Imitation* was printed in 1484, under the name of Thomas, and directly after, the treatise *De Meditatione Cordis* appeared with the name of Gersen,—that is, Gerson. This confusion of names—Gersen and Gerson—has been taken advantage of by some Gersenists to vindicate for their champion, John Gersen, Abbot of Vercelli, MSS. whose title-page was meant for supporting the cause of John Gerson, Chancellor of Paris. Father Becker points out in particular four docu-

ments in which the intended deception is but too apparent. This is, indeed, disreputable.

Meanwhile, the candidature of Gerson is now abandoned by all critics. M. Gence, of Paris, was the last man of note who stood for it, and, I think, he is now dead.

### III.

The claims of Thomas à Kempis to the authorship of the *Imitation* cannot be sufficiently well understood, unless the Congregation of the Canons Regular of Windesheim, to which he belonged, is to some extent known. Most of the external and internal evidence in his favor is derived from peculiarities connected with this religious body—a branch of the Augustinians—which, I think, has now ceased to exist. It has left, however, an imperishable record, every word of it being clear, definite, and above contradiction. Its interior spirit, its action in the Church, its reformatory power over other Orders, its great men shining with a powerful individuality, though subdued by the most unaffected self-abasement, form one of the most edifying pages of our modern ecclesiastical annals. We possess still the works they wrote, the books they copied, the detailed chronicles of their Congregation, with all the marks of sincerity and truth.

Gerard Groot was the man destined by God himself to be the designer and first builder of the new edifice. After having taken his doctor's degree at the Sorbonne, and completed his post-graduate studies at the University of Prague, he became the most prominent man in Utrecht, his native city, and was loaded with church dignities and benefices. But, being stricken by sickness, he saw the vanity of even ecclesiastical honors, became a simple missionary, and began the work of reform in the Netherlands at the end of the fourteenth century. Witnessing with sorrow the decay of morality among people, churchmen, and monks, a burning zeal inflamed his heart. During the stay of the Popes at Avignon, disorders of every kind had sprung up, and were the forerunners of worse evils, such as disgraced the Church during the great schism that immediately followed. Groot flourished precisely under the pontificates of Gregory XI. and Urban VI.; and when he died, in 1384, the schism had been consummated.

Soon after beginning his missionary labors in the diocese of Utrecht, some difficulty with his diocesan induced him to retire to Deventer, and confine himself to the moral and Christian training of some young men whom he initiated into the "modern devotion," as he called it. Radewijns, a canon of Utrecht, his intimate friend, soon joined him, and proposed to introduce "common life" among the disciples of the new doctrine, who had so far lived in their own

families, and came daily to the house of Gerard Groot for instruction. Gerard consented to this advice with some reluctance, because he feared opposition from other religious communities, in case he showed himself bent on founding a new Order. To obviate the difficulty he discarded from his rule formal vows, but obliged his young men to keep the "evangelical counsels," without binding themselves by any solemn promise. Such was the origin of the "Brothers of Common Life."

This considerate action on the part of the good man did not prevent opposition. As soon as he saw the storm ready to burst he went to Groendael in Brabant, to consult another friend of his,—the celebrated John Ruysbroek, whose ascetic doctrine requires here a word of explanation. The then future Congregation of Windesheim received through Gerard Groot the mystic spirit of Ruysbroek, and the accusations of Gerson against him—Ruysbroek—must be briefly examined. The Chancellor of the University of Paris thought it his duty to censure his doctrine on "mental prayer," and brought forward propositions from his writings that appeared to favor the total absorption of the soul in God in the act of contemplation. When, under Gregory XV., in the seventeenth century, the process of the beatification of Ruysbroek was undertaken at the instance of Thomas of Jesus, this objection of Gerson was made a subject of inquiry, and it was proved that in some other of his writings, Ruysbroek had condemned a mystic sect of his time—the old *Beguins*—precisely for supporting the same opinion. Bellarmine meanwhile declared that the obvious meaning of the propositions objected to was irreproachable, and before him Denys the Carthusian and Albert Le Mire had said as much. The process of beatification, however, was not carried through, for the only reason that, though the meaning of the author was correct, others might take advantage of his expressions to teach a most dangerous error. Bossuet himself, later on, in his controversy with Fénelon, acknowledged the orthodoxy of Ruysbroek, "very different," he says, "from the 'modern quietists,' who endeavor to uphold their mysticism by his authority, though he has pronounced their condemnation."

To him Gerard Groot went for advice in his perplexity, and received for answer that the best way to quiet all opposition was to found a *new* congregation, but to adopt for its rules those of the Canons Regular of St. Augustine. His Order would be simply a branch of the Augustinians, and the members of other orders could not object to its novelty. The proper authority from Rome could be easily obtained.

Groot immediately assented to the advice of Ruysbroek, but soon after he died, and Radewijns found himself at the head of

the new undertaking. He must be considered the *de facto* founder of the new canons regular. In his intention, the "Brothers of the Common Life" should not be absorbed into them, but would continue to form a body apart, subordinate to the "canons," having, however, their own rules and scope.

The new superior founded, in 1387, the first convent of his congregation at Windesheim, six miles from Zwolle, in the province of Over-Yssell, Holland. Six "Brothers of the Common Life" had been previously subjected to some religious training among the monks of Emsteyn, near Utrecht, and they were the first inmates of the new convent. In course of time the house of Emsteyn, after having been the mother of Windesheim, was associated with it, and became its daughter. The Convent of Mount St. Agnes, near Zwolle, formerly a monastery of friars, adopted likewise the rules of Windesheim. In its walls Thomas à Kempis spent the greatest part of his life. Soon after, Groenendael and several other Belgian convents managed to be united with the "Windesheim Chapter." Scarcely thirty years after its foundation, the mother-house of the new congregation counted as many as forty-five houses—thirty-seven of men and eight of women—under its control.

These Canons Regular of St. Augustine had scarcely anything in common with the canons of cathedrals or collegiate churches. Groot himself and Radewijns had left their canonries of Utrecht, as the first step necessary on their part to embrace another life. Instead of a large revenue, of an ostentatious display in prelatic functions, of an easy individual mode of living, the canon of Windesheim was strictly a monk. He spent a great part of his day in the offices of the choir, and the remainder in copying manuscripts, teaching school to children or young men, spending hours in mental prayer, and giving only a short time to sleep. Humility and obedience was the primary rule of his conduct. Bodily austerities, fasting, inward mortification seldom gave place to self-indulgence of the most innocent kind. This happened only in the greatest festivals of the Church, when abstemiousness, silence, rigorous self-control, were not as strictly commanded as usual, and human nature, always allowed to play to some extent, was granted a higher degree of freedom under the wings of religion.

Details of this nature, of which the *Imitation of Christ* is full, give the best idea of this new asceticism. It was designed as an incentive to other religious bodies, so as to induce them to renew their fervor, nearly extinct at the end of the fourteenth century. There are great reasons to believe that, except among the Carthusians, the Cistercians, and Dominicans, regularity was the excep-

tion in religious houses during those dreary times of the great schism.

A large number of ascetic writers issued from the new cloisters and sanctuaries. But a peculiarity soon appeared in all of them, which was not pointed out except long after. The train of ideas, the style, some remarkable peculiarities of expression, characterized all the authors belonging to the Congregation of Windesheim, and in our day a powerful proof that Thomas à Kempis wrote the *Imitation* is derived from these special characteristics.

#### IV.

Thomas Hämerken was born at Kempen, near Cologne, in 1379. In 1395 he entered the school founded at Deventer by Florentius Radewijns; and consequently never knew Gerard Groot, who had died eleven years sooner. Some writers have pretended that he entered as a novice in 1375; and his profession not having taken place but six or seven years later, a sort of confusion was introduced into his biography which otherwise is as clear and precise as that of any of our contemporaries. Father Victor Becker, S. J., in the book quoted at the head of this paper, proves from Thomas himself that he entered as a *donatus* in 1399. He consequently did not take the habit at Deventer, but was only a pupil in the school of Radewijns. It is in 1406, on the day of *Corpus Christi*, as he himself relates, that he took the habit at Mount St. Agnes, where his elder brother, John, was prior; and he made his profession the year following. He was ordained priest in 1412 or 1413, and began directly to compose his ascetic treatises, among which the four books of the *Imitation* must now be counted. These were not written all at once as a systematic work. According to Mr. Edmund Watherton, the first book, *qui sequitur me*, was composed in 1414. The Kirksheim MS., still extant (copied from Thomas's original MS., written in 1425), bears the date of the same year,—1425. The Oxford *Codex* has also his name, and the date of 1438. The celebrated Antwerp *Codex*, in his own handwriting, and with his own name, is dated 1441. The earliest *dated* MS. produced by the Gersenists is the Parma *Codex* of the year 1466, which spells the name as *Gersem*. In the Molk MS., dated 1421, claimed also by Gersen's partisans, this date does not refer to the *Liber primus de Imitatione Christi*, but to the *Contemplatio St. Bernardi de Passione Domini*. The two MSS. were only bound together at a subsequent time, as was then frequently done. Consequently, the Parma *Codex* (1466) is the oldest the Gersenists can quote. These dry details are of great importance, as shall soon be seen.

Thomas à Kempis—from Kempen—spent, as was said, the greatest part of his life at Mount St. Agnes, near Zwolle, and the re-

mainder in other houses of his order, and died a nonagenarian in 1471. In his humility he managed to avoid being elected to any dignity in his own congregation, except that once he was subprior. His *Sermones ad Novicios* are a proof that he was also for a while Master of Novices. His great occupation in the monastery was transcribing and composing books of devotion. Not less than thirty-four, exclusive of the four books of the *Imitation*, are universally admitted to be his production. Accordingly, he must not be considered a mere scribe or copyist, as he has been represented by some Gersenists, but many manuscripts written by him were of his own composition. He, however, never put his name to anything that came from his pen; and this was the general custom among the members of his congregation, who went further still, and seldom divulged the names of their brethren who had produced popular works found in the hands of the multitude. Unavoidable indiscretions nevertheless have furnished us, fortunately, with precious testimonies of the greatest weight on the question of authorship of the *Imitation*, and to this our attention must now be directed. It is but a sequel to the biography of Thomas à Kempis.

The first in importance is that of John Busch, or Buschius, a personal friend of Thomas, an illustrious member of the Windesheim Congregation, a holy man often employed by his ecclesiastical superiors in the reform of German monasteries. Several of the books he wrote are still extant, among them his *De Viris illustribus de Windesem* and *De Origine Modernæ Devotionis*. They were both undertaken at the command of the general superior of the order, John Van Naalwrijk. Rosweyde published an edition of both, under the common title *Chronicon Windesemense*.

This must be considered an *official* production of the congregation. Such documents, as is well known, always require in their author a strict adherence to truth, and can be entirely relied upon. Leibnitz besides has rendered to the veracity of Busch the following testimony: "*Buschium non dissimulare corruptelas, neque adulari suis, manifestum est.*"

In the twenty-first chapter *De Viris Illustribus*, speaking of the death of John Vos Van Heusden, Busch refers to a visit he himself received a few days previous from two brethren of St. Agnes' Convent: "*Quorum unus,*" he says, "*frater Thomas de Kempis, vir probatæ vitæ, qui plures devotos libros composuit, videlicet qui sequitur me, de Imitatione Christi, cum aliis.*" Dr. Spitzen has lately proved, with the clearest evidence, that the words *videlicet*, etc., are not an addition by a more recent scribe, as has been pretended, but belong to the text itself of Busch.

The second testimony is that of Hermann Ryd, also a contempo-



rary of Thomas, who published a description of the convents of the Windesheim Congregation in his time, and says: "The brother who wrote the book of the *Imitation* is called Thomas. He is sub-prior of the Monastery of Mount St. Agnes, near Zwolle. He still lived in 1454, and I, Brother Hermann, of the Monastery of Newwerk, near Magdeburgh, being sent that year to the general chapter, have spoken with him." At that epoch the four books of the *Imitation* were always published together, under the general title *Imitation of Christ*. At an earlier period, Busch had spoken only of the first book, under the simple title *qui sequitur me*, which are the initial words of the first chapter.

It would be tedious, and it is not possible here, to quote all the contemporary testimonies. Father Becker enumerates as many as sixteen unexceptionable witnesses who had either seen and conversed with Thomas à Kempis, or at least had listened to those who had lived with him, and must have been well informed on the subject. Would not this be considered sufficient evidence of authenticity in favor of any ancient or modern work? The affirmation of reliable contemporaries is the strongest external evidence.

But the "internal evidence" is still more striking, and deserves to be given at a greater length. Already more than two hundred years ago, G. Hesper, a Jesuit of Ingoldstadt, collected a large number of Germanisms, as he called them, found here and there in the *Imitation*, and he concluded that the writer must have been a German, translating unconsciously his own vernacular language into Latin. He did not make any distinction between the High and Low Dutch dialects. His book, entitled *Lexicon Germanico Thomæum*, was published at Ingoldstadt in 1651.

About the same time Thomas Carr, an English Augustinian,—his true name was Miles Pinckney; he had probably taken the name of Carr as a disguise in England,—insisted on the remarkable resemblance of the phraseology of the *Imitation* to that of the other *authentic* productions of Thomas à Kempis, and directly concluded that he was the author. He could not, he said, be an Italian, as Gersen was supposed to be. The book bears no trace of Italian phraseology in the Latin text.

In 1650, again, Father Reynaud, S. J., brought forward two new arguments in favor of Thomas. First, the similarity between the style of the *Imitation* and that of the productions of other writers belonging to the Congregation of Windesheim; and secondly, the frequent use of the words *devoti* and *devotio* common to the book and to the school of Gerald Groot. In recent times other locutions have been pointed out which considerably increase the strength of the argument. Within the last few years Father Becker, Dr. Spitzen, Karl Hirsche, Santini, etc., have given a remarkable ex-

tension to this branch of internal evidence; they have, in fact, carried it to the height of demonstration. Conviction, it is true, results mainly from the number of texts which are brought into juxtaposition. In Father Becker's volume more than a hundred pages are exclusively devoted to this discussion, divided into four most interesting chapters. A few general remarks—the only thing possible here—will scarcely give the reader a glimpse of the reality.

In the first place, the expressions called *Germanisms* by Father G. Hesel, in 1651, belong, in point of fact, to the Netherland dialect, or Low Dutch, not to the German language properly so called. Two hundred years ago the pure German, or High Dutch, bore a much greater resemblance to the Flemish than it now does. It is known that during the last hundred years a number of great writers have transformed the German language into the classical shape it has now assumed. The Low Dutch itself (or Flemish) has considerably changed in *another* direction, and the actual Latin text must be examined in reference to the vulgar language, such as it was more than four centuries back. Few writers of the present age are competent. Mgr. Malou, it seems, has failed in some of his attempts on account of his limited knowledge of the old Flemish. Dr. Spitzen, on the contrary, is a master of this kind of philological criticism. Father Becker has popularized his efforts. He gives fifteen full pages of comparative quotations, so that even a reader unacquainted with the Flemish, old or new, is struck with the certainty that only a writer whose vernacular was the Low Dutch of that time could write the quaint Latin of the volume familiar to all of us.

In the second place, the Latin text alone of the *Imitation* is a conclusive proof that the author belonged to the Congregation of Windesheim. There are many expressions in it that are frequently found in the authors of that school and *nowhere else*. Abundant proofs are furnished by Father Becker, and the conclusion is irresistible that the book was written by a monk of this order. As it is easily ascertained that the same is true with regard to the other works of Thomas à Kempis that are universally acknowledged as authentic, it is difficult to resist the conviction that he wrote also the *Imitation*. The Latin text certainly does not bear the marks of the Augustan age, but, on the other side, it broadly differs from the mediæval Latin by the use of certain words and sentences peculiar to the Windesheim Congregation and to the style of Thomas à Kempis himself. Father Becker proves, for instance, that the words *religiosus*, *monasterium*, *prælatus*, *cella*, *monachus*, have a peculiar meaning in the Order of Canons founded by Gerard Groot. This had already been remarked by Father Reynaud in the seven-

teenth century. The numerous examples quoted by Dr. Spitzen and Father Becker give to the argument a cogency it never possessed before.

Thirdly, the *Imitation of Christ* contains many allusions to facts known to have happened in the Netherlands during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, some of which occurred in the neighborhood of Zwolle and Mount St. Agnes. This brings on the discussion of historical events, which we are compelled to leave unnoticed, though they add a great strength to the argument.

Fourthly and finally, not only peculiar expressions, whole sentences—nay, entire paragraphs—are met with in the *Imitation* which perfectly coincide with passages preserved to this day in the writings of Gerard Groot, Van Schoonoven, Busch, and others, but Dr. Karl Hirsche, in his grammatical researches on the *Imitation*, has fallen upon a new proof, altogether unexpected and extremely remarkable. This consists both in the rhythm and rhyme and in a punctuation of a very peculiar nature. Everybody had remarked the rhyme in the *Imitation* without paying great attention to it, because, since St. Leo the Great, it has often been used by ecclesiastical writers. But in the case of the *Imitation*, when it is combined with the rhythm and the punctuation discovered by Dr. Hirsche, it becomes a characteristic of all the works of Thomas à Kempis, and of them alone. This punctuation is extremely simple, not having more than four characters, each marking a longer or shorter pause; but when the text is read with a strict adherence to its rules, a new sense, as it were, suddenly comes out, and the profound maxims we all know, that have often so deeply struck all of us, make a much deeper impression still and convince the reader that this is indeed what the author intended.

The same, more or less, is visible in all the works of Thomas à Kempis, and of no one else. This discovery of Dr. Hirsche points directly to Thomas as the only author to whom the *Imitation* can be ascribed. Father Becker, following up the hint, has done for the second *Sermon to the Novices*—a work undoubtedly of Kempis—what Karl Hirsche had accomplished for several chapters of the *Imitation*. The conclusion need not be pointed out.

## V.

The external and internal evidence, so striking in the case of Thomas à Kempis, is almost totally absent in that of Gersen. This has been sufficiently proved. For a long time the MSS. appeared to be in his favor. Great paleographers of the seventeenth century, most of them of the Benedictine Order,—Mabillon among them,—declared that several of those documents brought to Paris in 1671 could not be more recent than the thirteenth or fourteenth

century. If proved, this would have been fatal to the claims of Kempis. Many men consequently became convinced of it, owing to the affirmation of Mabillon, and supported the cause of Gersen. From a more careful study of the case, however, the verdict of paleography remained but doubtful, as was seen, and left intact the strong proofs derived from history and philology.

Recently new researches in libraries and public records have brought forth a number of MSS. of the *Imitation* unknown to Mabillon and his brethren. They have been classified with respect to their origin, place of deposit, and peculiar marks bearing on the probable author. This has given a new turn to the question, and the cause of Thomas, instead of being weakened by the consideration of MSS., receives an additional strength that can scarcely be exaggerated. A lucid account of it is found again in the work of Father Becker, and our simple task must consist in giving a brief synopsis of it. Becker himself follows Spitzen, whose book appeared only two years ago. This, accordingly, is the last aspect of the controversy, and it is to be hoped that before long the question will be altogether settled. Many recent conversions of Gersenists render it very probable.

In the first place, it is important to ascertain the number of MSS. still extant. In 1671 the Benedictine monasteries chiefly had been ransacked, and among those brought to Paris only thirteen had been selected on which Mabillon rested his cause. Father Mella, in his *Controversia Gersenniana*, confining himself to the side in which he felt interested, enumerated, in 1875, twenty-one bearing the name of Gersen and twenty-nine without any name—fifty in all. The number known at this moment is far greater, and as new ones are often discovered, it must be inferred that many more exist still which have never been brought out from the shelves of old libraries.

M. Arthur Loth, of Paris, wrote in 1874, in the *Revue des Questions Historiques*, that he had ascertained the existence of one hundred and eighty-six MSS., of which one hundred and sixteen came from Germany alone. Besides Germany, researches were made by him in Flanders, France, Italy, and England. But more recent investigations have rendered his last labors almost useless. Dr. Grube, for instance, instead of one hundred and sixteen MSS. derived from the whole of Germany, mentions forty-five contained in the Royal Library of Munich alone, and most of these are not specified in the catalogue of Mgr. Santini, more recent than that of Loth. This last gentleman found only thirty MSS. in Belgian Flanders; there are nearly as many in the Royal Library of Brussels alone. M. Ruelens, keeper of the department of MSS. at Brussels, thinks that in Belgium there must be about a hundred. In Eng-

land, where M. Loth found only three, sixteen are enumerated by Mr. Kettlewell in his book, *The Authorship of the De Imitatione Christi*.

The Netherlands, whose libraries had been pillaged and devastated by the Reformers, were, until lately, supposed to contain only a few. Father Becker, in a private search of his own, ascertained the existence of thirty-two of them, though he could not obtain access to several important libraries, in which he thinks there must be others.

At the present moment very nearly three hundred MSS. of the *Imitation* are inscribed in the catalogues of the most noted libraries of Europe, and there is no doubt that many more are still unknown. Strange to say, few, comparatively, are met with in France and Italy—a rather damaging fact for the cause of Chancellor Gerson and of Abbot Gersen.

Many MSS. do not bear the name of any author. Leaving aside those who ascribe the book to Gerson, Ludolph the Carthusian, and others, whose claims are now altogether discarded, it is ascertained that only *twenty* show on the title-page the name of Gersen; more than *fifty* that of Thomas à Kempis. That the book itself was not very well known in Italy in the sixteenth century seems probable from an anecdote related by Bartoli in his *Life of St. Ignatius* (t. ii., p. 251). When Ignatius went to Monte Cassino to give the exercises to a grandee of the Court of Charles V., he found it useful to present every monk of this great Benedictine convent with a copy of the *Imitation*, which they had not yet procured. This little story does not speak well in favor of Gersen.

But the remarkable fact of the actual distribution of the manuscripts in the various countries of Europe has a striking and almost systematic character of great strength in the present controversy. The reflections of Father Becker on this subject deserve quotation. We translate (page 216):

"Southern Germany—chiefly Bavaria—is more rich in manuscripts of the *Imitation* than the northern provinces, for the same reason that there are more in Belgium than in Holland," namely, the fierceness of the persecutions at the time of the Reformation in Saxony and the Netherlands, whilst in Bavaria and Belgium the Catholics enjoyed peace. "Belgium contains a greater number of those manuscripts than any other country, relatively to its size. . . . In case the *Imitation* had been written by an Italian abbot, it is not in Germany, but in Italy that the majority of them should be found, particularly because the convents of Italy were not devastated and destroyed as they were in Holland and Northern

Germany during the religious wars," yet "very few comparatively are found in Italy—*apparent rari nantes in gurgite vasto*" (page 217).

"Striking remarks of the same nature justify the conclusion that, judging from the present localities where these manuscripts are found in greater abundance, the author must have lived and written in Germany or the Low Countries (Belgium or Holland),—that is to say, wherever the Canons of Windesheim and the Brothers of Common Life had established their houses. And though the relative number of those documents in the various countries of Europe leaves the pre-eminence doubtful between the Low Countries and Germany, still the dates which many of them bear [a remarkable feature in the present case] evidently favor Holland, and give a new strength to the cause of Thomas à Kempis."

A last peculiarity deserves a brief mention. Many manuscripts distributed through the former range of country occupied by the Canons of Windesheim contain only one or two of the four books of the *Imitation*, without any common title. Nearly all those belonging to Italy, on the contrary, have the four books, as with us, and bear the common heading, *Imitatio Christi*. This must be considered a positive proof that the manuscripts of the first series are older than those of the second. It cannot now be denied that the work appeared successively in four distinct parts, with a particular title for each part. On this Father Becker justly remarks, "If the *Imitation* had been written in the thirteenth century, and published entire at once, as we have it to-day,—a common supposition of the Gersenists,—the publishers of the fifteenth century would not have brought forward the four books as *independent* treatises. It would have been preposterous to give them piecemeal to the public, as they did, for the only pleasure of offering them afterwards in their former and original shape, as a whole." This, in our opinion, is an important reflection.

After a number of general remarks of the same nature on the manuscripts of the *Imitation*, many of which could not be even mentioned in this paper, Father Becker passes to the consideration of some particular manuscripts whose titles and other indications bear strongly in favor of Thomas à Kempis.

As was seen, the Benedictines of the seventeenth century relied mainly for their opinion in favor of Gersen on several manuscripts which they thought anterior to the fifteenth century. They won over to their cause many adherents who have ever since ardently supported the same opinion. Further researches have lately brought forward other manuscripts dating from the beginning to the middle of the fourteenth century, consequently anterior to the oldest ever produced by the Gersenists, whose age is exactly that of 1466. The notes and titles of these new documents being entirely

in accord with the well-known biography of Thomas à Kempis, furnish another remarkable proof that he was the author. Thus the consideration of manuscripts—the only strong support of the Gersenist cause—takes a different turn, and speaks now in favor of the adverse party.

Father Becker comments on the celebrated copy of the Gaesdonck Monastery, which Dr. Karl Hirsche thinks is the nearest in point of perfection to the autograph of Thomas dated 1441. It bears the date 1427.

Another copy, coming originally from Nimeguen, now in the Royal Library of Brussels, is exactly of the same age,—1427.

Another yet, from the Convent of Ewich, near Atterdorn, in Westphalia, was written the year previous,—1426. The three must have been copied from the original, known to have existed in 1425 in the neighborhood of Utrecht. Two other copies, one from the Abbey of St. Trond, the other from Ochsenhausen, bear also the date of 1427. "The fact," remarks Father Becker, "that the *Imitation* was copied simultaneously, in 1427, at Ewich, Doetinchem, and Nimeguen, proves that there were older manuscripts in the same countries." An allusion has just been made to an original copy existing near Utrecht in 1425.

But the autograph of Thomas à Kempis, dated 1441, and now preserved in the Royal Library of Brussels, would alone secure his claims to the authorship. This manuscript, whose authenticity has never been controverted, contains thirteen different treatises, all bound together, the *four* books of the *Imitation* (each with its separate title) being placed at the head in the manuscript. All agree that these thirteen treatises were written by Thomas à Kempis; but it has been said that he was only the copyist of the *four* books of the *Imitation*, though he had himself composed the nine following opuscles. This, Mabillon maintained in the discussion of 1671 at Paris. The only reason he gave in support of his opinion was the note written at the end of the manuscript: "*Finitus et completus A. D. MCCCCXLI, per manus Fratris Thomæ Kempis in Monte Stæ. Agnetis prope Zwollas.*" The words *per manus Fratris*, etc., proved, in the eyes of Mabillon, that he only transcribed the work of another. Still, the great Benedictine acknowledged that the nine treatises published after the *Imitation* in the same manuscript were the composition of à Kempis, and the note being written at the end referred equally to all.

It is known besides that the writers of the Windesheim Congregation, particularly Thomas à Kempis, never declared themselves authors of the books they published, and kept their well-known maxim, *ama nesciri*, etc. Another fact that Mabillon did not probably know, and which would have silenced him, has been ascer-

tained by Father Becker. In the Burgundian Library of Brussels, there are manuscripts containing authentic works of Thomas, among others his *Sermones ad Novicios*, ending with the same formula, *Finitus et scriptus per manus Fratris Thomæ Campensis A. D. MCCCCLVI*.

An additional observation of Father Becker must be copied here: "Thomas could not be ignorant of the fact that in 1441 the *Imitation* was read and admired by many men, who believed he was the author. In case he was not, he would have induced them in error by copying this golden book in the same manuscript with other works of his own composition. His well-known modesty, leaving aside his veracity, could not have suffered it. Finally, the erasures and alterations by his own hand, with which this manuscript is full, prove beyond contradiction that he was the author of it. An author alone can take such liberties with a manuscript, particularly in the case of such a book as the *Imitation of Jesus Christ*."

At this moment learned men in Italy are openly in favor of Thomas. Twenty years ago this would have been considered extraordinary, if not impossible. A number of Benedictine fathers in Germany and France have also abandoned the cause of Gersen, in spite of the efforts of their *confrère*, Dom C. Wolfsgruber, in the book he published at Augsburg in 1880. Everything is evidently preparing for a universal acknowledgment of the claims of à Kempis, and for the final success of the powerful and numerous advocates he has counted on his side during the last three hundred years.

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## BANCROFT'S HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES.

*History of the United States of America from the Discovery of the Continent.* By George Bancroft. The Author's Last Revision. Vols. I. and II. New York, D. Appleton & Co., 1883.

THE great history of the United States which has been the life-long work of George Bancroft, comes to us with the author's last revision. The first volume was issued originally in 1834; it comes now with the date of 1883, an interval of nearly half a century. Seldom has it been permitted to an author to see his work in the hands of the public for such a series of years, to modify it from time to time, and then in a serene and happy old age, with faculties still vigorous, with the accumulated treasures of a life of studious research to recast it in a final revision, so as to leave it as a noble monument of genius, devoted with unswerving fidelity to an artistic portrayal of the annals of his native country.

"In this last revision," says his preface, "as in the first composition, it is the fixed purpose to secure perfect accuracy in the relation of facts, even to their details and their coloring, and to keep truth clear from the clouds, however brilliant, of conjecture and tradition. No well-founded criticism that has been seen, whether made here or abroad, with a good will or a bad one, has been neglected.

"The next aim is lucidity in the ordering of the narrative, so that the reader may follow the changes of public affairs in their connection, and with every page be carried forward in the story.

"There is no end to the difficulty in choosing language which will awaken in the reader the very same thought that was in the mind of the writer. In the form of expression, many revisions are hardly enough to assure strict correctness and propriety. Repetitions and redundancies have been removed; greater precision has been sought for; the fitter word that offered itself accepted; and without the surrender of the right of history to pronounce its opinion, care has been taken never unduly to forestall the judgment of the reader, but to leave events as they sweep onward, to speak their own condemnation or praise."

Bancroft is our first great philosophic historian, exploring with vast research amid printed books and pamphlets, the State documents of the colonies and of the European States, the unpublished papers of great actors in the national drama or the politics of the

world, not only the facts of the successive events in our history, but the sources and motives, the schemes and the projects, the religious or political impulses, which originally prompted, which directed and guided, or which thwarted and perverted them.

While others regarded the early history of the country as but the simple annals of little communities of men toiling in the wilderness, to be studied from the point of view from which the actors themselves may have recorded it, Bancroft looked to the other colonies on the continent and their influence, and to the growth of opinions in faith and politics, in commerce and manufactures, which controlled the action of governments in Europe, and impelled or influenced by fostering or hostile hands the emigration to America, which, in the Providence of God, was, in less than two centuries, to build up a mighty republic, and blend, by one of the greatest marvels, men of all nationalities, modes of thought, trained under the most diverse of institutions and customs, into one homogeneous people, easily characterized among the nations of the earth, in all physical and mental relations.

Mr. Bancroft was not a mere closet scholar; he brought to his task the mind of a statesman, one fitting him to take part in governing men and controlling the destinies of nations, and since he first began his labor as a historian, he has shown this fitness by his able discharge of the duties of a member of the Federal Cabinet, and of ambassador in diplomatic positions at two of the greatest of European courts. His ability, therefore, to take a broad statesman-like view of the progress of our history, and of the important changes of policy at home and abroad is indubitable; the bent of his studious mind to seek and unfold the real philosophy of our history is no less apparent. His vast research is not made patent in this last edition, as it was in the first, by the copious references to authorities, which, on page after page, marshalled the authors to whom he had appealed and weighed their importance, noted their discrepancies, and showed the probable line of historic truth. His history almost from the outset became the mine for minor and local historians, and many, who made no researches themselves, did not scruple to adopt the language of Bancroft as their own, and to transfer to their pages the very citations of authorities, where, perhaps, forty books or documents are referred to for a single sentence, and then parade them as though in their own researches they had examined, confronted and compared them all to elicit the truth. In his later volumes, as originally issued, the historian abandoned these references, and now has expunged them entirely from his work.

From the broad well-defined outlines of the picture as he originally conceived it, Mr. Bancroft has not departed; though the last

half century has been pregnant with great events, though a civil war has tested the strength of our government and the vigor of our national life, though parties have risen and disappeared, and opinions on many points have undergone remarkable modifications and changes, there has been rarely occasion for any adoption of a new view in the philosophy of our history.

With regard to details it has been different. The glowing pages of Bancroft awakened the enthusiasm of scholars in all parts of the country; who set to work, each in his own sphere, to elucidate and develop the history of some State or district, some movement, campaign or battle, some reform or generous scheme for the elevation of our fellow-men. Much of the great mass of writings on American history, issued within the last four decades, owes its origin, in no slight degree, to the influence of Bancroft's *History of the United States*. These new contributions, labors on almost unexplored fields to which he guided them, led to the formation of great historical libraries, where the rarest books bearing on early America were gathered, and to publication by societies and individuals of early works made comprehensible and available by careful local annotation. To this new material Mr. Bancroft was no indifferent spectator; every old work brought to light, or new work prepared, was carefully examined, and his work was unsparingly corrected by the new light thrown on the subject, so far as stereotype plates could be altered, even when whole pages had to be suppressed and rewritten. His history has constantly kept up with the progress of research and development. The present revision gives symmetry and proportion to the whole history, enduing it with a uniformity of tone and color, which was occasionally lost amid the necessary changes. It is now like a mellow fruit, ripened by the kindly influences of sun and shower through the long genial summer days.

As now given, the two volumes before us embrace *The History of the United States as Colonies*, divided into three parts: the first from 1492 to 1660; the second from 1660 to 1688; and the third coming down to 1748, with the first epoch of "The American Revolution" (1748-1763), "Britain Overthrows the European Colonial System."

The changes made in this ultimate revision are many, and in some cases worthy of remark. The early explorations of the Northmen are still doubted. Some points that have been called in question are avoided entirely. Thus we find that in consequence of the warm and able controversy in regard to the authenticity of the narrative of a voyage by Verrazzano to our coast, a controversy begun by one who impeached the narrative as a fiction, Mr. Bancroft, evidently not deeming a case fully made out on either

side, omits entirely the notice given by him in his earlier editions, where the narrative of Verrazzano's voyage was treated as genuine.

The voyage, the narrative and the discussion are alike ignored.

The same critical knife has not been applied, however, to the Gourgues narrative, which stands as authentic history, even in this edition.

The landfall of Gosnold is changed ; and Popham's short-lived colony in Maine, which excited controversy a few years ago in New England, receives here a notice. In treating of the early history of Virginia, the story of the rescue of Captain John Smith by the Indian girl Pocahontas is expunged, and no allusion to the romantic episode appears, except in a statement that in works published by Smith late in life such a story is found. New England writers first questioned the authenticity of the account, while Virginians generally upheld it, but Mr. Bancroft evidently deemed it no longer sufficiently attested to justify its insertion.

The expedition of Argal against the mission settlement of the Jesuits in Maine, and his subsequent destruction of the French houses and defences at Port Royal, were characterized in former editions as the work of marauders and pirates ; but now the censure is omitted, and the attack in time of peace on a settlement of missionaries of a friendly power is justified. It is represented simply as a vindication by England of her claims.

Since the earlier editions appeared, the sword has forced some of the States to abolish slavery, and views have changed. Now New England does not care to be reminded of her own slave-holding iniquities, and the author omits facts not creditable to that group of colonies, and omits also a tribute to Pope Alexander III., of whom he had heretofore said that he was " true to the spirit of his office, which, during the supremacy of brute force in the Middle Age, made of the chief minister of religion the tribune of the people and the guardian of the oppressed."

The most extended alteration is to be found in the early history of Maryland. In previous editions the character of the first Lord Baltimore is held up as an example worthy of all admiration, now it is trampled in the very mire. The story of his Avalon colony is so told as to reflect no credit on him ; and while in former editions it is said of Lord Baltimore : " His sincerity, his capacity for business, his industry and his fidelity are acknowledged by all historians," in this last edition he is dismissed with the statement that he misconceived " the interests of his country and of his king, and took part in exposing to danger civil liberty and the right of the Parliament of England." The reader is left to wonder how the liberal charter he secured for Avalon or Maryland, or their guarantees for the rights of the settlers, his anxiety to prevent

all religious or political animosities, could be so detrimental to civil liberty, to England or its sovereign, and especially to that Parliament which soon suppressed royalty, abolished the Upper House, refused to dissolve or appeal to the people by a new election, and which yielded at last only to the military power it had created, but could not control. If the Long Parliament conceived aright the interests of England and of Charles I., if it saved civil liberty and the rights of the parliamentary constitution of England, we may condemn Lord Baltimore; if it did not, then the words applied to Lord Baltimore seem intended for the people of New England who sympathized with the Long Parliament, and they may have been misplaced inadvertently.

The history of the settlement of Maryland under the second Lord Baltimore is rewritten so as to belittle in every way the proprietary and those who under it planted that province, with a liberality, a prudence, an administrative ability till that time unequalled in America. Every line shows the influence of a religious fanatic, whose violence should prevent any sound historian from adopting his statements or his conclusions, for where Catholics are concerned he cannot possibly be civil or honest.

Under the new theory of history, Maryland ceases to have been a colony planted under Catholic influence or controlled at any time by Catholics; Clayborne becomes a hero and a patriot, the Protestants who in Virginia allowed no Catholic to land, the Puritans who proscribed Catholics and flogged, starved and hung Quakers in New England, and imprisoned for life the one rash man who dared raise his voice in their behalf—these men, we are now assured, are the men who really deserve credit for Maryland toleration. Can a man believe it and not dishonor his common sense? If the Church of England man and the Puritan of that day became tolerant in Maryland, when bigots, fanatics and persecutors elsewhere, it could only be due to some Catholic influence in Maryland; their humanity in the actual presence of Catholics must have burst forth into life, nowhere else manifest at that day, for in England Catholic priests met death in those times from Episcopalian and Puritan alike. Puritans in Maryland put Catholic prisoners to death when the field was won as ruthlessly as Melendez did Huguenots in Florida, and Episcopalians established their Church by law the moment they gained power, taxed Catholics doubly, and compelled them to support an Episcopalian ministry and attend their churches under heavy penalties. The mildest of censure, however, is given to all this, and rhetoric lends its aid to hold up the persecutor as the champion of religious liberty.

The sketch of the religious affairs in England from the outset of the Reformation to the settlement of New England precedes the

history of that group of colonies, when, to give the reader a proper understanding, it should have ushered in the first chapter of Maryland's annals. The settlement of Maryland, no less than that of New England, was the result of the diabolical spirit that swayed England from the time of Elizabeth. The Reformers claimed the right of private judgment, but from the first denied the right to Catholics. They claimed not only the right to form their own creed, their own worship, their own ideal God, but also the right to slay Catholic clergy and religious, destroy or seize their churches and institutions, prohibit their worship, deprive Catholics of life, property or good name. This Protestantism claims to this day, and virtually exercises in part or in whole. Much as a man may free himself from other Protestant ideas, he never fully shakes off the shackles of this one, and the Protestant always acts on the axiom that he has a perfect right to dispose of Catholics and all they possess according to his will and pleasure. The sense of natural equity in their regard seems dead or dormant.

Unconsciously this leads to great unfairness, as we see it here. The majority of the people of England in Elizabeth's day were still Catholics, and clung to the old faith earnestly. All through her reign the most savage cruelties were perpetrated on them; priests were hanged, drawn and quartered in all parts of the kingdom; the man guilty of possessing a Catholic book, or any document from Rome forfeited his life; men and women were hanged and pressed to death for harboring priests; for refusing to attend the services of the Church of England, a hideous mockery performed in the churches where the mass had been offered for centuries; wealthy Catholics were impoverished by enormous fines, and the poorer were crowded into jails in every shire of England. Compared to these sufferings, what the Puritans endured was but the tapping of a feather beside the blows of a scorpion in the brawny arms of a Roman soldier.

Yet, in his picture of the religious change in England, Mr. Bancroft omits this entirely, giving no indication to the reader of what Catholics endured, while the sufferings of the Puritans are sketched in the most touching language.

The result is that the treatment of the Maryland settlement is essentially unfair, in what is suppressed, and in what is said and implied. The glow of enthusiasm is gone, and a tone of disparagement prevails.

The proprietors who took up lands in Maryland were mainly Catholics, although most of those brought out by them as tenants and mechanics were Protestants. The freeholders at first alone had votes, and thus, as he admits (p. 166), the administration was in the hands of the Catholics, who, with a Catholic governor and under

a Catholic proprietary, made the province essentially a Catholic one. It is, therefore, misleading to omit the statement, "the Catholics took quiet possession of the little place; and religious liberty obtained a home, its only home in the wide world, at the humble village which bore the name of St. Mary's;" or this, "such were the beautiful auspices under which Maryland started into being; its prosperity and peace seemed assured; the interests of its people and its proprietary were united; and for some years its internal peace and harmony were undisturbed by domestic faction. Its history is the history of benevolence, gratitude and toleration."

That these original words were true is clear from a fact constantly ignored. The first Lord Baltimore in his Avalon province (named not after a fabled isle, but after the traditional cradle of Catholicity in England) provided for both Catholic and Protestant clergy, to give all his colonists perfect equality in religious advantages; and though his equity was repaid with base ingratitude by a Protestant clergyman, the second Lord Baltimore in the same spirit had a Protestant chapel erected at St. Mary's for the use of his Protestant settlers. That no prominent man belonged to that faith is apparent from the fact that the key was kept by Gerard, a Catholic. In no other English colony except those of the Lords Baltimore was provision ever made for the services of the two faiths. The fact outweighs a world of quibbles and false issues raised by prejudice, and deserves to be stated.

In the new version of the act of 1649 there are points equally open to criticism.

But if the account of the Catholic province of Maryland has been cooled to the lowest point, that devoted to the Puritans of Massachusetts still glows with all the enthusiasm of the writer's earlier days. Imagination lends such colors to the canvas that the picture is essentially false.

New matter is introduced as to the early constitution of Connecticut (i., p. 275); but all is done to palliate New England intolerance. We look in vain for the frank avowal to be read of old: "The severity of the laws (in New England) was sharpened against infidelity on the one hand and sectarianism on the other; nor can it be denied, nor should it be concealed, that the elders, especially Wilson and Norton, instigated and sustained the government in its worst cruelties." Certainly, the new edition has something of the very concealment here so manfully denounced. Notable, too, is the omission of the passage (old edition, i., p. 454): "It has been attempted to excuse the atrocity of the law, because the Quakers avowed principles that seemed subversive of social order. Any government might, on the same grounds, find in its unreasonable fears an excuse for its cruelties. The argument justifies the expul-

sion of the Moors from Spain, of the Huguenots from France; and it forms a complete apology for Laud, who was honest in his bigotry, persecuting the Puritans with the same good faith with which he recorded his dreams. The fears of one class of men are not the measure of the rights of another. It is said, the Quakers themselves rushed on the sword, and so were suicides. If it were so, the men who held the sword were accessories to the crime."

Under this theory it would not be possible to justify the recent persecution of Catholics in Prussia, where nearly a thousand churches were for years deprived of pastors, bishops driven into exile, and bishops and priests imprisoned and fined, not for doing anything against the State, but for performing their regular, daily official duties, as they had done for years and their predecessors for centuries. Or it would justify England in Elizabeth's day, when it was made high treason to say mass or harbor a priest.

To save the character of New England, the persecution of the Quakers is now minimized, and we are told (new edition, i., p. 314), "Prohibiting the coming of Quakers was not persecution." To the honor of New England this theory was not accepted even then universally, and one man stands forth in Massachusetts, who then and there denounced the treatment of the Quakers as persecution. He relieved with food the poor women after they had been scourged half-naked through the streets of Boston, and though imprisoned continued to denounce their treatment as persecution. His long years of imprisonment only prove that they persisted in defending their cruelty. "The doctrine of toleration, with pledges of peace, was" not, as our author states, "soon to be received."

But while he now portrays the Quakers in New England as unreasoning enthusiasts, when he comes to speak of the body in Pennsylvania he calls them "men who had learned the right principle of public law from the uneducated son of a poor Leicester-shire weaver" (i., p. 527); while, in his former editions, it was "the principle of God in their own hearts." But under either view how are we to regard the men of New England who punished by death men and women who had "the right principle of public law" or "the principle of God in their hearts"?

When we come to Cromwell we are startled to find his "freedom of conscience" referred to, but there is a prudent omission of the statement that he sought to attain popularity by "burying all the mutual antipathies of sects in one common burning hatred against the court of Rome" (old edition, ii., p. 22).

In the new edition Charles II. appears in a new light. We now find introduced the assertions: "The restored king was a Papist" (p. 350); "he had no purpose so seriously at heart as the restoration of the Catholic worship in England" (p. 344); "to protect the



Catholic religion was the constant desire of Charles II." (p. 395). Thus constantly he endeavors on certainly untenable grounds to hold up Charles as a bugbear to excite anti-Catholic feeling. Charles may have preferred the Catholic religion, but he had not the courage to avow it or to do anything for it. The men who came into real power with the Restoration had one well-defined plan, and that was to establish the power of the Church of England firmly. Charles II., James, and William III., none of them were personally enthusiasts for the establishment, but in the reigns of all it made steady strides to power. He himself (p. 440) admits that "the English ministry under Charles II. issued an order that offices should be entrusted exclusively to Protestants." The expulsions of Puritan clergy under Charles; the confining of the monopoly of printing Bibles to Oxford University, by which the Geneva Bible was superseded even in New England by the King James version, the introduction of Episcopacy into American colonies where it had been unknown, all show this.

No credit is given to Charles or James for their project of building up a great English power in America. At the Restoration, New England and Virginia, with Maryland, were isolated, with a colony of another nation and two languages between them, while the French were closing in on the North, and the South lay open for any Spanish advance. When William III. landed in England, the flag of that country floated from the Penobscot to the St. Mary's, and the powerful Iroquois confederation had been enlisted to keep the French beyond the lakes, if not drive them altogether from the West. The result was due to acts of Charles and James, and to the colonization they inspired and encouraged, wisely in theory, if not always prudently in the choice of instruments.

Mr. Bancroft recognizes this only by making the second part of his *History of the United States as Colonies* bear this title: "British America attains Geographical Unity. From 1660 to 1688," while for his ensuing part he has to group, for a period of sixty years, the French colonization of the West and Louisiana, and the border wars at the North and South, with the settlement of Georgia, assigning to it all the somewhat vague title: "Colonization of the West and of Georgia. From 1688 to 1748." The reigns of the Stuart brothers show New Netherlands become New York; New Jersey settled; Penn, the friend of James, founding the great colony of Pennsylvania; the Carolinas opened to emigrants and settlements formed. From the fall of the Stuarts nothing of the kind was done, except the grant to Oglethorpe, but on the contrary, much was done to thwart and cripple the colonies.

The progress of this period is mainly due to James, who as Duke

of York took a deep interest in America, and was the first to form any statesmanlike plans for its future.

In his second volume of the new edition (pp. 71, 72) there is a hint of what we owe to James in his projected union in the colonies "as a barrier against the red men and against the French;" and we discover, incidentally, that William adhered as much as possible to the previous policy, in superseding charters. An act of Maryland in 1692 "giving validity in the colony to the Magna Charta of England," "was not accepted by the crown." In speaking of the penal laws passed against Catholics in Maryland, he now omits the well-known statement, "The Roman Catholics alone were left without an ally, exposed to English bigotry and colonial injustice. They alone were disfranchised on the soil which, long before Locke pleaded for toleration, or Penn for religious freedom, they had chosen, not as their own asylum only, but with Catholic liberty, as the asylum of every persecuted sect. In the land which Catholics had opened to Protestants, the Catholic inhabitant was the sole victim to Anglican intolerance" (old edition, iii., p. 32). Now we read: "In 1704, under the reign of Queen Anne, the Roman Catholics alone were given up to Anglican intolerance."

It is not easy to ascertain what is or what is not intolerance in our author's estimation. Nothing is said in condemnation of the Massachusetts law of 1647, by which any Jesuit entering the colony was to be banished, and put to death if he returned. In New York the Leisler party, inspired by the most furious fanaticism against Catholics, is represented (ii., p. 38) as the "party of toleration." Governor Bellomont of New York is praised for his "sound heart and honorable sympathies," but not a word is said of the law which he carried through the New York legislature by a triple vote of his own in council, and under which a Jesuit or Catholic priest entering the colony was liable to be imprisoned for life, and if he broke prison, to be put to death. The same man of sound heart and honorable sympathies had a similar law placed on the statute book of Massachusetts. To require Puritan emigrants to take an oath of supremacy and allegiance in Maryland, is styled "religious bigotry." Was it not equally so to require it of Catholics in England, Virginia or any other of the colonies? The acts of Louis XIV. against the Huguenots are depicted in the most intense colors, and held up as the very embodiment of persecution, and yet every word of his description, substituting England for France and Catholics for Huguenots, would apply exactly, though the sufferings of the English Catholics never elicit a single well-rounded sentence of sympathy.

As we proceed in the new edition we find the graphic account

of the treaty at Shackamaxon thrown aside, new matter in regard to Governor Hunter's administration in New York and the first bill of the English parliament imposing taxes on that colony. In treating of the history of Connecticut, the well-known story of the extinguishing of the lights, and the sudden abstraction of the charter which was hidden in an oak, that tell of its fall received almost divine worship, disappears, and another story shares its fate,—it is that which has been so often repeated of the defiance given to Fletcher when he came armed with royal orders to take command of the militia of that colony. He evidently treats them both as fables.

When he comes to discuss the story of New England witchcraft, there are many modifications, and a long passage showing Cotton Mather's activity in the prosecutions, and the manner in which he was sustained by the Governor, the chief judge, and the president of Harvard College, is omitted.

The splendid picture which he drew of the origin and growth of the French power, their explorations and adventurous daring, remains substantially as of old, although there are omissions supplied by bald statements which do not harmonize with the narrative. The story of La Salle is in the main rewritten, but that of his last expedition does not show sufficient care; it approximates the truth, but is marred by unsound theories, which, however, give color to the whole account, though at variance with documents.

But the Spanish colony of Florida, its early enterprise, its subsequent decline, the extent of exploration, the missions which embraced a large number of tribes, and obtained a high degree of success, are, unfortunately, not treated at all, and thus the story of the border contest between Florida and Carolina, and at a later date with Georgia, can be but imperfectly understood, without some knowledge of the position of the Spanish colony with its surrounding tribes of Christian Indians. The story of Ayavalla as found in the pages of Bancroft is utterly inadequate. The horrors of Indian warfare in New England and New York are told in moving terms, but in the whole history of the country there is nothing to compare to that merciless invasion of peaceful Christian towns by heathen Indians under white leaders, but the massacre of the neophytes and the horrible deaths of the Spanish missionaries, rivalling, in their frightful details, those of Brebeuf and his comrades at the North, are veiled under a few phrases that give no competent idea of the enormous crime against humanity.

We may thus judge of the extent of the changes and modifications introduced by the author into this last revision. The early liberality is replaced by an unmistakable bias against the Catholic Church, which pervades the whole narrative. The political

changes in our own country do not show so much influence. In the details much that inspires historical doubt has been discarded, and new facts especially relating to government are introduced. Yet it would not be easy to decide whether the work has gained substantially, or whether the reputation of the work would not have been greater had it remained in the form in which it was twenty years ago.

The history was originally a series of brilliant essays, full of skill and power, in which, gaining enthusiasm from the study of each successive theme, the author became imbued with the spirit that actuated the founders and framers of the destinies of each colony. Each was a sort of personal impassioned plea for a place in history. The earnestness with which each narrative was given won on the reader, and the graces of a style peculiar to the writer completed the charm. That such a work attained at once a widespread popularity and retained it, can be easily understood; but with all its philosophical spirit, this treatment of the widely diverse elements constituting the earlier period of our history, involved the sacrifice of a consistent and well-defined standard, and, as we have seen, principles and conduct approved at one place under one set of relations, are condemned elsewhere when the relations are changed.

This inconsistency is the great defect of the earlier portion of Bancroft's *History of the United States*, an epoch very difficult to treat in detail, as it must necessarily be treated, without losing sight of fixed and settled principles based on the true philosophy of history.

Thus the doctrines of Fox are "the principle of God in the heart," "the right principles of public law;" and yet the Church members in Massachusetts, "by the fundamental law of the colony, constitute the oracle of the Divine will;" the right of private judgment is exalted as the great privilege of Protestantism, yet Mrs. Hutchinson is accused of "intense fanaticism in sustaining the paramount authority of private judgment;" and, on the other hand, Roger Williams is exalted as the first man in modern christendom to assert in its plenitude the "doctrine of the liberty of conscience." Yet Williams was influenced by such a fanatical hatred of everything pertaining to Catholicity, that he would not hold communion with ministers who recognized as valid ordination in the Church of England which was derived from that of Rome; nor would he recognize the English flag because it had a cross in it, given by the Pope to the English kings. He would be in full sympathy with the persecution of the Episcopalian Brownes, and with his principles could not consistently have admitted Catholics into the colony he founded. In former editions, the author ad-

mitted that in the early printed laws of Rhode Island, Catholics were excepted from the right of freedom of conscience, and attempted to make it appear that in the original form no such exception existed. In the present work the discussion is overlooked, and the fact of the exception, and its repeal during the Revolution, when the French visited the colony, are alike ignored. Yet the exception was perfectly in accord with Williams's known attitude towards the Catholic Church,

The author confounds freedom of thought, which no one can check, with the freedom of professing any certain doctrines, and what is still more, freedom to offer public worship according to the plan accepted by the individual conscience.

In regarding the history of the colonization of the United States here given as a whole, the sketch of the Indian tribes seems inadequate. It embraces but a small part of the nations covering our territory, and while the prehistoric portion is entirely ignored, the rest is not what, the researches and contributions of scholars during the last quarter of a century to the ethnology and linguistry of the country, led us to expect on the final revision of the work.

The efforts to Christianize and civilize them are widely scattered; those of the French graphically told; those of Massachusetts greatly exaggerated, and given so confusedly as to create a false impression, for while the reader is led to suppose that nearly all the Indians were won over, it is evident that the only natives under mission influence were those of Cape Cod, Martha's Vineyard, Nantucket, and the seven villages near Boston, in all, probably, one-quarter of the Indians in the colony, and of these, a comparatively small proportion learned to read and write.

The first part, devoted to the history of the colonial period, is the most brilliant and romantic part of our national story; it is all included within the two volumes of the new edition. In them, too, opens the story of the Revolution, with its antecedents.

The inter-colonial wars, beginning with the accession of William III., arrayed the English colonies in arms against those of France and Spain. In spite of the efforts of Canada to obtain neutrality, or, at least, to confine the hostility to civilized combatants, Indians were employed.

The last chapters of the colonial history give the settlement of Louisiana and Georgia, the attempts to conquer Canada, the waste of blood and means in successive attempts. A general turmoil pervaded the continent: Natchez and Chickasaws at the South, and Foxes at the North, rose against the French; Tuscaroras against the English in the South; the Yamasees used their arms against English and Spaniards in turn. The colonies all suffered

by war, and by the trade regulations prompted by English jealousy; they were burthened, too, with heavy war debts.

The consolidation and growth of the colonies under the rule of the House of Hanover, are narrated with clearness and vigor. Corrupt officers sent over to prey on the colonists, American industry restricted and interfered with; the constant attacks on the charters, and resolute determination on the part of England to obtain a revenue from America, fill up the picture. The voice of the people found expression in the public press, and Benjamin Franklin becomes a leader of public opinion.

At this period German emigration gave strength, while the slave trade, developed by English mercantile greed, became an element of weakness, the seed of a future war.

The colonial period closes with a well-told account of the capture of Louisburg by New England men, in itself a forecast of the spirit and determination of the colonists.

But France was only roused to vigorous, though tardy exertions, to retain her hold in North America. She endeavored to close in at Acadia on the English colonies; to occupy Lake Champlain, the head-waters of the St. Lawrence on both sides, Niagara, and the line of the Allegheny River. The colonies took alarm; and while England and her colonies were alike interested in repelling the French, there was distrust where there should have been harmony and unity.

"England's colonial policy was destroying itself. The same motive which prevailed to restrain colonial commerce and pursuits, urged England to encroach on the possessions of France, that the future inhabitants of still larger regions might fall under English rule and pay tribute to English industry. In the mercantile system lay the seeds of a war with France for territory, and with America for independence."

Hostilities began on land by the banks of the Messagouche, and at sea by the capture of a French brigantine off Cape Sable, in 1750. That same year Christopher Gist started from the Potomac to explore the territory on the Ohio, which Virginia claimed as part of her domain. Westward to the clans of the Miamis was the influence of England extended. But the British ministry, absorbed by intrigues at home, gave little heed to the glorious country beyond the Alleghenies. Having failed in the attempt to subject the colonies by act of Parliament to all future orders of the king, the "lords of trade sought to gain the same end in detail."

"Every province shunned the charge of securing the valley of the Ohio. Of the Virginia company the means were limited. The Assembly of Pennsylvania, from motives of economy, refused to ratify the treaty which Croghan had negotiated at Piqua." The

French were alive to their danger and showed active energy. Celoron traversed Ohio, French vessels secured Lake Ontario, Niagara became a fortress. "Everything portended a conflict between England and France along their frontiers in America."

The English colonies began to talk of a union. "A voluntary union, entered into by the colonies themselves, would be preferable to one imposed by Parliament."

In 1753 Duquesne, the governor of Canada, pushed forward troops, colonial levies, and Indians, to secure the Ohio. Then, sanctioned by orders from the king, Dinwiddie, of Virginia, resolved to "send a person of distinction to the commander of the French forces on the Ohio River, to know his reasons for invading the British dominions, while a solid peace subsisted." The envoy whom he selected was George Washington.

The narrative hurries on from Washington's visit to the French forts at Venango and Le Bœuf; his return at the head of an armed force, the encounter with Jumonville, his capitulation at Great Meadows. "The English garrison, retaining all its effects, but leaving hostages, withdrew from the basin of the Ohio. In the valley of the Mississippi no standard floated but that of France."

"Hope might dawn from Albany. There, on the nineteenth day of June, 1754, assembled the memorable Congress of Commissioners from every colony north of the Potomac." "America had never seen an assembly so venerable for the States that were represented, or for the great and able men who composed it. Every voice declared a union of all the colonies to be absolutely necessary; and the experienced Hutchinson, of Massachusetts, proud of having rescued that colony from thralldom to paper money; Hopkins, a patriot of Rhode Island; the wise and faithful Pitkin, of Connecticut; Tasker, of Maryland; the liberal Smith, of New York; and Franklin, the most benignant of statesmen, were deputed to prepare a constitution for a permanent confederacy of the continent; but Franklin had already projected a plan, and had brought the heads of it with him."

Thus a union was forced on the colonies by England and France, and the plan of the future government of the United States began to take form.

Mr. Bancroft sketches clearly here the condition and strength of each of the colonies at this time, but concludes it by a eulogy of New England Calvinism, that seems as unsound as it is misplaced. A system which imposed on the many the mere opinions of a few, and, claiming for all the right of private judgment, punished dissent with death; which denied a divinely constituted ministry and set up a human one; which created a religion without a single essential element of latreia, and yet made attendance

on its services imperative under penalties, can claim no respect from a logical mind. No one can adhere to it without degrading his manhood. If God has established no church which man is bound to obey, no worship which man is to offer, man is free—no one without a direct warrant from God can require his obedience. In more senses than he avows Calvinism was revolutionary.

Braddock's career in America is graphically told, and the almost contemporaneous crime committed on the Acadians, while depicted with feeling, omits the important point that, as most of the Acadians were born under the British flag, they were treated as British subjects. The oaths they were required to take were oaths renouncing the Catholic religion, and they were punished expressly as "Popish recusants." The author can apply the term "merciless bigotry" to Louis XIV., or the Archbishop of Salzburg, but when Catholics are sufferers, no such epithet is applied to men of old and New England, who, without any warrant of law, confiscated the whole property of seven thousand harmless people, and carried them off to be cast as paupers along an unfriendly coast.

It is more pleasant to read the account of Dieskau's disastrous campaign; of Montcalm's brilliant capture of Oswego and William Henry; then another pæan of Protestantism ushers in the story of Frederick the Great's victories, and we return to America to follow Wolfe from Louisburg to the banks of the St. Lawrence, where Montcalm, after a victory over Abercrombie at Ticonderoga, abandoned by his monarch, in a destitute and exhausted province, prepared to make his last desperate stand. The defeat of the French army, the surrender of the famishing town of Quebec, the reduction of the whole province of Canada, and of the insurgent Cherokees at the South, brings the second volume to a close, and shows England in complete possession of the Northern continent from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, and from Florida to the Arctic Ocean.

"During the negotiations for peace, the French minister for foreign affairs had frankly warned the British envoy, that the cession of Canada would lead to the early independence of North America. Unintimidated by the prophecy, England happily persisted. So soon as the sagacious and experienced Vergennes, the French ambassador at Constantinople, a grave, laborious man, remarkable for a calm temper and moderation of character, heard the conditions of the treaty, he said to his friends, and even openly to a British traveller, and afterwards himself recalled his prediction to the notice of the British ministry: 'The consequences of the entire cession of Canada are obvious. I am persuaded England will ere long repent of having removed the only check that could keep her colonies in awe. They stand no longer in need of her protec-



tion; she will call on them to contribute toward supporting the burdens they have helped to bring on her, and they will answer by striking off all dependence.' "

Mr. Bancroft concludes the epoch with the words: "England became not so much the possessor of the valley of the West as the trustee, commissioned to transfer it from the France of the Middle Ages to the free people who were making for humanity a new life in America."

To many this period, the preliminary of our Revolution, with the stirring struggle for the overthrow of French power, with all its merits, proves less interesting from the manner in which European affairs, opinions of statesmen in America and England, and the narrative of colonial internal affairs, are blended in fragments with the military operations, forming a mosaic, in which not all can readily trace the figures.

To criticize a work which has had an established reputation for more than a generation is a bold task; and the more so when, to such an historic task as that before us, the author brings a love of country that can be impartial, unwearied research, a sound judgment, and a mind of no ordinary gifts in conceiving the great drama, or presenting it with beauty. The task is all the greater to one who recognizes in him a master and a guide, one who gave his youthful studies their bent, and made them ever since devoted to the history of the country. Nay, more, to one who received from him encouragement and approval, when there were few to bestow it, and when coming from him it was a reward not to be forgotten. And not only encouragement came but aid, in counsel, in frequent imparting of material acquired in researches in avenues open to no scholar but himself.

But addressing the circle of those who adhere to the only logical Christian faith and Church, a deference to truth, and that only, has compelled the utterance of remarks as frankly as they would have been expressed to the author himself, and conscious, that to the public at large, and especially to the great body of those who claim descent from New England, no words of the writer can alter the verdict as to Bancroft's *History of the United States*, a monument as lasting as any man could rear in life to keep his memory alive in coming generations.

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## MARTIN LUTHER.

Dr. Martin Luther's *Briefe*, Senschreiben und Bedenken . . . bearbeitet Von Dr. Wilhelm Martin Leberecht de Wette. 5 vols. 8vo. Berlin, 1825.

*The Life of Martin Luther.* Compiled from reliable sources. By Rev. William Stang. New York, F. Pustet & Co., 1883. 12mo. 112 pp.

N EARLY three-quarters of a century ago the monarch of the Scandinavian kingdom of Denmark summoned the Protestant world to do honor to Martin Luther; and now another potentate, fresh from the Canossa to which he has been led by his boastful premier, the man of blood and iron, muezzin-like renews the call. Germany and Scandinavia again strive to do homage to Luther; statues, addresses, medals, will mark the epoch; a ripple will be seen in this country, but in England and other Protestant lands not even a ripple seems to be discernible. A certain lack of human freedom, a certain tinge of absolute power seems necessary to fit man for a complete appreciation of Martin Luther.

The attention thus called to Luther makes it necessary for Catholics at large to know and understand what the real Luther was, and to distinguish him from the false ideal which will everywhere be presented to a deluded public in these days. The Rev. Mr. Stang's brief sketch of the reformer will be a ready means of giving Catholics a true knowledge of the character and acts of the man.

Luther is the boast of Protestantism, little more than a boast, yet the only man in the great apostasy of the sixteenth century whom its adherents can use to arouse popular enthusiasm. In the history of the Church heresiarchs generally have been men of great intellect, framers of a system with symmetry and form, men removed from the busy world, holding to their theories with unwavering earnestness. They were men who could find followers to sway the masses, but could not themselves evoke personal enthusiasm. But in Luther came a man with no system, who said and unsaid with equal vehemence, who appealed to the lowest passions of the masses, and gave the widest scope to sensuality, by decking it in a flimsy cloak of sentimentality and calling it a religion.

Loud, boisterous, fond of good cheer, good company and indulgence, he stands out with a kind of personal attractiveness that

arouses a sympathetic feeling that for three centuries and a half has made him a rallying-point among those who revolted from the Catholic Church with the cry, "Non serviam."

It is not easy to understand how a man so gross and sensual, so vacillating and uncertain in doctrines, so full of contempt for almost everything that had for centuries been regarded with reverence, could have been instrumental or influential in leading any large number of intelligent Catholics out of the Church; and it is really only the fact that he was so instrumental that makes intelligent men in our day continue to render him a form of hero worship.

Three centuries and a half have reduced the amount of Christianity in the various reformed churches to a very slight remnant. While the Church stands as it did then, with its Papal and hierarchical system, its creed, its worship, its evangelical counsels, ever creating lives devoted to sanctification, to the relief of ignorance and poverty, of all human woes and miseries, Protestantism, in the Germany of Luther and the Switzerland of Calvin, has reached the uttermost rationalism, the existence of God is barely recognized, the inspiration, authenticity and creditableness of the Scriptures, which they made the sole rule of faith, are impugned in pulpit, university and literature; the idea of a church founded by Christ, with a worship, a priesthood, a deposit of faith, is scouted; the fall of man, the need of redemption, atonement, are denied. But whether they retain nothing of Christianity but the name, or very little except the name, we see them ever ready to extol the name of Martin Luther. The advocate of arbitrary power, the man who would crush the people beneath the iron heel of Cæsarism, the Nihilist and Communist who would annihilate all government and with it the whole social system, alike render homage to the name of Martin Luther. It is not that the man in himself was entitled to respect, but simply as the popular type of the movement which wrested country after country from Catholicity. Men may throw away all Christianity, like your infidel and agnostic, or veil it under a mask of rationalism, or fritter it away, but on one point they all agree, as to that there is no division of sentiment, and that is blind hatred of and opposition to the Catholic Church, and as the symbol of this, nothing suits them all better than Martin Luther.

Thus Froude, who certainly has a minimum of Christianity, is now the eulogist of Luther, and ends a rhapsody by declaring "that any faith, any piety, is alive now in Europe, even in the Roman Church itself. . . . is due in large measure to the poor miner's son, who was born in a Saxon village four hundred years ago."

He was born in a Saxon village of a violent race, born in a village to which his father fled after slaying a fellow-man. Accord-

ing to his mother's statement, he came into the world on the 10th of November, and, so far as she could recollect in later years, in 1483. After learning the rudiments at home, he became a poor scholar at Eisenach, hospitably sheltered by the Cotta family. He was a lover of books, and at last entered the university of Erfurt.

Here he found professors, some at least of whom were imbued with the doctrines of Wicklif and Huss. The press was already disseminating books through Germany, and the universities and monasteries were the earliest purchasers. It was in the Augustinian monastery at Erfurt that the young student first saw a complete printed Bible, one of several purchased by the house, some of the numerous editions that had poured from the press in Latin and in German.<sup>1</sup>

He was twenty years old when he took his degree in philosophy. While pursuing further studies with a view of becoming a professor of law, the death of a comrade, killed by a lightning-stroke at his side, made him suddenly resolve to renounce the world. At night-fall he knocked at the portal of the Augustinian convent, and begged admission. He was received, renouncing his insignia of master, resisting alike the entreaties of his scholars and the anger of his father. He entered on his novitiate with great fervor, but was often in deep melancholy and despondency. That he might be a reprobate was the one overpowering thought. Fasting, austerities, prayer, the counsels of confessors and directors, nothing brought peace to his mind, even after his religious profession and his ordination as a priest, till a passage in St. Bernard on the Annunciation gave his thoughts a new direction. He passed from the depths of despair to the heights of presumption. He believed himself justified in the sight of God by the merits of Christ, and by the very force of his infallible conviction one of the elect.

But doubts recurred, and a mind of real ability, unhinged by interior trials, unbalanced by exact learning, and already adopting unorthodox views, was stimulated to pride by the reputation he had acquired. When, after a visit to Rome, where the pomp of the court and much that he saw gave a shock to the plain Augustinian from a German village, he was appointed professor in the newly founded university at Wittenberg, he began to teach philosophy. His knowledge was but elementary; he hated the Aristotelian philosophy, and the whole system of the schoolmen, including

<sup>1</sup> At the Caxton Exhibition in London, in 1878, there were sixty copies of different Bibles, printed in Latin or in German, all dating prior to the year 1503, when Luther attained his twentieth year. Of course this did not represent every edition issued; but at all events there was the distinct proof that the whole Bible had been set up and printed sixty-two times at least between 1450 and 1503. Yet doubtless in the present Luther revival, hundreds will declare that Luther never saw a Bible till after he was a priest, and was then utterly astonished to find that such a book existed.

St. Thomas. An exact logical system was always something abhorrent to him, and to which he could not submit. His lectures were brilliant tirades against the very philosophy which he was appointed to teach. He was also assigned to preach in the town, and he soon became popular. In the sermons of Luther at this time, as they have come down to us, his doctrine of justification by faith alone constantly appears, and as a necessary sequence, the priesthood, sacraments, indulgences, intercessory prayer, fast and pilgrimages are made little of, or directly censured as unavailing.

That a professor in a university just created by the Pope should, in his professor's chair and in the pulpit, pursue this course, shows that in Germany the standard of orthodoxy was very low, and the attachment to the Church and its whole system very feeble. Luther's language apparently received no censure from any superior in his order or in the Church, and no voice was raised to controvert the utterances of the bold young Augustinian. The doctrines of Wicklif and Huss were silently permeating the schools and monasteries.

Germany had been gradually drifting away from unity in government, from unity in faith. The faith spread over the Roman empire, gathering into the fold in time the Celtic nations to the limits of Ireland and Scotland, turned last of all to the Germanic and Scandinavian tribes, and won the Angles, Saxons, and Danes in Britain; the Franks in Gaul conquered to be conquered, who overthrew the Roman Celtic power to yield to the Church. These German tribes sent apostles to other bands of their race, and their rulers employed force. Before the end of the eighth century the Franks forced the Saxons to profess Christianity and receive baptism. They rose in rebellion against a Church which was made, in their eyes, odious and oppressive, but they were crushed. But the work of force went on. Pomerania and the Isle of Rugen, crushed by arms, abandoned their idols and sullenly accepted Christianity as the twelfth century was nearing its close. The first missionary to the Prussians died the death of a martyr in 997, almost at the close of the first millennium of Christianity. Two hundred years later a regular crusade was carried against the fierce pagans of Prussia, who were overcome by the Teutonic knights in 1243, and after a series of insurrections finally crushed forty years later.

Thus for five centuries the work had gone on. In 1300 thousands of Germans were still pagan in heart, though forced to appear outwardly as Catholics. The work of real conversion advanced slowly; and at the opening of the sixteenth century in a general relaxation, religious instruction, the frequentation of the sacraments, the eradicating of superstitions were all neglected, and

in many parts there was little knowledge of Christianity, a longing for the old days of pagan sensual indulgence, a spirit of revolt against the spirit of mortification inculcated by the Church, of which the religious orders, then true to their rule, were the heralds and exemplars. The doctrines of Huss had found a field ready, and were spreading in secret.

The government which had grown up in Germany had, from an early day, shown a stubborn resolve to subject the Church to its will. The bishops and clergy were to be its creatures, dependent on its will; the constitution of the Church was to be moulded by its ideas, and isolated from the Church in other states. England and France occasionally took up the same line of policy, but Germany adhered to it persistently and doggedly.

Christ avowed that he was a king, and his kingdom, though not *of* the world, worldly, was *in* the world, and to abide. He bade his disciples pray for the coming and establishment of that kingdom, the Church. It was to extend to all nations; Christ sent his apostles, not to obtain sanction or investiture from kings and princes, but to teach the nations, to teach the king on his throne and the swineherd in his cot. The nations, as such, were to become disciples and subjects of the kingdom.

The Church, with its papal organization, existing in all lands, in all ages, is the only institution on earth that realizes the conception of this kingdom of God. The German rulers would not acknowledge the Church; the part within their civil rule was to be modelled, guided, ruled, not by the Sovereign Pontiff, but by themselves.

With each state, great and petty, acting on this theory, the Church would be an impossibility; it could be one neither in doctrine nor in ministry, neither in worship nor in practice. It would not be a body corporate, even to the extent of the Freemasons and other similar bodies. It would be a mere bundle of discordant and disjointed members.

In the Catholic conception the supernatural prevailed; the power flowed from above. But in the German idea the supernatural character of the Church was completely ignored; and the Christian had no supernatural character in the eye of the law; he was a mere intelligent animal, to be trained like a horse or a dog, so as to be useful to the state.

From this rose the long struggle with the Popes, and in the German heart there was no homage, no allegiance, no loyalty to the Holy See as the central power in the Church. Abuse of the Popes had been so constant and so common, that it excited no astonishment, evoked no censure.

Wicklif had, like the Minnesingers, attacked with every violence

the religious orders, especially the mendicant friars. From his day, satires and caricatures of monks and friars multiplied, and wit helped to spread the ridicule and contempt thus engendered. Huss and Jerome of Prague had naturalized this policy, as well as Wicklif's spirit of rebellion and heresy in Germany.

The religious orders, instituted and designed to aid the parochial clergy and bishops, by the example of a stricter life, by instructing the more ignorant and neglected, became too frequently, by relaxation, a source of scandal, instead of an auxiliary power. The libels launched against them gained double force from every scandal.

The period of fervent orthodox Catholicity in Germany thus narrows down to a very brief period, and in no part of Christendom was the old underlying heathendom, with its deification of sensuality, stronger, or the supernatural element weaker.

With a government thus hostile to the Church as a kingdom, with a people thus long severed in heart from the papacy, to which human freedom and man's emancipation owes so much, with thousands still clinging to old pagan memories, and longing to be freed from the requirements of Christianity, with weakness in the Church itself, it needed but some trivial incident to call into play all these agencies and sweep Catholicity aside.

If we figure to ourselves the country as perfectly, earnestly Catholic, attached to the Holy See, instructed in the faith and exemplary in the observance of God's law and the frequentation of the sacraments, a revolt and apostasy like that of the sixteenth century is an impossibility. But where people had long been taught to look upon the head of the Church as an enemy, we can see that any one who rose to pour on the name of the Pope every filthy and obscene epithet that a bestial nature could suggest, would not meet strong censure from any, but would be hailed with guffaws by the crowd. The same mob would hail with delight any one who promised sensual indulgence.

The country and the time were ripe for a pagan revival, and Luther, whose mind had been straying more and more widely from the standard of orthodoxy, unsustained by any sound theological basis, needed only a pretext to begin the war.

Men were drifting away from orthodoxy in many parts; each petty scholar aimed to do himself, unaided, the work of reform which councils of the Church were struggling to accomplish. Among these men, Luther had a wide correspondence, and to them he wrote freely. Hatred of the Pope, of the religious orders, of the trammels of religion, inspired them all; and all seemed to recognize the fact that Luther, from his exemplary life as a religious and a priest, from his position as professor in a university,

and from his eloquence, which had already been recognized, would be the best possible leader in the eyes of the people. They recognized his ability for their purpose, his obstinacy and violence; but we see by his letters that he did not work alone. Thus, in 1520, sending one of his treatises to Spalatinus, he says: "I beg you polish up all carefully with well-used file. I was oppressed with some unaccountable trouble of mind when writing them. I will show them to other friends before they are published."

Then came the jubilee granted by Pope Leo X., in which the alms, usually given on such occasions, was to be devoted to the erection of St. Peter's at Rome. The Archbishop of Mentz confided the preaching of this jubilee to John Tetzel, a Dominican friar, of known learning. Toward the close of the year 1517, the jubilee preacher reached Juterbock, a town within a few miles of Wittenberg, and crowds gathered to hear him.

Luther announced that he would preach on indulgences, and, shutting himself up in his cell for several days, prepared his discourse. He admits that he had never studied the question of indulgence, and began by denying that satisfaction was part of the sacrament of penance. He denied that anything beyond contrition was needed for the remission of sin. This denial of temporal punishment for sin, and the necessity of it as satisfaction for sin, of course left no place for any indulgence or commutation of it. As he denied the indulgence to be of any avail to the living, he also declared it to be fruitless when applied to the dead. He maintained that even after receiving the sacrament of penance, the gaining of an indulgence plunged the Christian back into the filth of his sin. With tirades against the schoolmen, he urged his hearers to disregard indulgences, and give any alms they had to spare, not to the building of St. Peter's, but to the poor. The famous sermon that opened the war on the Church is a specimen of Luther's style. There is no accurate reasoning, no grasp of the subject, but plenty of violent declamation. Tetzel's reply was the plain, distinct utterance of a theologian. Luther's retort was characteristic: "I laugh at your words as I do at the braying of an ass; instead of water I recommend to you the juice of the grape; and instead of fire, inhale, my friend, the smell of a roast goose. I am at Wittenberg. I, Doctor Martin Luther, make it known to all inquisitors of the faith, bullies and rock-splitters, that I enjoy here abundant hospitality, an open house, a well-supplied table, and marked attention; thanks to the liberality of our duke and prince, the Elector of Saxony."

Can any man believe such a one to be raised up by God to guide men in the way of salvation?

Many suppose, from the exaggerated statements of Protestant



writers, that Father Tetzel ignorantly or wilfully misrepresented the nature of indulgences, and sold them as pardons for sins. The nature of indulgences was, however, clearly defined in ordinary manuals for the use of the clergy, then in print, such as the *Discipulus de Eruditione Christi Fidelium*, issued at Cologne in 1504, where contrition and confession are laid down as absolutely necessary to the valid gaining of an indulgence, as well as the performance of the prescribed acts. Tetzel's sermons are in print, with his announcement of the jubilee; and they all make contrition and confession a requisite. Nor does Luther in his sermon accuse Tetzel of misstating or misrepresenting Catholic doctrine; he himself attacks the Catholic doctrine of the necessity of satisfaction in conjunction with contrition.

With a hypocrisy that does not generally rank as a mark of sanctity or divine mission, Luther at once wrote to three different bishops, apologizing for his sermon. He did not in this correspondence accuse Tetzel of error, but complained of the error into which his words led weak minds. The Bishop of Brandenburg urged him not to print his sermon; Luther said in reply: "I am well content,"<sup>1</sup> but he nevertheless did print it. He had determined to follow up the subject, and, at midnight, on the last day of October, 1517, the porter of the Augustinian monastery posted on the outer pillars of the Church of All Saints ninety-five theses prepared by Luther.

In the popular literature of our day these are represented as learned objections to the whole system of Catholic truth and discipline. The whole ninety-five bear on indulgences, but scarcely one raises a solid objection. Some are inconsistent with others; some merely satirical cuts at the Holy See; some are merely puerile.

In the short time since his sermon he had changed his views. In the sermon he said: "I maintain that it is impossible to prove from the Scripture that divine justice demands from the sinner any other penance or satisfaction than reformation of the heart; and that it in no part enjoins concurrence of acts or deeds;" but his third thesis asserts: "And He (Christ) does not mean (by 'do penance') an inward repentance merely, which is insufficient unless accompanied by mortification of the flesh."

In his letter to the Archbishop of Mentz he had said: "For man does not become assured of his salvation by any episcopal act, since he cannot become secure by the infused grace of God, and the apostle commands us to work out incessantly our own salvation in fear and trembling, and that even the just can scarcely

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<sup>1</sup> De Wette, Dr. Martin Luther's Briefe, i., p. 71.

be saved."<sup>1</sup> His nineteenth thesis declares: "The souls in purgatory are not assured of their salvation, however we who are on earth may be certain of it." Strange medley! For how can men in life, before Christ pronounces judgment on them, be certain that they are elect, and the souls of the departed who are already judged and not in hell, not know certainly that they are not damned when they had already been certain in life!

The thirty-eighth and seventy-first theses read: "We must not undervalue the pardon of the Pope, which is, *as I have said*, a declaration of divine forgiveness." "Whoever speaks against the truth of the apostolic pardon, let him be anathema."

Yet while he thus openly challenged any one to controvert the authority of the Pope to grant indulgences, and took the Catholic side, he showed his usual instability or hypocrisy in his correspondence. Thus, soon after he wrote to his friend Spalatinus: "Yet I will say two things, first, to *you alone, and our friends*, until the thing is published, that it seems to me now that there is nothing in indulgences except an illusion of souls, and that they are absolutely good for nothing, except to those who snore and are torpid in the way of Christ."

He either put forward these two theses as a blind, to enable him to claim orthodoxy, or was ready to-day to refute as heresy what yesterday he offered to defend as orthodox.

As soon as these theses were circulated, the charge was made that they had been drawn up by Luther, at the command of Frederick, the Elector of Saxony, or, at least, to gratify that prince, in order to annoy and attack the Archbishop of Mentz, by whom the jubilee had been proclaimed in Germany. This appears from Luther's own letters, for he tells Spalatinus that he took care that those who might think any part of the theses applied to them, should receive copies before any were seen in the hands of the Grand Duke or his court. (De Wette, i., p. 70; see also 92, 93.)

Yet, in the following March, addressing Christopher Scheuer, of Nuremberg, one not in the immediate circle, and whose respect he evidently desired to retain, he declared: "It was not my intention or wish to disseminate them, but first to confer as to them with a few residing near and around us, so that, if condemned by the judgment of the many, they might be suppressed, or, if approved, published." (De Wette, i., p. 95.)

The constant hypocrisy appears again, for it was one thing to submit theses to a few private friends for their opinion, before publication, and a very different thing to do what Luther really did, post them, on the eve of a great holiday of the year, on the doors

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<sup>1</sup> De Wette, Dr. Martin Luther's Briefe, i., p. 68.

of a church to which the Pope had granted special indulgences only a few years before. That occasion and that church had called, if ever, for a due and proper exposition of the doctrine of indulgences by the fathers of the Augustinian convent, and if they had left the people so ill instructed as to their nature and the mode of making them aids to a holy life, Luther and his associates were to blame.

The theses were posted up, and they were a summons to war against the Church; they were widely disseminated, and became the topic of the hour with all who were eager for change. Luther soon after visited several cities of Germany, putting forth new propositions, each wilder than those preceding, like those at Heidelberg, where he maintained: "All the works of the just are mortal sins. There is no moral virtue without pride or dejection, that is, without sin. We are not made just by work."

The theologians met him with the close arguments of the schools, but Luther had no idea of dialectics, and despised them. His answer was violent vituperation; he loaded his antagonist with vile epithets, and rattled off, as his school have generally done since his day, in general abuse of the Church. "Come then to the point," he cried, "Aristarchuses, scholastics, hobgoblins, worms of earth, show forth and parade all the brilliancy of your learning."

As he sought to reach the masses, he soon dropped Latin, and wrote almost exclusively in German. As he went on, his violence and his boldness increased; dogma after dogma was attacked, yet he kept saying: "I dispute, I do not assert, and I dispute with fear." He even endeavored to secure the countenance of bishops, and had the hardihood to address in obsequious terms the Bishop of Brandenburg, whom he had so grossly deceived.

Of immense industry, he sent out Commentaries on the Lord's Prayer and on the Seven Penitential Psalms, and similar devotional tracts, as well as controversies, but all were imbued with the underlying principles with which he had begun, the sufficiency of faith alone for salvation, and the restriction of belief to such dogmas only as he could find clearly laid down in such books of Scripture as he chose to admit. His tracts were eagerly bought, and the presses issued them in large numbers.

Accused of heresy on all sides, by sound theologians, Luther, who had the support of princes, nobles, robber knights, and the debauched scholars, thought that he could gain the favor of Rome. But the Emperor Maximilian entreated the Pope to suppress the vain disputations which were unsettling the faith, and must inevitably entail disastrous results. Leo X., who, from the first reports, considered Luther's doings merely an outgrowth of the ordinary rivalry between religious orders, had, in August, 1518, ordered

the Bishop of Ascoli to summon Luther to appear at Rome within sixty days, to answer before judges appointed by His Holiness, in regard to the doctrines which he had put forth. The Pope instructed Cardinal Cajetan, his legate in Germany, in case Luther disobeyed the citation, to call upon the Emperor and princes to put a stop to his course till his orthodoxy had been inquired into.

Luther was still a Catholic priest, saying mass at Catholic altars and maintaining that he was sound in the faith. Yet he knew that the doctrines which he had been putting forth were contrary to the known and definite teachings of the Church. "I do not yet clearly see," he writes to Spalatinus, "in what way I can avoid the intended censures, unless the Prince comes to my aid. On the other hand, I would rather live under perpetual censure than have the Prince incur any reproach on my account. I have offered myself; believe and persuade others, as far as you wish or think it advisable, that I do so offer myself. I will never be a heretic; I may have erred in disputing; but I wish to establish nothing for myself, nor, on the other hand, do I wish to be a slave to the opinions of men." He had already written to Spalatinus to invoke the Prince's aid, and he now continues, in his eagerness to avoid going or being sent to Rome, to give an account of his doctrine. "To our learned and prudent friends, it seems best for me to ask our prince Frederick for a safe conduct through his states. If he refuses it, as I know he will, I shall have a very just exception and excuse for not appearing at Rome. If, therefore, you will in my name ask our illustrious Prince for a rescript, refusing me a safe conduct, and leaving me to my own risk, if I choose to go, you will serve me exceedingly, but you must act promptly; time is passing and the appointed day is approaching."

He boasted of his courage,<sup>1</sup> and in these days the boast will be repeated by his admirers, but the preceding gives us no very exalted idea of it. He vacillated and hesitated, and finally the University of Wittenberg, on their side, wrote to the Pope, and the Elector Frederick on his side wrote to the Pope's legate, to request that Luther might be permitted to proceed to Augsburg instead of to Rome for the purpose of giving an account of the doctrines which he had advanced.

He had on Trinity Sunday (May 30th) written to the Pope himself to justify his course, and with his wonted disingenuousness had said of his theses and strange doctrines: "They are disputations, not doctrines, not dogmas, set out as usual in an enigmatical

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<sup>1</sup> He was brave when he knew he was safe. "I had no fear of their censures, as I was safe in the midst of Germany," Letter to Spalatinus, Aug. 23d, 1520. (De Wette, i., p. 480.)

form ; yet could I have foreseen it, I should certainly have taken part on my side, that they should be more easy to understand."

"Were I such a man as they wish me to appear, and all things had not been rightly handled by me in the course of disputation, it could not be that the most illustrious Prince Frederick, Duke of Saxony, Elector of the Empire, would permit such a pest in his university, pre-eminent as he is for his attachment to the Catholic apostolic truth."

"Wherefore, most blessed Father, I offer myself prostrate at the feet of thy Holiness, with all that I am and have ; quicken, slay, call, recall, approve, reprove, as shall please thee. I recognize thy voice as that of Christ abiding and speaking in thee. If I deserve death, I do not refuse to die."

Fénelon could not have expressed more complete submission to the judgment of the Apostolic See ; it remains to see whether Luther's actions corresponded to his language.

He set out for Augsburg with the sympathy of his many friends and students. He reached that city wearied and ill, as he tells us. On being received at a Carmelite convent he notified the Nuncio of his arrival, but would not appear before him until a safe conduct from the Emperor arrived. He had resolved not to retract. "I should prefer to die, and, what is a greater punishment, be forever deprived of your delightful society," he wrote to Melancthon, "than retract what is well said, and be an occasion for losing the fruit of our excellent studies." (De Wette, i., p. 146.)

At last Luther, attended by his friends, proceeded to the legate. Cardinal Cajetan received him with all kindness. Luther professed a willingness to disavow any expressions, if the legate convinced him that they were erroneous, but the Nuncio was not to be led into any dispute. He told the wilful man that he was there to receive his renunciation of his errors, not to argue. "What error have I taught ?" asked Luther. Cardinal Cajetan presented two errors. 1st. "That the merits of Christ are not the treasure of indulgences." 2d. "That faith alone is sufficient for justification." He showed decisions of the Holy See covering the ground, and again called on Luther to renounce his errors ; he asked three days to reply, but returned the next day with a protest, offering to submit his writings to the judgment of the Holy Father, and the universities of Basle, Fribourg, Louvain, and Paris. This he followed up by an elaborate defence, and when Cajetan found him obstinate, he said, "Do not return again. All is ended."

Yet the Nuncio wished to save the unfortunate man. He urged Staupitz and Linke to counsel submission to their friend, and, moved by them, Luther, on the 17th of October, wrote to Cardinal Cajetan, "I am affected, repentant. Henceforward I promise

you, my Father, to speak and act quite differently by God's assistance. I shall speak no more upon indulgences, provided you impose silence on all those who have brought me into this painful position."

"As to the retractation, my reverend and kind Father, which you and our Vicar demand so earnestly, my conscience in no wise permits me to make it, and nothing in the world, orders, counsels, or the voice of friendship, can make me speak or act against my conscience."

"I entreat you, therefore, with all humility, to refer this cause before our Holy Father, Pope Leo X., to the end that the Church may pronounce on what must be believed or rejected. I desire nothing else than to hear and follow the Church." (De Wette, i., p. 163.)

Even this slight step toward submission was too much for his pride. He at once prepared an appeal, and leaving it to be posted, fled in haste at night, guided by a peasant. In a letter to the Nuncio, he declared that he appealed even "from the Pope ill informed to the Pope better informed" (De Wette, i., p. 164). He drew up his appeal and then prepared a further appeal to a future council. An appeal to three courts in succession before there had been any decision, was certainly a strange course of proceeding. He denounced the Brief of Leo X. "It is incredible that anything so monstrous can issue from the Sovereign Pontiff, especially Leo X. Whoever then the scamp is that proposes to frighten me with such a decree in the name of Leo X., let him understand that I do understand nonsense, or if it really emanated from the Curia, I will teach them their most impudent temerity and wicked ignorance." (De Wette, i., p. 166.)

The same farce was enacted when Miltitz, in the name of the Pope, endeavored to recall Luther. There were the same outward professions of respect and submission, while to his friends he showed his stubborn resolve to retract nothing, and his utter contempt for all the constituted authorities of the Church. It was not till the dispute with Eck that he was forced to admit his doctrines were those of Huss, condemned at Constance, and then he insisted that a general council could err, shocking even the Elector Frederick, his constant friend. While deluding the Catholics and addressing the Emperor Charles V. in specious terms of submission, he began to denounce the Pope as Antichrist.

Pope Leo X. at last, in the Bull *Exsurge Domine et judica causam tuam*, issued June 15th, 1520, condemned forty-one propositions extracted from Luther's writings, and excommunicated him, if he did not retract before the lapse of sixty days. This Bull was formally published in some parts of Germany, derided in others, and burned by Luther, who, instead of submitting, wrote a treatise

denouncing it as a bull of Antichrist. The comparison of these two documents is in itself enough to condemn Luther. No unbiassed mind can read the fatherly, mild and temperate words of the Pope who seeks to win back an erring son, and not feel that the Spirit of God in his Church breathes through them; while Luther's seem prompted by the Spirit of Evil, and are utterly irreconcilable with the ideal of a Christian Church.

The universities to which he had appealed all condemned him, and thus condemned by the Pope and the universities, he ceased to be a Catholic. At the Diet of Worms he again poses as a hero; but he was not bold until he knew that he was safe under the protection of the Elector of Saxony, and the promised help of Franz von Sickingen, Count Schaumburg, Hartmuth von Kromberg, and other noble ruffians and titled highwaymen, of whom the very Emperor and the assembled states stood in awe, in their inability to repress their high-handed murders and robberies. Safe in their support, Luther at Worms refused even to submit to the decision of a general council, and was put under the ban of the empire; but it could not be enforced; and when the Diet of Nuremberg met, many princes were already Lutherans, and Catholicity had lost its hold in several states. They had become a "twofold Bohemia." (Luther in De Wette, i., p. 464.)

Luther set to work to give form to Protestantism, but every village had among the apostate monks and priests some reformer who refused to listen to him, but claimed a right to frame a religion of his own. This took its most terrible form in the Peasants' War, led by Thomas Münzer. They drew their doctrines from Luther's writings, but his attitude towards them presents him in a new aspect, that of a cruel and relentless oppressor. "They ought to be choked like mad dogs," he says. "Give the ass his fodder, burdens and the cudgel, says the wise man; give the peasants their oat-straw, and if they are not satisfied, give them stripes and musket-balls. Mercy will do them no good; let artillery rattle among them, or they will do a thousand times worse. Even to pity them is to deny and blaspheme God, and to try to pull Him down out of heaven. They ought to be choked like mad dogs." Fearing that Albert, Count of Mansfield, might deal mildly with them, he anxiously begs of Ruhel, one of his counsellors, to do what he can to prevent it. He exhorts every one to come to the rescue, to take up arms against the peasants, "to strike, stab, and slay, as best he can, and if he die in this holy crusade he will have a happy death."<sup>1</sup>

This was against his own deluded followers. Of course against

<sup>1</sup> Four Lay Sermons, Lancaster, 1879, pp. 42-3, citing De Wette, i., p. 465-480; ii., pp. 669-670.

Catholics he was equally violent. "O that Charles were a man and would attack these Satans for Christ's sake!" he cried, on receiving the Bull of Leo X. (De Wette, i., p. 494.) Again: "I rejoice that Hutten has sallied out, and would that he might intercept Marinus and Aleandro." (Ib., p. 50.)

We have seen in our time the mob in Russia rising on the Jews. These Muscovites have drawn down on themselves the sternest reprobation in many countries where Luther is held in honor. Yet "Luther cordially hated the Jews, and advocated their ill treatment on principle. Not content with calling them by the most opprobrious names (ass-heads, lying mouths, devil's children, devils, young devils damned to hell), he consoles himself with the thought that they will be tormented, not in upper hell, nor in middle hell, but in hell's deepest depths. He tells us how they ought to be treated by Christian princes; how he would treat them, if he had the power.

"In the first place, he would burn every synagogue or school of theirs, and invite Christians to help the flames by throwing in pitch, brimstone and hell fire, if possible. Next, he would raze their houses to the ground; to sleep under a shed or in a stable is good enough for them. He would likewise take away from them their books, prayer-books, and Talmudist writings, and all their Bibles; not a leaf must be left to them. Finally he would imitate the good example set in France, and by our dear (Emperor) Charles in Bohemia and Spain, and drive them out of Germany, after depriving them of the wealth which they had stolen from Christians by their usury. So long as they are with us, or on our soil, they must not be allowed to praise or thank God or pray. They must not mention God's name in presence of a Christian. But it is better to hunt them out like mad dogs, that we may not partake of their sins and damnation."<sup>1</sup>

The hatred of the Jews seemed to increase with his years, and the very last sermon that he delivered breathes the same spirit of violence. And yet we shall hear him extolled as the highest type of a tolerant mind:

Luther was now out of the pale of the Church. At his instigation and by his counsel, monks, nuns and friars had abandoned their cloisters and married, carrying off what they could; priests had in the same way violated their vows. Mass ceased to be said in many parts, or was said as each one's fancy dictated; princes seized the Church property and divided it among their courtiers. The parts of Germany to which the influence of Luther and his collaborators had extended were in a singular state. Religion was in

<sup>1</sup> Four Lay Sermons, citing Luther's Works (Erlangen edn.), xxxii., pp. 234, 238, 252-3, 259.



a perfect chaos. There was no settled doctrine, no recognized public worship of God, no regularly constituted clergy, but swarms of self-appointed preachers. Christianity, as it had been planted in Germany by Boniface, Virgil, Wilfrid, was abolished. In some countries of the world the pretence might be made that there was a Christianity there preceding the Roman system; for Germany no such pretence could be made. Its apostles were monks, and introduced the monastic life; they were sent by the Pope, and from the outset acknowledged the Sovereign Pontiff as the ultimate judge in matters of faith and discipline, as their ecclesiastical superior, the source from which their authority was derived. The public worship they introduced was the mass, in the language and according to the rite of Rome.

Yet the people generally clung to the faith. "Only for the princes and nobles," wrote Luther (Walch I, 2444), "we should not remain long. Let us pray for the Prince Elector that he may preserve the Church." "If I wished," he says elsewhere, "I could easily, with two or three sermons, make my people turn back to the Papacy and cause new pilgrimages and masses." "I know in truth that there are scarcely ten in Wittenberg, whom I could not seduce, if I would again use such holiness as I used when a monk under the Papacy." (Works, 6, 280, etc., cited in Stang.) He admits that he did away with the mass at the compulsion of the civil power.

In whom was there authority vested to rear up a new Christianity, to form a new scripture, a new faith, a new worship, never before recognized? That any man without direct authority from Almighty God should assume the right to do so, and impose his work on his fellow-men, with no warrant but his own fancy, is one of the most daring things in all human history. That any people should cast aside the Christianity, as originally established in their land, which had prevailed for centuries, and was in harmony with that prevailing throughout Christendom, and dating back beyond all civil institutions, cast it all aside and submit to creed and worship and ministry framed by men no better than themselves, and in many points men that the upright must have despised, is still more astounding. That men should submit to such degradation of their manhood, passes all comprehension. The Catholic recognizes the Church as established by Christ, who gave His Apostles power and made it their duty to teach. In obeying the Apostles and their successors, in receiving the faith, the worship, the ministry transmitted from them and by them, he preserves his dignity and his manhood; he bows to an authority instituted by God. But the Reformation in Germany swept all away. What was set up had no antecedent, no transmitted power or authority. It was the work of men usurping a divine function, without the shadow of a

pretence of divine commission. To bow to it is from a mere human point of view the deepest degradation to which man can sink.

Luther had erected himself into something more than Church, or Popes, or Councils. But he soon found that his followers were inclined to use the same liberty that he had assumed. His authority was defied on all sides. New teachers and new creeds appeared in all parts of Germany. His own principles, theories, and arguments were employed against him, and in religious matters chaos prevailed. In vain he endeavored to fall back on Catholic doctrines and the supernatural, and call on them, as he did on the Anabaptists, to prove their doctrine by miracles,<sup>1</sup> forgetting that he had no miracles to prove his own mission.

Luther had been able to destroy, but he was utterly unable to reconstruct. God, who is essentially the Spirit of Order, could never have sent any man as His minister merely to abolish, and then leave men without a guide as to the truths He wished them to know, the worship they were to render to Him.

Luther could not draw up a creed or institute a worship. Appealed to from all sides, he could only advise the civil powers to frame new religions for themselves. Some retained more of the Mass, others less; some retained what others rejected. If he did not, from the outset, avow the principle that the civil government had supreme jurisdiction over the faith of its subjects, and the worship to be rendered to Almighty God, he certainly, in the result, did so practically.

When, therefore, the meeting of the Diet at Augsburg made it necessary for the Protestant party to state distinctly its faith, Luther sinks to a secondary place. Unstable as water, how could he lay down a formula of faith when he was constantly denying one day what he had professed the day before? He declared the Church infallible (*De 1 Præcept.*, and in reply to *Priorato*), and that it is fallible (*In Postil. Dom.*, 1 post *Epiph.*); that we must submit to the Councils (*In Disput. Lips.*, art. 16, contra *Zuinglium*); and that we must not (*Contra Regem Angliæ*, chap. 15); he maintains that the civil government has power over the ministers of religion (*Ad. Christ. Nobiles Germaniæ*), and denies it (*Lib de Bello adv. Turc.*). He admitted that there was a hell (*Serm. Conven. de Condemnatione et Inferno*), and denied its existence (*In cap. 2, Jonæ*, in *cap. 5, Gen.*). He taught that the sacraments conferred grace (*De præp. ad mort*, *Epistola contra Regem Angliæ*), and he taught the very contrary (*In Adsert.*, art. 1, *Concio. de pœnitentia*; *De Captivitate Babyl.*). He taught that there were seven Sacraments

<sup>1</sup> "Jussi tandem, ut miraculis probarent suam doctrinam, qua ultra et contra scripturas gloriarentur. Illi recusabant miracula, minati tamen sunt, fore ut credere tandem eis cogerent." Letter to Spalatinus, Apl. 12, 1522, *De Wette*, ii., p. 179.

(De Potestate Papæ, tom. ii. (Wittenb., 1551), tom. vii., p. 321); then reduces them to two (De Adoratione Sacram., vii., p. 373); increases them to three (Confess., art. 12, etc.), and even five (Serm. do Novo Testamento). He maintained each of the Sacraments and denied five of them. In baptism, he both admitted and denied that grace was conferred (De Captiv. Babylon.); that original sin is effaced (In cap. vi., Gen.); and that it is not (In Psal. li., etc.); he maintained that there was a purgatory, and that we should pray for the dead (Disput. Lips., cap. de Purgato.), and denied it (De Abroganda Missa. Priv.).

It was impossible for any one so uncertain and self-willed, so devoid of any solid foundation, to build up a system, or to prepare a creed that he would himself adhere to for twenty-four hours.

His moral character, too, had waned. He had declared repeatedly, and in the grossest terms, that man could not live without woman; he had encouraged monks, priests, and nuns to marry; his conduct at Worms had been so loose as to excite censure; and when Spalatinus urged him to marry, he replied that he had had four wives, and that they had married three away from him, and that he held the fourth only with the left hand; and when he finally married it was a tardy act of attempted reparation.<sup>1</sup>

All this, with his foul language, which exhausted the vocabulary of coarseness, brutality, and indecency, and which showed habitual use of words that could become familiar only to men who associated with the most degraded of creatures, made him especially unfitted to be trusted with the delicate task of framing such a profession of faith as could be presented and maintained.

His power and influence had culminated. They were potent only for destruction, and he had carried destruction to its limit.

The Augsburg Confession, which is to this day the symbol of the Lutherans, and printed in the beginning of their prayer-books, is not the work of Martin Luther. It was drawn up by Melanchthon, who corresponded with Luther, then at Coburg, but did not adhere to his views. Melanchthon was really desirous of ending the schism and returning to unity; he was endeavoring to act honestly. Luther desired neither to restore the unity of the Church nor to act honestly. On the 28th of August, 1530, he wrote to Me-

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<sup>1</sup> His "Esto peccator et pecca fortiter," addressed to Melanchthon, in 1521, must, with his avowal of his own temptations and carnal desires, his denial of the possibility of even temporary continency, be regarded as intended especially to refer to sins of the flesh. He declared that he could find nothing in Scripture in condemnation of polygamy (De Wette, ii., p. 459), and, as is well known, allowed the Landgrave of Hesse to have two wives. Luther renewed, as far as he could, the old Indo-Germanic worship of lust, of which the *lingams* in India stand as monuments to this day.

lanchthon condemning him for not putting forward doctrines they did not believe, in order to gain time and delude their enemies; "For if," says he, "we avoid having force used against us, and gain peace, we shall easily amend our stratagems (*dolos*, and in many editions it is *mendaciæ*, lies) and lapses."

In this Confession the Lutherans denied that they wished to abolish Mass or Confession, and though editions vary, it so reads to this day in the Lutheran prayer-books. In regard to the Holy Eucharist, they used words evidently intended to deceive. "*De cœna Domini docent quod corpus et sanguis Christi vere adsint et distribuantur vescentibus in cœna Domini et improbant secus docentes.*" "As to the Lord's Supper, they teach that the Body and Blood of Christ are truly present, and are distributed to those who eat at the Lord's Supper, and they condemn those who teach otherwise." (*Confessio Invariata*.) Luther's horrid denial of Free Will was covered up also in ambiguous phrases. The originals presented to Charles V., in Latin and German, were not published, but it is asserted that they were even stronger on this point.<sup>1</sup>

Luther's influence at Augsburg prevented the return of Germany to the faith, and led to the hypocritical Confession, intended not to confess, but to conceal the real belief of those who made it.

This Confession, however, became a standard, and in the Protestant states of Germany each prince set to work to frame a religious system to keep his people from lapsing into utter heathenism. When the Scandinavian kings also revolted from the Church, they too, on the basis of Luther, modelled churches with creed, orders of ministry and service to suit themselves.

While the civil power was thus endeavoring to build up what he had levelled, and make a religion as part of the state police, Luther lived in comparative retirement with the nun Catharine Bora, whom he had married in 1525, and the family that grew up around them, studying and working, relaxing to enjoy music or potations with his friends, pouring out the strange medley of table talk which his admirers noted down and preserved for the amazement of future ages.

Of that marriage he wrote with his usual inconsistency, ascribing it alike to the devil and to God.

In them and in his letters he often deplores the decline of virtue and morality, of piety and charity among the people, and declares that men were better when under the old system.

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<sup>1</sup> Luther, in his letter "An die Christen zu Strassburg," December 15th, 1524, tells them that he tried to give up the faith in the Real Presence to spite the Papists; and elsewhere relates how the devil finally convinced him that the Catholic doctrine was wrong. What a fearful way of dealing with the holiest things!

Yet he resolutely resisted all efforts to recall him to his early faith and give his aid to a cause in which he was no longer a leader. His virulence of language increased, if possible, and his words almost on his deathbed make one shudder. Well might the Reformed Church of Zurich write: "It is clearer than the sun, and cannot be denied, that no mortal ever wrote more foully, more uncivilly, or more indecently than Luther, and this beyond all limits of Christian modesty and sobriety."

Pretended translations of his *Tischreden*, or Table Talk, have been given, but if Luther was a man of God, full of the Spirit of the Gospel, why not give the work in full? We can brand as hypocrites those who speak of Luther as pure and good, and defy them to print a translation of the *Tischreden* without suppression and without toning down his language. They dare not show Luther to the deluded as he really is.

Luther's most potent work, which exercised an influence over the language of all Germany, and which has continued in use to the present time among Protestants in Germany, is his translation of the Bible, begun in the castle of Wartburg and completed in 1522. His great object was to make the version thoroughly German, and to make the sacred authors read as though they had written in German. "Great God," he wrote, "what a labor, to employ force to make the Hebrew poets express themselves in German!" To attain this, he often sacrificed accuracy, even where his strong prepossessions did not induce him to mistranslate on purpose. His version was clear, forcible, and at once became popular. He boasted that it was better as a translation than the Vulgate or Septuagint. His work made the Saxon dialect the classic language of Germany, and in comparison with his natural style, the earlier German translations by Catholics, though faithful to a nicety, seem harsh and obscure. It cannot be wondered at that Luther's Bible attained a wide popularity, and exercised a decided influence in the formation of the German language.

To the Reformers this Bible became everything. Martin Luther's main dogma was that nothing could be required to be believed that is not explicitly laid down in the Bible. The dogma, if accepted, must be rejected, for it is not itself explicitly laid down anywhere in the Bible. But Protestantism has never regarded this slight inconsistency, and where the Catholic doctrine is explicitly stated, as in the Real Presence, the Apostolic power of forgiving sins, Baptismal Regeneration, the Supremacy of St. Peter, the judicious insertion of a negative will always give the Protestant doctrine.

It is, however, amazing that Luther, who spent ten years translating the Bible, and made it the study of his life, should enunciate

such a dogma when he really had little reverence for the Bible. As he rejected the authority of the teaching Church, he had no guide but his own whim. He began by rejecting the deuterocanonical books entirely, although they had always been received by the Oriental churches, and especially by those who occupied the Holy Land, and who, consequently, had preserved the books continuously. But even for the books that he chose to retain, he showed little or no respect. Of the Pentateuch he says: "We have no wish either to see or hear Moses." Of Ecclesiastes: "This book should be more complete; it is mutilated; it is like a horseman riding without boots or spurs." He wished that Esther did not exist. The New Testament fared no better: "The first three (Gospels) speak of the works of our Lord rather than of his oral teachings; that of St. John is the only sympathetic, the only true Gospel, and should be undoubtedly preferred to the others. In like manner the Epistles of St. Peter and St. Paul are superior to the first three Gospels." The Epistle to the Hebrews did not suit him. "It need not surprise one to find here," he says, "bits of wood, hay, and straw." The Epistle of St. James, which so decidedly declares works with faith to be necessary, Luther denounced as "an epistle of straw." "There are many things objectionable in this book," he says of the Apocalypse; "to my mind it bears upon it no marks of an apostolic or prophetic character. . . . Every one may form his own judgment of this book; as for myself, I feel an aversion to it, and to me this is sufficient reason for rejecting it."

Thus did he pave the way for the Rationalists, who, in Germany, scarcely surpass him.

His pride was intense. He conceived himself directly illuminated by the Holy Ghost, and second only to the Godhead. For all others he had nothing but contempt and scorn. To him all must bow, and in that Satanic pride he felt the deepest loathing even of his followers, of whom he wrote: "*Stercora nostra adorabunt et pro balsamo habebunt.*"

Such is Luther, but not such will he be presented in the commemorations about to take place. There his doubts, vacillations, and inconsistencies will be pardoned; his treatment of the Scriptures will be extolled; his low moral tone admired; his hatred of everything Catholic applauded; yet, really, the nineteenth century, in its dotage, ought not to insult human reason by holding up such a man as one raised up by God, as one who did any real service to religion or morality, or by honoring as the champion of human freedom one who persistently denied free will in man, or man's responsibility for his acts.

## WHAT HAS IRELAND GAINED BY AGITATION?

**A**FTER five continuous years of excited agitation, it is fair to ask: Has Ireland gained? Judging from her apparent condition alone, one might say decidedly: She has not gained; she has lost. The laws in force there at this moment are more oppressive, more exasperating, more like the rigid bands of a "conquered province," and less like the order of an enfranchised nation, than they have been since the abrogation of all law but the sword eighty-five years ago.

But the actual present condition of Ireland is not the criterion. It shows violence and arbitrary force-rule on the part of the government. And the governmental violence is the measure of the popular resistance. Judgment must be formed from the recent past and the signs of the immediate future.

Two years ago the national leader of Ireland, and hundreds of the principal men in the country, were cast into prison, and kept there, untried, and subjected to daily shameful indignities, for many months. The English press proclaimed that this was "the end of Parnell's power." The Land League was condemned as an illegal and criminal organization. The landlords announced that the farmers had been "terrorized by the League," and were now willing to pay their rents.

Delusions both. Mr. Parnell is more powerful than ever. There is a greater League in existence to-day; and the landlords are begging a loan from the Imperial treasury.

The *London Times*, voicing the privileged classes of England, is at present calling for "extraordinary measures for Ireland," which, it says, must be "resolutely carried out." An "extraordinary measure," for instance, would be the reimprisonment of Mr. Parnell and the principal men who were with him in jail eighteen months ago. Will this be done? How would such a movement strike Ireland at this stage? How would it strike the outer world?

It may safely be said that this step will not, dare not be taken. The only other "extraordinary measure" that can keep the Irish from continuing to win is to disfranchise the entire nation—to go behind even the Catholic disfranchisement repealed in 1829, for the Protestants are now as troublesome as the Papists, as illustrated by the Monaghan and Sligo elections. The Orange farmers are voting the Nationalist ticket.

Were Ireland in remote India, such a policy of disfranchisement might pass unseen. But in the very midst of civilization, within

sight of the doorways of Europe, this course is not likely to be attempted; and if it were, the loss would continue on the side of the aggressor.

On the 21st of August, the English House of Peers, by a vote of 52 to 32, rejected a Registration Bill for Ireland, which would have given power to the people to elect Nationalist representatives from almost every county and borough in Ireland. The twenty English peers who formed the majority, unable to disfranchise, were resolved not to enfranchise; but on which side lies the gain? On the next day, August 22d, the Prime Minister stated in the House of Commons that he regretted the action of the Lords; and also that he would "introduce a larger measure on the subject at the next session of Parliament."

But the material gain to Ireland is not the greater gain, which is abstract, intellectual, spiritual.

The session of Parliament just concluded has been notable for practical legislation for Ireland; by the Fisheries Act a million and a quarter dollars have been voted to develop coast fisheries; by the Tramways Act ten million dollars have been voted to build tramways through districts where railroads are not, thus opening up immense and populous tracts by cheap communication with the large markets; by the same bill a quarter of a million dollars have been voted to migrate the people from poor and crowded districts to rich and fertile land, and to enable them to purchase holdings there; and by this bill, also, another quarter of a million dollars have been voted to send the impoverished people to foreign countries; by the Laborers Bill the dwellings of the poorest element of the population will be vastly improved.

But these money-grants are not the measure of Irish gain during the agitation. The real gain is an Irish growth, not an English grant. Two years ago the Irish agitation was aimed only at the lowering of rents and "the abolition of landlordism." To-day the first clause in the programme is National Self-Government.

Glance back over the events of two years. The Land League had done its work completely; it had aroused and organized the people, exposed the general and appalling poverty, the immorality of such a class as absentee landlords and such a system as rack rents. It also gave the people a proof of their own power when united, and illustrated the folly of disunion. When there was danger of the people depending too long on their new machinery, they were saved from the error by English statesmanship, that "proclaimed" the Land League, broke up its meetings, and imprisoned hundreds of its leaders.

This was a gain for Ireland that has hastened developments by years. England played a card for Ireland better than any in the



Irish hand. Not only was the Land League prevented from misdirecting the national aim to a secondary target, but the earnestness and patriotism of the people were blown into white heat by the arbitrary arrest of the leaders and the legalized lawlessness of the new Crimes Act.

But if Ireland has gained so much, why is she not doing as well as could be done? 1st. Because a large part of her actual gain has come from her enemy's blunders; and, 2d. Because all other gain is only possible and prospective, and may yet be lost by her own blunders.

There is, it must be admitted, a strange vagueness, not of purpose but practice, in the Irish National League.

The Land League was direct, single-minded; and in two years its work was done and well done. But the new league, designed to agitate for Self-Government, has only filled its cylinders with Land League steam. It strikes an intermittent and uncertain stroke. It is clear enough on paper; but the people who compose it are not pulling on one rope; when questioned, they do not respond with the same answer; they are not of one mind.

Nothing could be clearer than the order of the five propositions underlying the new National League. They are:

- 1st. National Self-Government.
- 2d. Land Law Reform.
- 3d. Local Self-Government.
- 4th. Extension of the Parliamentary and Municipal Franchises.
- 5th. The development and encouragement of the Labor and Industrial Interests of Ireland.

To interfere with the order of these propositions may be as dangerous as to desert them altogether; and yet they have not been upheld, as they stand, by the League of which they are the first principles.

The direct movement for Self-Government for Ireland has not yet been begun, either in Ireland or America, except by the secret revolutionary societies. The object of these is total separation from England, and the establishment of a republic. That is not the object of the Irish National League.

The first article of the National League is: "The restitution to the Irish people of the right to manage their own affairs in a Parliament elected by the people of Ireland." There has not been, since the League was formed, a public meeting held in Ireland or America at which this object was put forward as the purpose of the agitation. This is an important and extraordinary fact.

It is true, Mr. Parnell at the recent League meeting in Dublin announced that a bill for "Local Self-Government" would be introduced in the next session of Parliament, thus placing the third

article of the programme before the first. But Mr. Parnell does not so place them. This bill will not come from the Irish representatives. It will be an English offer, not an Irish ultimatum—a sop to take the place of a satisfaction.

Should such a bill be offered, it will be accepted, of course; it is decreasing the length of the enemy's sword by even an inch, and increasing the Irish blade.

"Local Self-Government" means, more or less, the abolition of the English official network that now ties the hands of the Irish people for the greatest and the least movement. It means the abolition of the principle of nomination by the government of grand juries, sheriffs, magistrates, and membership of the following boards: The Local Government Board; the Board of Works; the General Valuation and Boundary Survey; the Board of National Education; the Prison and Reformatory Boards, and the Fishery Board. It means the transfer of all these to county boards, elected by the people, which shall take charge of all union workhouses, asylums, hospitals, prisons, reformatory schools, and other institutions supported by local rates.

The bill offered by the English ministry next session will probably not be so sweeping in its reform; but a change that shall pass any of this local machinery into the hands of the people is a change to be accepted.

"Local self-government" will be a large assistance toward attaining national self-government. They are all bound up together—registration of laborers, land reform, and industrial development. But the principle of nationality must be kept in advance. Whatever contracts are to be made between England and Ireland—and it is evident that the period of contract-making has come—can only be made with safety between the Parliaments of the two countries, and not between the English government on one side, and the individual Irish counties, towns, corporations, or farmers, on the other.

The recent grant of two-and-a-half million dollars to migrate poor families from crowded to uncrowded districts in Ireland, was an advantage; but as soon as a corporation was formed in Ireland to collect money from the people, to coöperate with the English government in this movement, the advantage was lost, and the principle misunderstood. England may well grant "favours," if she can induce the Irish farmers, or the clergy, or any distinct class in return, to bind themselves directly to the Imperial treasury, by mortgage or gratitude.

Irish nationality is unsafe so long as England is in a position to treat directly with any class of the people, and not with their national representative government. No country would be safe, in which

the states, towns, or individuals were allowed to mortgage their property and allegiance to a foreign government. Why, then, is the self-government principle held in abeyance? Why is not the machinery of the National League set working without delay, for its main object?

There are three influences which impede the progress of the new agitation. One is natural, one conservative, and one radical.

First. The subsidence of one great agitation compels a passive or fallow season, a period of rest, before another can be entered upon. Agitation is a wave-motion on the sea of reform. The Land League harvest had used up much vitality. The silence and inaction of a winter were necessary for recuperation.

Second. In every country, there is a conservative class, influential, educated; timid of change, willing to go on as at present, or to seek for slow reform in the direction of the present line. This class, composed of various elements, is strong in Ireland. It rather fears the possible action of an independent Irish Parliament. On one side is a fear that Home Rule would be "Rome Rule," while in another is a dread that secret societies and other uncertain elements might dominate the government. Added to these is the purely British Catholic belief, which more or less affects Ireland, that if the Irish members left the British Parliament, the English Catholic party would be wholly unrepresented there, except by Protestants or atheists, and the "reconversion of England" would therefore be indefinitely postponed.

Third. The republicans or revolutionists have secretly disliked Home Rule, which they have passionately and unreasonably called a "compromise with England." The Irish radicals are a faithful and hopeful class, willing to wait for the day of "England's difficulty," with a knife ready to cut the bond entirely. They fear that a temporizing policy may permanently lessen the patriotism of the people. However they may outwardly support the "open organizations," as they call them, they have firmly believed that the heroic principle of abiding, even through pain, for the supreme opportunity of entire independence, was the best course for Ireland.

None of these three influences actually opposes Home Rule, but all three restrain it. But outside these are the great common interests and common-sense of the nation, which are gradually and surely permeating the whole.

It is easily seen that the period of stagnation is about over. The country is rousing itself to a new effort, and the coming agitation will certainly be deeper and wider than the last. Next year will see a real national movement in Ireland. The conservative elements are moving to the popular rhythm. The Orangemen

of the North have caught the inspiration; the recent attacks by some of their body on Nationalist meetings being merely the last resource of the landlord party. The bishops and priests have firmer confidence in the political leaders than they had one or two years ago. And the most radical of the revolutionists are beginning to perceive that a man who is gagged and ironed, hand and foot, does not "compromise" with his oppressor by allowing him to remove the gag, and liberate one arm.

Radical or revolutionary spirit is usually only the result of inexperience in moral reform. To the natural eye the force of arms is the only means to overthrow injustice. The facility of violence is the measure of national as of individual development.

But where the word precedes the deed, reforms are complete and permanent. Premature action, however heroic, is as often regarded as a warning as an example. Irish revolutions cannot compare in beneficial results with Irish agitations; and the country is yet young in this higher order of reform.

Ten, or even five years ago, the "nationalist" who should advise Irishmen to take an interest in local elections, say for poor-law guardians, would be considered almost "a traitor." To-day, the people are a unit for securing even limited local government as a means to an end; and the constitutional exercise in this direction is affecting the political methods even of the revolutionists.

Besides the gain of this improved method of national action, there has been an elevation of tone, a greater calmness of expression in the Irish movement. This is due, almost wholly, to the Catholic hierarchy and clergy. Their critical attitude has steadied the movements of the people, discounted passion, compelled a conscientious consideration of the interests at stake—in a word, has raised the Irish national movement from social materialism, and made it Christian and legitimate.

It is a fair hope that the secret society will disappear from Ireland with the foreign rule that created it; and that the passionate earnestness which led many Irishmen to the proscribed organizations, will, in a self-governed Ireland, hold the same men faithful to the highest spiritual obligation. England is now holding up the Irish radical as a terror to the Catholic Church, just as, a few years ago, she held up the priest as a bugaboo to the Protestants and Orangemen.

There are two most remarkable features in the present Irish movement,—namely, patient, moral agitation, by a warlike and passionate people, and the unique influence of exiled millions on the affairs of the home country. These are illustrations of national and international progress. Both are based on moral force; but moral force has always a threat in reserve.

The Irish movement is not slow; it is rapid enough. The glacier is moving. Henceforth, its most precious element will be the guiding one. The main body of the nation has progressed with marvellous judgment and temperance, considering its opportunities and exasperations. The highest proof of intelligence is to win with a minority; and so far Ireland has carried every position on which she bent the national will. During the last five years she has taught the world a splendid lesson in moral agitation for reform.

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## THE ORIGIN OF CIVIL AUTHORITY.

### [PART SECOND.—CONCLUSION.]

*European Civilization*, by Rev. J. Balmes. Baltimore, 1874.

*Die Grundsätze der Sittlichkeit und des Rechtes*, beleuchtet von Th. Meyer, S. J., Freiburg, Herder. 1868.

**I**F Catholic philosophers trace back authority to God as to its true source, they neither enter upon a new attempt, nor teach us a truth foreign from mankind. With the idea of governments endowed with a superhuman character even the heathen world was conversant. All the states of antiquity, the empires of the Egyptians, Babylonians, Assyrians, the early kingdoms of the Greeks, and the Romans were governed by rulers whose authority was thought to have descended from the Deity; nay, no less common was this view of power among the nations than the belief in a Supreme Being. Nor do we meet here with mere heathen superstition. The universality of that conviction must needs rest on some truth, though darkened and distorted. Moreover, the ancient commonwealths were flourishing as long as the sacredness of law and authority was respected; but no sooner were governments looked on as quite earthly institutions than they began to give way to the violence of human passions. History proves this fact with regard to all states. Now, would it not be a very strange phenomenon, if human society should prosper when based on mere falsehood, and decline when its fundamental principles are sifted from error? Hence it is easily understood that the conviction concerning the divine origin of civil power, coeval with mankind, is older than Christianity, and not based on revelation alone. It

is also a natural truth striking with evidence human reason, and shining with full lustre on all that do not shut their eyes to the light.

Authority, indeed, manifests its true origin whenever its functions and characteristic properties are attentively reflected on. Thus its divine descent is at once clear and set beyond all doubt. This way we are now to follow in developing and demonstrating the Christian theory of civil power, after having, in a previous article, demonstrated the absurdity of the systems which derive government from man himself.

Authority, destined to govern civil society, must first be a power strong enough to overcome all egotistic resistance of the individuals, to withstand all onsets of lower passions, to defy all plots of the unruly. It must be steady and immovable in spite of all motions of our free will, aroused by the various propensities of human nature, and stand like a rock amidst all the waves tossed to and fro in the course of ages. Indestructible and unconquerable in itself, it must give firmness, permanence and unity to the state, notwithstanding our natural changefulness.

Authority must, secondly, be above each individual man and all mankind in general. For he who is invested with governmental power binds our wills and lays on them the necessity to follow a certain rule, in order thus to reduce us to unity and harmony in our actions. But what restricts our will is not only distinct from, but also superior to us. Distinct from us it must be, because, if left to ourselves and put under no restraint from outside, we are not bound, but enjoy our full freedom. Our own resolutions are no tie for us, since we may at any moment change them with as much right as we have formed them. Superior to us the power that binds us must be, because, if that which is to subject us to a certain order is not of a higher rank, we may resist it and undo its work. Neither can one man, therefore, of his own authority, bind another, since, so far as nature is concerned, we are all equal and free, nor can all mankind restrain our will, since the power of laying such a necessity on us cannot be constituted by adding the powerlessness of individuals.

Hence, it follows that, thirdly, authority lies originally in the Author of nature. For, as man is naturally free and enabled to pursue whatever conduces to his happiness, nobody can rightfully limit the sphere of our action and our liberty but He who has shaped human nature. Since He, by the title of authorship, holds exclusive dominion over us and is the absolute master of all our faculties, no other power may take from us what He has given us or modify what he constituted in us. Our very nature is, therefore, for us a charter of freedom, of exemption from any other rule than His.

The manner being considered in which our free wills can be bound, authority, fourthly, implies command over our ultimate end and destiny. What is it to bind our wills? It is not to annul our intrinsic freedom or power of choice, for this is innate to rational nature. But how is it possible to lay a necessity on man, and yet let him remain intrinsically free, restrict his freedom, and yet not hinder his self-determination? This question is, indeed, not the easiest in moral philosophy. To solve it, we must bear in mind the nature of free will. Man's will is the tendency to happiness, and his freedom is the capacity to embrace or not to embrace what is conducive, but not necessary, to happiness. Such capacity rests on no intricate principle. He who is able to will an end can also will the means to it, and he who can aspire to the fulness of all good, can pursue also any particular good. But, on the other hand, the will cannot be intrinsically necessitated to things which are not either its ultimate and adequate end aimed at by its very nature, or means for the actual attainment of this end evidently necessary. Hence, we are in possession of our entire freedom when something is proposed to us which, though all good in itself and necessary, still does not at present confer on us full happiness, or which, though it threatens us with some evil in one respect, promises us in another a high gratification. We, on this account, remain free with regard to objects, which, however odious and repugnant to our lower appetites, are, nevertheless, known to be the source of, or necessary means to, our future happiness; or which, however agreeing with our senses, are inconsistent with the perfection of our spiritual nature. In such instances, however, notwithstanding our freedom, a restraint is laid on our will. For if it chooses a pleasure opposed to the future embrace of the supreme good, or if it recoils from the difficulties to be overcome in the attainment of the same, it forfeits its true happiness. It is, then, put in the alternative, either now to admit what is hard or disagreeable, or to renounce for later consummate felicity; it has the choice between a present evil connected with future beatitude and a present gratification followed by the greatest future loss. Is the will, in this juncture, not really under a kind of necessity? For can it choose that by which it foregoes future happiness without acting in contravention to its own nature, or reject that which is necessary for the possession of the supreme good without giving up its most necessary object? Not improperly is, therefore, the alternative spoken of termed moral necessity or obligation, because it presses, but does not overwhelm, confines, but does not force, our will. Thus we see necessity rendered consistent with freedom in all that is necessarily connected with the *future* attainment of our last end and supreme good. But it is likewise evident that no other man-

ner of reconciling two things so opposite can be conceived, because in any other way either no real necessity at all, or a compelling necessity excluding freedom, will be imposed on us.

Authority, then, to produce unity and harmony in society, must imply the power of connecting the performance or forbearance of certain actions in the social order with the attainment of happiness ; since it must inseparably and permanently tie us together, not being able to act with binding necessity on our free will. It must, consequently, have command over our ultimate end and destiny. For who can lay down the conditions or determine the means necessary for the possession of our supreme good, but he who marks out the object to which we naturally tend, and grants or denies us its embrace.

Can we now doubt whence authority must flow ? The will of God alone is by its infinite holiness unchangeable in maintaining the right order, and by its infinite power strong enough to restrain all motions of human passions. Any created will is of itself subject to instability. God alone is essentially the mover unmoved also in the moral order. He is the power superior to each individual and to all mankind. He is the maker of human nature. He has produced man and constituted the human essence after His own image. He has created every one's rational soul and implanted in it free will. He, therefore, is the author as well as the Supreme Lord of our freedom ; He may, according to His wisdom and holiness, regulate it by His law ; but besides Him, there is in no being the right interest to limit or restrain it by command. Any attempt of that kind on the part of our fellow-creatures would be a wrong, both against our Creator and against ourselves. It is likewise God alone that can put a necessary connection between certain actions and our ultimate destiny. For as He appoints our last end, so it belongs to Him to prescribe the way in which we may reach it ; and as He is the supreme good in which we find eternal rest, so He determines under what conditions we may be happy in His embrace.

For many reasons, then, is authority competent to God alone. Its stability, its superiority, its sway over nature, its command over our end and destiny give it such a character as shows it to be a part of divine sovereignty. If, therefore, it is found with the leaders also of social bodies, it has not grown from a human ground, but must have come down from above as an emanation of divine power, and the persons clothed with it are to be obeyed, not as men, but as ministers of God. And this is quite consistent with the other relations in which the universe stands to its Creator. In this way the Deity is as the principle of all existence in the physical, and the foundation of all essences in the metaphysical, so the source also



of all unity and order in the moral and social sphere ; as the cause of the beauty and harmony of the material world, so the support of all strength and concord in human society. Again, as by their dependence on God all beings receive their highest perfection from the infinite ocean of all good, and men in particular partake of the light of the supreme intellect and the nobleness of the supreme will ; so when all authority springs from the divine sovereignty, society is built on a firm and unshaken basis, and in every regard wonderfully raised and perfected. From its rulers is derived an issue of divine power as the animating form of the whole body politic ; its members are endowed with such eminent freedom and dignity as to owe subjection to nobody but to God and to those on whom His majesty is reflected.

But how shall we further explain that God has in reality intrusted His authority to men, in order to govern society ? Is there some way in which we may unmistakably know His will in this regard ? Has He written a charter to which governments may appeal as to the fountain of their rights ?

Yes, He has done so in the very creation of human nature. Society, first domestic and then civil, is, as we have shown, a consequence of our inborn tendencies, a natural necessity. God Himself has, therefore, instituted society when He created man. Of course we do not say that the foundation of each individual state is directly the work of the Creator. Nature does not necessitate us to live in a certain republic or monarchy, in a state on this or that side of the ocean, just as it does not bind a man to marry such a particular person. As to all this, society depends on peculiar circumstances and, to a great extent, on our free will. Yet nature irresistibly inclines us to social life in some state no matter how constituted, to civil society in general, abstract from particular modes. Thus far no freedom is given us. But if God in the act of creation intended society to exist, He wills all its constituents also. This we infer with full certainty. Now, authority is an essential element of society, its form and life-giving principle. The Creator Himself has, consequently, established authority in the state as well as in the family, such authority as is sufficient to unite the wills of men by laying them under strict obligation, and is hence a participation of His divine power. Nature itself is thus the credential letter by which governments are appointed to rule in place of God.

If we now endeavor to enter more deeply into the mind of the Creator, disclosed in some way by nature, we shall win a still clearer idea of authority and a fuller knowledge of its character ; for science is always greatly perfected, when, after having risen

from the effect to the cause by the analytical way, we descend again from the cause to the effect by the synthetical way.

God has created this universe and all that is in it for His outward glory, to be brought about by every creature in accordance with its natural powers; by the irrational beings through manifesting His perfections, by the rational through paying Him the tribute of love, praise, and adoration. This is, with absolute necessity, required by His infinite wisdom and sanctity. By the former He cannot but pursue perfect order in all His works, and hence always subjects the inferior to the superior; by the latter he must entirely subordinate all rational wills to Himself as to the supreme good. For this end man also, the chief of this visible world, is necessarily bound. Certain actions, therefore, which by their very nature promote His glory, and without which the rational creature would not be at all rightly subjected to Him, God not only considers as intrinsically good, but also commands as absolutely necessary. Other actions, on the contrary, which imply opposition to Him, He cannot but detest as evil and forbid under heavy penalties. He, moreover, provides us also with all that renders possible and facilitates our free tendency to Him; for He who wills the end wills, no doubt, the means also necessary for it. This is why the irrational creature is subservient to us, thus conducting through man to the divine glory. It is for the same reason that God intends the existence and preservation of the social order; for our nature, as created by Him, is in need of domestic and civil society as sources of many means without which we could not exist and act in keeping with our dignity and final destination. The whole universe lies thus before God as the object both of His intellect and of His will, put in marvellous harmony and fully fitted to procure His glory; all its constituent parts perfect in themselves, but one subordinate to the other, the lower to the higher, the irrational beings to men; men again united and associated to aid one another in the pursuit of objects not attainable through single efforts; and all of them, richly furnished as they are in this manner with the necessities of subsistence and proper activity, destined and enabled to tend to the Divinity as their last end and object of complete happiness.

This wonderful order which the Divine mind conceives, and the divine will purposes in the rational creation, the queen of the irrational, is the eternal law; for God draws it up, not in time but in eternity, from the relations implied proximately in the essences of all things, and ultimately in His own infinite essence; and is determined upon it, not with freedom, but of necessity in consequence of His bounty and holiness. Yet though eternal, this law is not concealed within His own mind, but expressed in the rational

creation, where it is to be obeyed. It is not difficult to find its traces indelibly imprinted on our nature. The human is a participation of the Divine reason, and hence it also perceives the necessary relations of the right order in the universe, if not like the Divine intellect with full knowledge from the source of all being itself, at least imperfectly by abstraction and inference from the nature of the created things brought to our cognizance. Indeed, as our cognition proceeds by abstraction, by forming universal notions from the objects offered through the senses to the understanding, and by forming universal judgments from our universal notions, we, at first, know the right order only in the light of general principles, but subsequently deduce from them particular conclusions. Just for the universality of our supreme principles, the knowledge which we thus gather by reasoning puts order in our whole activity; not only in our private life and our worship of the Deity, but also in our social relations. We see at once that we must live in civil and domestic society, because, if not associated, we are unfit for the end to which our nature aspires, and are full well aware that society cannot fulfil its task without a government universally obeyed. And these principles, with their immediate deductions, are not objective truths alone, but also a law, not one that we have made ourselves, but one that we have discovered in the objective order of things; for it flashes on us as a necessity outside of us, absolutely to be complied with and based on an unchangeable, everlasting foundation. Of what kind that law is we may easily find out. As to the way in which it is made known to us, it is natural, because rational nature itself enables us to perceive it and forces it on us even against our will; but as to its ultimate author it is divine; because the unchanging foundation of its necessity cannot lie but in the Divinity. It is the participation of God's eternal law by our own nature, the reflection of the same in rational creation by the fact that ours is a participation of divine reason.<sup>1</sup>

How much are our views enlarged by this consideration? We see society, and in it authority, with all its characteristic properties established by the supreme law, conceived by the Divine mind, and expressed in nature. But we become cognizant also of the position which the family and the state have in the well-concerted system of the universe. Society, with authority as its centre, thus appears to us but as a division of the great plan which God follows in the government of all creation, as a subordinate sphere in the order set up by Him in the world. It unites men and reduces them to one whole, but it is not our last end, nor is it in its actions absolute and independent. God is the ultimate end of all rational

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<sup>1</sup> S. Thom., S. Theol., I., II., qu. 93, art. 1 and 2.

beings, to be reached directly and to be embraced immediately by each individual with perfect knowledge and love. Society in general affords us only some means to attain this high destination; civil society in particular furnishes us for that same purpose only with temporal goods. It is not self-existent and independent. It is, on the contrary, founded by the Creator, and so dependent on Him, that without a principle of unity derived from Him it can neither act nor subsist. Since, moreover, the great universal scheme of the rational creation, conceived by the Divine mind, is the moral order, that is, the subjection of all created beings unto God as their last end and supreme good, society and authority are not emancipated from morality, but are under its sway, and strictly bound to keep within its limits.

These remarks on the eternal law may have seemed long and tiresome; but we could not dispense with them, because they will serve us as a basis of our further discussion. From the divine origin of civil power, as thus far proved, we have now to draw several conclusions respecting its activity; for who sees not that its force must be quite different as the source whence it flows is considered to be divine or human? The action of authority consists in harmoniously leading the members of society to the attainment of the object which they are to pursue with united efforts. Whatever is necessary to this effect, it is empowered and even bound to do; whatever is not to this purpose, lies beyond the sphere of its power. God Himself, when He drew up the eternal law, had no other view of authority, and appointed it for no other end.

We have already said that the chief function of civil power in fulfilling its task is the establishment of law and right. What strength and properties may they derive from their superhuman principles? Let us first speak of law. Its binding power must be divine. Were it not such, it could not lay our wills under moral necessity or obligation, and hence it would not be sufficient to energize and unite the members of the state to wholesome public action. This sacred character of law was known even to the heathens. Witness is borne to it, not only in their myths, but also in the writings of their philosophers. "We should understand," say Cicero, "that the commandments and prohibitions of the nations have not sufficient power to lead us on to virtuous actions, and to call us away from vicious ones. This power is not only far more ancient than the existence of states and peoples, but is coeval with God Himself, who beholds and governs both heaven and earth."

<sup>1</sup> "Sed vero intelligi sic oportet et hæc et alia jussa ac vetita populorum vim non habere ad recte facta vocandi et a peccatis avocandi: quæ vis non modo senior est quam acta populorum et civitatum, sed æqualis illius coelum atque terras tuentis et regentis Dei." *De Legibus*, lib. ii., cp. 4.

Such a higher force law, indeed, has, if, as we have shown, it emanates from authority intrusted by God to man; then, in fact, we find in it a divine element; then we may speak of its majesty and all-commanding sway.

But if the formal constituent of law, its obligatory power, is divine, its contents must needs have certain qualities to be worthy of being informed, as it were, by that divine soul. Any human enactment must, on this account, first be conformable to the eternal and natural law. Many reasons require this. To the order established by the Divine wisdom and holiness, no doubt, the several parts must perfectly agree with one another, and cannot possibly be at variance. Yet, the universal order of rational creation, willed by God in consequence of His infinite holiness, coincides with the eternal law, and is but a subordinate portion of this authority appointed for the government of society. How, then, by the latter particular could laws contrary to the eternal and universal law be rightfully enacted? Nay, the law drawn up by the Divine mind from all eternity contains the fundamental constitution of the state, founds the same, defines its end, creates in it authority with a marked-out object and corresponding power. Now, where may a government validly issue decrees in contravention to the constitution of the society over which it is set?

Where may authority proclaim laws not conformable to the purpose for which it was established or repugnant to the object to be pursued by the social body? Hence all enactments of civil power must, in a special manner, agree with that part of the eternal law which bears upon society. Moreover, all proper and suitable order, in whatever sphere, and hence in society also, must agree with the nature of things, and be founded on their essential principles and relations. Statutes not based on that foundation will, of necessity, always result in disorder and destruction, since they are bound to effect discord and hostile opposition. But as the essential relations of the rational creation are expressed in the eternal law, so what agrees with them is known to us from the principles of reason, the constituent parts of the natural law. This, therefore, is the standard and the source of all rules to be given to man.

On this account St. Thomas says<sup>1</sup> that all human enactments are particular rules drawn from the dictates of reason as undemonstrable principles. Adding that the human law has force only inasmuch as it is derived from the natural, he explains in what way the one is deduced from the other. From the natural law, says he,<sup>2</sup> something may be derived, either as a conclusion or as

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<sup>1</sup> S. Theol., i., ii., qu. 91, art. iii.

<sup>2</sup> S. Theol., i., ii., qu. 95, art. ii.

a determination; as a conclusion, if the universal laws of practical reason are taken up as premises to draw from them particular consequences; as a determination, if a yet indeterminate practical principle is fully determined and shaped into a well-defined rule of action. In the first manner we deduce from the natural precept that we should wrong nobody, that murder is unlawful; in the second we determine it to be an ordinance of nature that the evil-doer is to be punished by assigning for him a certain and definite punishment.

Besides agreeing with the Divine, the human law must be endowed with three other qualities, which, however, will be easily gathered from what we have said. It must, above all, not exceed the power of its author. With authority it is as with our natural faculties. These latter are, by their constitution, fitted for certain operations, but beyond that fitness they cannot produce the least effect. So authority works only within certain limits. It is, to speak of societies instituted by nature, conferred on rulers by the eternal law for determinate ends and purposes, and hence reaches just as far as they extend; yet beyond them it is a nonentity, because not granted by the Supreme Sovereign. Hence, where the law-giver oversteps his power his law is not effective, but is devoid of any binding force. Next, law must be conducive to the welfare of the whole society; for it is for this alone that authority, which makes laws, is instituted by God. The common weal of any society consists in the straight tendency to and the actual attainment of its end. To promote this a government is necessary, and was established for the state by the eternal law, but there is no other reason which requires it or proves its legitimacy. Whenever, therefore, magistrates, in issuing ordinances, attend to the private interests either of themselves or of some particular individuals, and not to the well-being of the whole state, they act in contravention to the purpose for which God has intrusted them with power, and pass the bounds both of their authority and of the eternal order. When, on the contrary, all their actions aim at the real well-being of all, they but put into actuality that order which ought to exist through their ministration. The public welfare has, for this reason, always been considered as the supreme law, imposed on the lawgivers themselves.

Another necessary attribute of human law is its conformity with the moral order. Nothing is plainer than this truth, now so often denied by modern theorists. Is not the moral order identical with the eternal law? Must not, therefore, what agrees with the one be in harmony also with the other? But as to the law enacted by man, it is essential that it be conformable to eternal law proclaimed by God, since the latter both establishes authority from which commands issue and contains the principles from which all whole-

some regulations are derived. Besides, the binding power of law is divine. Can we now conceive that God, either by Himself or through His ministers clothed with His power, has set down immoral acts as means to His ends, or obliges us to do anything adverse to His wisdom and holiness, or to the right order willed by Him with absolute necessity? Nothing, therefore, that is not moral can bind us as a law or bear in itself any force of obligation. To say the contrary would be derogatory to God's perfection and the majesty of the law.

Lastly, law must be just and equitable. Men being all equal as to nature, and all embracing society with the same object in view, all must contribute also to the attainment of the common end, and all are entitled to a share in the fruits gained by the united efforts in proportion to their labors and sacrifices. Whence, where all alike enjoy the benefits of society, there, likewise, all have to bear the common burden alike; and where some derive greater profit from the social operation, there they ought to take upon themselves a greater part of the social charges and expenses, whilst to those who work and suffer more for the common well-being, richer rewards are justly granted. By no means can authority, in distributing by laws the public burdens and benefits, swerve from this equity, which is founded in the nature of men. For the order that results from the very essence of created beings is with necessity willed by God and comprised in His eternal law. Were, therefore, the decrees of human authority contrary to equity and justice, they would be repugnant to the eternal principles of right and order, and could not fall within the power that God has conferred on governments.

It is self-evident that all these qualities are absolutely necessary to the human law; so that, lacking any one of them, they have no binding power at all, because they do not originate in authority divinely established, but in violence, and do not effect order, but are themselves a startling disorder. Herein we have but strictly followed the doctrine of St. Thomas: "Laws," says he, "if they

<sup>1</sup> S. Theol., i., ii., qu. 96, art. iv.: "Respondeo dicendum quod leges positæ humanis vel sunt justæ vel injustæ. Siquidem justæ sint, habent vim obligandi in foro conscientie a lege æterna, a qua derivantur, secundum illud (Proverbs viii., 15): 'Per me reges regnant, et legum conditores justa decernunt.' Dicuntur autem leges justæ et ex fine, quando scilicet ordinantur ad bonum commune; et ex auctore, quando scilicet lex lata non excedit potestatem ferentis; et ex forma, quando scilicet secundum æqualitatem proportionis imponuntur subditis onera in ordine ad bonum commune. . . Injustæ autem sunt leges dupliciter: uno modo per contrarietatem ad bonum humanum e contrario predictis; vel ex fine, sicut cum aliquis præsidens leges imponit onerosas subditis non pertinentes ad utilitatem communem, sed magis ad propriam cupiditatem vel gloriam; vel etiam ex auctore, sicut cum aliquis legem fert ultra sibi commissam potestatem; vel etiam ex forma, puta cum inequaliter onera multitudini dispensantur, etiamsi ordinentur ad bonum commune. Et hujusmodi magis sunt violentiæ quam

are just, have their force to bind us in conscience from the eternal law, from which they are derived, as the Proverbs (viii., 15) say: "By me kings reign and lawgivers decree just things." But laws are just from their end, if they aim at the common weal; from their author, if they do not exceed his power; from their form, if by them burdens are imposed on the subjects, in behalf of the common welfare, according to equity. Laws, on the contrary, are unjust for a twofold reason; first, because they are opposed to the well-being of man, either from their end, as is the case if a government lays onerous obligations on its subjects, not for the good of the common weal, but for the sake of self-interest or ambition; or from their author, as when any one makes a law without being invested with proper faculties; or from their form, as when the taxes are unequally divided among the multitude, although in other respects tending to the public good. Enactments of this kind are rather outrages than laws, since, as St. Augustine remarks (*De Lib. Arbitr.*, lib. i., qs. 5): "An unjust law does not appear to be a law." Such laws, therefore, are not binding in conscience, unless, perhaps, for the avoiding of scandal and trouble, a motive which ought to induce man to give up his right, as we read in St. Matthew (v., 41): "And whosoever shall force thee to go one mile, go with him other two; and if any one will go to law with thee and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also." Laws may, secondly, be unjust on account of their opposition to God; of which kind are the ordinances of tyrants enforcing idolatry or anything else contrary to Divine law. With respect to such laws, it is not allowable, under any circumstances, to obey them; for, as it is said in the Acts of the Apostles (v., 29): "We must obey God rather than man."

St. Thomas, then, says in plain terms that human laws have binding power only if they are just; and by justice he understands their conformity with the dictates of reason, that is, the natural and eternal law (see *S. Theol.*, i., ii., qu. 95, art. 2). But justice taken in this sense requires that laws be not repugnant either to the will of God, from whom their force ultimately comes, or to the well-being of man, on whom they are imposed, but that rather they fully agree with the right order by tending to our common welfare, by ema-

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leges; quia, sicut S. Augustinus dicit (*De Lib. Arbitr.*, lib. i., qs. 5), sed esse non videtur, quæ justa non fuerit. Unde tales leges non obligant in foro conscientiae, nisi forte propter vitandum scandalum vel turbationem; propter quod homo etiam juri suo debet cedere secundum illud (*Matth.* v., 41): 'Qui angariaverit te mille passus, vade cum eo alia duo; et qui abstulerit tibi tunicam, da ei et pallium.' Alio modo leges possunt esse injustæ per contrarietatem ad bonum divinum, sicut leges tyrannorum inducantes ad idolatriam, vel ad quodcunque aliud, quod sit contra legem divinam; et tales leges nullo modo licet observare, quia, sicut dicitur (*Acts* v.), obedire oportet Deo magis quam hominibus."



nating from real and not unduly extended authority, by keeping within the limits of equity.

To sum up, in one word, the qualities of a civil law—it must, being in accordance with the eternal law, be moral, equitable, conducive to the common weal, and keep within the power of him who enacted it; qualities, indeed, which heighten its dignity, majesty, and wholesomeness.

The questions concerning law being thus discussed, we may now treat of the other function of civil authority, the establishment of rights. Yet here, before entering upon a closer inquiry, we have first to clear up the notion and the origin of right, so sadly darkened by modern philosophy. Right may be taken as conformity to the supreme rule of our actions, to reason and truth. But we do not so consider it here. Thus understood, it evidently coincides with the whole moral order. We now speak of right as conformity to the rule of strict justice. Taken in this sense, it is commonly defined in law as a claim, or an irresistible faculty to hold, do, or exact something; for it is from the relations of strict justice that such claims result, as shall be seen from what we have to say below. Of what kind, then, is that faculty? Whence is it that it ought not to be resisted, and demands absolutely a certain effect to be produced? From the time of Kant we have often heard that right consisted in actual compulsion. It indeed implies the power of enforcing a claim; as to that all jurists and moralists agree. But that power is neither physical, nor must it necessarily be put into action, as no doubt would be the case were it identical with actual compulsion. For nobody is devoid of rights because he has no physical means at hand to enforce his claims, or because he does not make use of them when his life or property is attacked. Else the waylayer would violate no right when he robs travellers weaker than himself; or it would be no injustice to put to death decrepit men or helpless children. Who could subscribe to such a doctrine? Were it so, the greatest wrong would be at once full right, and the grossest injustice would become bright justice when committed with overwhelming strength. Right, therefore, is not a physical power, and exists before and independently of compulsion. It primarily binds our neighbor, without material force, so as to render his refusal to yield to us criminal, and, secondarily, that is, when not regarded, entitles us to compel him to compliance against his will, for the reason that if it could not be enforced, our life, our property, our reputation, and whatever is most necessary for a convenient existence and the practice of virtue, would be at any moment at the mercy of the wicked and unprincipled. But, if right is not a physical, it is a moral power; if without compulsion it is to be complied with and cannot be dis-

regarded without a crime, its irresistibility consists in a moral necessity laid on our fellow-creatures. Hence the axiom, that to every right in one answers a duty in another.

Such being the nature of right, it is evident that its force is divine, and must ultimately be derived from the Deity. God has, in fact, established it already by the eternal law. More than one reason may convince us of this truth. By the order which God has, from eternity, put in rational creation, He has not only obliged us to tend by all our actions to Him as to our supreme good and last end, but has endowed us also with the means necessary for such a tendency; nor can He permit that this disposition of His, of quite indispensable necessity, should be frustrated by human wickedness. This being so, man will have it in his power to perform certain actions, to hold and make use of certain things of which he is in need, without being impeded or disturbed by others; yea, if obstacles should be raised, to put them down by coercion. But is this not right, as defined above? Again, by His eternal law, God has established the order required by the nature of created things. Now, men being all equal as to nature, equally destined to happiness, equally bound to defend themselves and to tend to God as their last end, does not the just proportion which ought to exist between them absolutely demand that each one's liberty is fully warranted, that each one's means of subsistence and activity are set beyond the reach of others' interference; that each one's loss or cession in behalf of his fellow-creatures is regarded as a title to an equivalent compensation? Hence inviolable claims arise for the unimpeded performance of certain actions, the exclusive possession and enjoyment of our own, to a recompense for what we have yielded for the sake of others. And not only was right established by the eternal, but manifested also by the natural law. For our mind conceives certain practical principles as universal and absolutely necessary laws, by which, on the ground of our equal nature, our mutual relations are settled according to strict justice. Not a mere dry knowledge is this; it, on the contrary, constitutes in us a keen sense of right, which is deeply hurt by any outrage or disturbance committed among men.

For that reason, however, the eternal law does not prevent civil authority from establishing rights, but rather empowers it to do so. For the principles of reason are, as we said above, universal, and hence, to regulate our whole life they must be applied to our particular circumstances by inferences, and ultimately determined by modifications added. As to our social relations, the individual will never arrive at all the necessary conclusions and determinations with surety, evidence, and uniformity; and, therefore, authority must, for the sake of order, mark out by its decisions and decrees

the way in which justice is to be maintained in society. Besides, right not only lays an obligation on our fellow-creatures, but if not heeded allows us also compulsion, yea, urgently demands that its general overthrow be precluded by all means. But again, as to obtain this effect single efforts are not sufficient, and as the use of force at every one's pleasure could not but produce universal disorder, it belongs to society under the guidance of authority to lend a protective arm to right, and to avenge and assist it when trampled on. It is thus clear that civil power is instituted by God to enact rights, and that those enacted by it are endowed with a superhuman character, a divine force.

Yet, just on account of its divine origin and superior nature, human right must have certain qualities to be valid and genuine. From what we have said so far, it will not be difficult to determine them with precision. First, it must be conformable to the principles laid down in the eternal law. For, as it is instituted to derive them from that source, yet it cannot prove itself to be empowered to draw them from some other source or to form them after another model. Besides, right is the order of strict justice. But the relations of justice arise from the equality of men as to nature. Human nature, therefore, must be the standard and the foundation of all enactments concerning right. Now, as nature is represented in our general notions, so its relations are first adumbrated in our universal principles, and then, through reasoning from the latter, fully expressed and, by determinations added, completely defined. All right, then, must be derived from the principles of reason, which, as we have said above, constitute the natural and re-echo the eternal law.

Right must, secondly, lie within the boundaries of morality. The eternal law is, as was repeatedly said, the law of the moral order. But right must be conformable to the eternal law and descend from it; it must, consequently, be conformable to the moral order also and be implied in it. Again, right is the order of justice. Yet is justice not a virtue worthy of praise and reward, is it not within morality, and is its opposite not a crime, a hideous vice? Lastly, can ever an obligation to what is evil and disorderly exist? But right imposes on our neighbors a strict duty, and it is in this obligatory power that its force consists. Never, therefore, can the action or the thing to which we are entitled by right be immoral; it may be abused by human wickedness, but in itself it cannot be repugnant to morality. This inference follows with full evidence from the notion we have of right. Still the separation of right and morals is nowadays very frequent. Not Kant alone with his followers adopted it and considered it as a great advance in political science. The historical school of the jurists, headed in Ger-

many by Stahl, lets our inward life be regulated by morality, our outward or social by right. Inasmuch as socialness and the sense of justice are implanted in our heart by nature, they grant that right has its last origin in God; yet as it is the order actually developed and existing in society, they maintain it to have no reality prior to the enactment and execution of laws, and to have no other immediate source, from which it flows as such and in its proper nature, than the authority of states' governments. A consequence is, that as the interior and exterior life of man are different, right and morality are separate and sometimes even clashing; in which opposition, however, the former, being absolute and independent, is by no means bound to yield to the latter. The fault of this theory lies evidently in the false notion of right; this is taken for outward compulsion or actual force nearly as in Kant's system; its primary constituent, its moral power binding as in conscience, is altogether overlooked. The last result of such tenets would be an unlimited tyranny of the state over all individuals and in all social relations, because whatever should thus be done or called into existence would be absolutely valid right.

The third quality of right is that it ought not to exceed the power of him who establishes it. Yet on this we have not to enlarge, its necessity being too evident to need proof.

Thus law and right have the same necessary qualities, since they descend from the same divine source, regard the same end, and are allied to one another in their working.

One conclusion thoroughly opposed to modern theories we have to draw from these simple and undeniable positions. The state's authority is, as we have seen, a source of law and right; but it is not the highest nor is it universal. It is not the highest, for it is itself established by the higher, eternal law, and has to derive from this whatever it ordains. That it is not universal is not less plain. The eternal law and its manifestation, the natural, have a much wider sphere than civil authority. This latter maintains harmony and justice only in our pursuit of temporal prosperity. But the entire order of the rational creation comprises a great many other respects, as man's submission unto God as his last end, either natural or supernatural, man's thoughts and actions in his interior and private life, man's relations to others as far as he is not associated with them, man's existence and condition in his family. All that is outside the compass of the state and taken care of by the Creator through other agents. Our submission to God is conducted by religion, particularly that which is supernaturally instituted; our private and family life by the dictates of reason and the tendencies of nature, now aided by revelation. Nay, these spheres are antecedent to the state, and must be adjusted previously to its exist-

ence. For, belief in God not having fixed roots in the heart, authority, the formal constituent of society, can have no hold on us. Likewise is the individual and the family prior to the material constituents of the commonwealth. For individual nature is not given to the citizens by the state, nor does it terminate in the state as in its last end; it springs into existence and has its native freedom primarily from God, and tends to God as its ultimate object. With existence each one has the inherent right of self-defence, the right to evolve his faculties and to display his activity, in order to pursue his end, and the right to gather for himself the means conducive to its attainment. And as all these rights, termed natural or primordial, are implied in our very being, and hence warranted by the Creator, so they are unmistakably made known to every one by the light of his own reason. The state is not even the natural means of which God makes use in giving us existence and bringing us to our most necessary development. For that task domestic society alone is fitted; hence nature inclines man first to the formation of the family, and organizes this by its own laws; to the formation of the state it impels us last, and only as far as our individual faculties and our family union are not sufficient to procure that degree of temporal prosperity which is proportionate to our destination. Civil authority, therefore, is not the source of law and right for the individuals as such, for domestic and religious society, nor is it allowed to interfere with their internal relations or to subject them to its control. It is but the natural duty of the state to protect the integrity, freedom and order which God as the author of nature or of supernatural institutions intends them to have, as far as for that purpose a public temporal support may be needed or is desirable.

But have we not lessened the majesty of the state's authority by thus limiting its power and divesting it of absoluteness? By no means; we have but confined it to the sphere which nature has allotted to it, and just when it keeps within these bounds, it appears before us in its highest grandeur and dignity. It is then a cause of universal prosperity, the defender of freedom, the support of peace and harmony; its actions are guided by reason, prudence, and justice, its decrees flow from the eternal principles founded on the nature of things, and its legislation extends and realizes the wonderful order which God with infinite wisdom has drawn up for the happiness of mankind. What a difference between laws enacted according to this idea and the absolute will of the sovereign monarch or people not subject to the rule of God, not actuated by the desire of the welfare of all, but by tumultuous or wily passions and narrow self-interest?

We have now by many and long researches traced back au-

thority to its superhuman origin, to the divine sovereignty itself, and have hence deduced the superior character and force of all its functions. Still we have not yet solved our problem. We have thus far spoken of authority merely as it is the power of reducing to unity by strict obligations the free will of the multitude. But we have made abstraction from the subject in which it is vested. It is time now to turn our attention to this side of the question. If we did not take it into consideration, we would not fully explain either the source from which power springs into existence or the causes and conditions which concur in giving it proper activity. A most important point is thus yet left for our discussion.

To arrive in this inquiry at a satisfactory result with due method and order, we have first to make some remarks on the qualifications of those to be invested with authority. They must have the capacity to make that use of power which answers its end and nature, just as the body to be informed by the soul must be fit to subserve the functions of the latter, and is not quickened before it is endowed accordingly. The lodging of authority in persons unfit for its exercise would be, indeed, a great absurdity. How, then, ought the proper subject of the principle of social life and unity to be qualified? Its intellect must be gifted with such wisdom as enables it to know the real end of society and to find out the appropriate means to attain that end under the given circumstances by the maintenance of justice, order, and harmony. Its will must be free from self-interest and partiality, noble enough to be bent only on the common welfare, and sufficiently energetic to succumb to no adversity or hostile opposition. In addition to this, it must have at its disposal, exterior power, to make itself respected, and, if necessary, to enforce subjection. At last, it must be one, if not physically, at least morally, that is, it must, if it is composed of many persons, be so organized as to result in one will and action, for as social unity proceeds from authority, this cannot be itself divided and torn asunder in those in whom it comes into existence. We have thus given the qualities of the subject of supreme power, not as it commonly exists, but as it ought to be. As man seldom reaches ideals, so rulers will not easily attain their highest standard. Such excellence is, as a rule, far above frail human nature. Still those who are to be set over others should as much as possible have these endowments, and if in essential points they fall short of them, so far as not to be able at all to have the care of the public welfare, they ought to be judged unfit for such a trust.

Next, in order to consider him who can vest authority, we have to ascend to its source; for is it not plain that he who creates power has also to intrust it? Were authority, then, as modern

thinkers tell us, a product of the will of men, whether taken collectively or individually, it would, no doubt, primarily rest in the people and be conferred on particular persons only by popular delegation. Hobbes excepted, all modern theorists in fact agree in proclaiming the sovereignty of the people, and in denouncing those who attribute this prerogative to the monarch or the government. But we cannot adopt this view. Civil power, we know, is an emanation of God's sovereignty, a communication of His authority; and He can therefore intrust it to whom, and in what manner, He likes. Besides Him nobody can claim an inherent right to have a part in this act of appointing rulers; for who may pretend to confer what does not belong to him, but originates entirely in the supreme Divine majesty?

Two ways may be conceived in which God can communicate authority. He may vest it either immediately by Himself, or mediately through the co-operation of man and the course of human events. He has, in reality, in the natural as well as supernatural order, sometimes directly pointed out the persons who were to govern. Thus in the Old Testament He instituted monarchy among His chosen people, and bestowed royalty on Saul, and David and his descendants, making known His will through the prophets. In the New Testament Christ also has immediately established the ecclesiastical government by conferring His mission and His power forever on the body of the Apostles, headed by St. Peter, though as to the designation of their successors men have to concur by their free co-operation. In the natural order God Himself has appointed the head of the conjugal and domestic society, as He qualified the man, and not the woman, for governing. But as to the state, He has not determined who should exercise sway over it. He has made civil society a natural want of ours, and has by creation implanted in us an inclination to form it. Yet that is all that He has done directly. What is hence to be inferred? Indeed, that there must be civil power, since without it society cannot exist; but who is to wield it, we cannot in the least gather from nature itself. From its consideration we cannot know whether power ought to be in the hands of one or many, of these or of those individuals, for all forms of government, the monarchical, the aristocratical, and democratical, may be conducive to the public welfare, and numerous are those who are fit for its exercise. Nor can it be maintained that in society founded by creation rulers will be appointed by supernatural intervention, for natural societies will be preserved and provided for by the course of nature.

In this regard James I. of England put forth an unheard-of error. He thought kings were placed on their thrones by God without any co-operation on the part of men, as once Saul and

David had been called to reign. His intention was thus to raise the civil over the ecclesiastical power. But Bellarmine and Suarez entered the lists against the royal theologian, and proved the contrary to be the truth ever held in Christendom. Their teaching was applauded by all Catholics, and James's opinion was soon rejected as extravagant, even by Protestants.

Now, if neither nature nor divine intervention has marked out the holders of power, must not human events appoint them? What other way is still left? However, as to the manner in which this effect may be obtained, some further explanations are needed. First, it is not necessary that it result from popular elections. Sometimes the course of events itself, without any consent or contract on the side of the citizens, sets up a leader of the state, giving him such evident claims to the government that nobody can reasonably question their validity. Does this not happen nearly as often as the members of the state, before or at its formation, are already, on some other account, dependent on a person of weight and influence, because they hold either land from him in tenure, or are under his patriarchal authority, or owe him their safety, or other signal advantages? In such cases all are bound by gratitude and reverence to acknowledge him as their political head; nor could, besides him, anybody have the exterior power necessary for a ruler. History bears witness to many a fact of that kind. Still, we grant that, in many other instances, the course of human events has not established a government. If this be the case, it is evident that God has committed its appointment to the choice of men. Then they may set up for it, as they deem it good, one or several persons; they may moreover bind those who obtain power by a fundamental contract, and may, as they like, settle the succession, and require for certain laws, or the levy of taxes, the consent of the people or some classes. So, during the Middle Ages, frequently monarchs were enthroned and republican constitutions drawn up. All such transactions have to be regarded as good and valid, since therein men were left free by the Creator, and are under no other obligation than that of adopting such a government, and of choosing such magistrates as will be most fit to promote the common weal.

What is, however, the precise effect which men produce by their co-operation in the appointment of governments? This question presented itself already to former ages, and in solving it there is a slight difference even between Catholic writers. Some think that the first and immediate subject in which authority is vested is the multitude, yet that this, being unfit for its proper exercise, is bound by natural law to transfer it permanently to certain persons appointed for government. The co-operation of



men would, consequently, in this opinion, consist in the transfer of power to chosen holders. Others, on the contrary, say that civil society is but allowed to point out the subject which is to be intrusted with governmental power. Accordingly the co-operation of the people would consist in the designation of proper persons, whilst the conferring of authority would be exclusively the work of God. The difference between the two views has very nicely been stated by Balmes. "In the opinion of some," he writes, "God says: 'Society, for thy preservation and well-being, thou requirest a government; choose, therefore, under what form this government shall be exercised, and appoint the persons who are to take charge of it; I, on my part, will confer on them the faculties necessary for the fulfilment of their mission.' In the opinion of others God says: 'Society, for thy preservation and well-being, thou requirest a government; I confer upon thee the faculties necessary for the fulfilment of this object; choose thyself the form under which this government shall be exercised, and appoint the persons who are to take charge of it, transmit to them the faculties which I have communicated to thee.'"<sup>1</sup> The opinion that lets the people transmit their authority to the appointed magistrates, was adopted by Bellarmine and Suarez in their writings against King James; the other, permitting the people only to choose the persons whom God himself will clothe with authority, is embraced by several excellent authors of our day; as for instance, Cardinal Hergenröther, Fathers Taparelli and Liberatore. A practical difference between the one and the other is scarcely perceptible; the point in controversy is chiefly theoretical. Still it will not be without interest to weigh their respective intrinsic values.

At first sight, the one followed by Catholic authors of the day might seem to be in contradiction with Christian antiquity, because Bellarmine and Suarez aim to set forth no new doctrine, but to teach what had always and everywhere been believed in Christendom. This assertion is, in reality, true as far as the real point at issue is concerned in their controversy with King James; that is, the appointment of civil government, not by the immediate intervention of God, but with the co-operation of men; yet, it is to be denied that it holds also as to the manner in which they thought the people should concur in the setting up of authorities. As to this, it would be rather difficult to show a settled universal opinion among the ancient theologians. There are, on the other hand, very good intrinsic reasons, which strongly support the recent theory, and seem to prove the inadequacy of the old. One or the other we shall advance.

When the citizens, in the opinion of Bellarmine and Suarez,

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<sup>1</sup> European Civilization, chap. li.

transmit their authority to the chosen magistrates, they do not act individually, but as a whole, or a body politic; they are then already a subject invested with power by the Author of nature, and as such perform a common action, which has the quality of a law or contract, binding forever both the government and the governed. This is expressly agreed to by the authors mentioned, and is one of the points by which they essentially differ from the advocates of the social contract. But therein a contradiction seems to be implied. For the multitude, as such, is either a fit subject for the exercise of authority, or it is not. If it is not a fit subject, authority is not vested in it; since forms do not take existence in an unfit substratum, nor is it compatible with God's wisdom to delegate power to persons unable to wield it. If, on the contrary, the multitude is fit for the exercise of authority, why is it not allowed to retain it, but is bound by a natural law to transmit it to magistrates permanently and irrevocably? Why should he, who, as a fit holder, possesses authority by a natural right, by the same law of nature be obliged to renounce it, and be forbidden to make use of it as he thinks proper? The dilemma is not easily to be solved. What part of the alternative do the illustrious writers choose? They are altogether for the unfitness of the multitude, for it is on this account that they think it bound to transmit its authority on appointed magistrates. But do they not contradict themselves, when they thus declare the people at the same time to be fit to receive authority as its primordial subject, and to be unfit to possess and exercise it as its proper holder? Do they not thus deny the principle appealed to in all their theological and philosophical discussions, and adhered to by themselves in this very question, that for the recognition of a form a subject well predisposed is necessary?

But, perhaps, it may be said that the people, though not fitted permanently to retain and to exercise power, are, nevertheless, able, at least temporarily, to receive and to transact it? May not thus any contradiction be avoided? We answer that they who are unable to exercise power, must simply be considered as unfit to hold it; and hence it is improper to say that authority is immediately conferred on them, and not on such as are for its use completely fitted. This will become more evident, when we search into the reason why the people are thought to be unfit for government. Their unfitness lies undoubtedly in the lack of unity. The very notions of multitude and unity imply contradiction. Everybody is aware that out of the many few are chosen, because it is else impossible to form such a ruling body as will, by the oneness and harmony of its organism, prove one energetic government. But unity is a quite essential qualification of the subject of supreme power. Hence we cannot well conceive that the multitude is pri-

marily and originally intrusted with authority, and deem it more proper to say that the people, by choosing governors or adjusting political constitutions, only set up the well-fitted and united subject, to which God himself directly communicates the formal constituent of society, governmental power. Let it not be said that, by democracy, the multitude really possesses supreme sway. For even in a republic the right of suffrage is not granted to all alike, but to those only who are thought to be able to make use of it in behalf of the public welfare; and not the multitude in any condition whatever, but the multitude reduced to a certain organization is the holder of sovereign power. A people not organized at all, a mere crowd of individuals, of whatever qualities, all with equal rights and powers, would not be a democratical state, but an anarchical confusion.

Another reason against the theory in question is, as Cardinal Hergenröther remarks,<sup>1</sup> that it does not cover all the ways in which states are constituted. It at most holds good when the forms of government are adopted and rulers appointed by the choice of the people. But, as we have shown above, this is by no means the only proximate origin of magistrates. Governments spring into existence also without any consent or contract on the part of the multitude by the course of human events. And this not only happened frequently, but, moreover, resulted in a quite convenient development of civil society. As the soul, the substantial form of man, is communicated to a body not fully developed, but still contained in its natural germ; and as it is then united with the body, it brings forth a perfect organism; so it is in the formation of political unions quite proper that first authority, the formal principle, be imparted to a subject prepared by social nature in the course of its evolution, and then the entire frame of society is built up. Yea, this way of forming a state is, in many regards, more natural than the opposite; for the production of the complete political organization is the most difficult work, and it is evident that it is effected rather under the influence and direction of authority, the formal constituent, than by the shapeless multitude. Certainly, in the foundation of the Church, Christ has chosen this way; He did not call the multitude of the faithful to beget the ecclesiastical government, but instituted the ecclesiastical authority to gather and unite the multitude of the faithful.

For good reasons, therefore, is it maintained that not the people but the government is the primordial holder of supreme power, and that consequently, also, when magistrates are chosen, men only designate those who are to rule, yet God confers on the rulers designated authority, as an emanation of His own sovereignty. It

<sup>1</sup> Katholische Kirche und Christlicher Staat, XIV., 8. Neue abgekürzte Ausgabe.

will not be unseasonable here to call the attention of the reader to the very words which the Sovereign Pontiff, Leo XIII., uses in explaining what part the people may take in the appointment of governments, since they seem quite to confirm the recent theory just expounded and defended. "It is," says he, "of importance to notice that they who are set over the state may, in certain cases, be chosen by the will and decision of the people, without any opposition or repugnance to Catholic doctrine. By this choice, however, the ruler is designated, but the rights of government are not conferred, and power is not given, but it is determined by whom it is to be wielded."

Even on this designation of the persons to be invested with power, the multitude acts as a secondary, and by no means as the principal cause. We must here, also, rise above that which is visible to a higher, divine principle, which directs human activity. The traces which lead us to it are quite apparent. Men associate, not merely by their free will, but chiefly by the tendency of nature. Yet society cannot exist without authority, and authority not without a determinate subject in which it is vested. Nature, therefore, will tend also to the determination of such a subject. Does it not do so when it produces men, however equal as to their essence, altogether unequal as to their individual qualities and circumstances, one dependent on the other, in his very existence or in the most vital points, one with higher, the other with lower endowments, when, granting freedom to all, it lets our acquirements and our actions differ nearly as widely as its own limits? Does it not by this inequality and mutual dependence of men sometimes so distinctly point out those who are to wield power, that there is no more room for free choice? And though it does not always go so far, it never leaves the appointment of a government simply to our freaks; it will always incline us to choose, among unequal men, those as rulers who are fittest to take charge of the public good, and it will give us no rest unless all obey its command. Now, is not God the author of nature and its inborn tendencies? Is it not, therefore, He who chiefly directs the setting up of authorities? Besides, civil society falls in a particular manner under the care of Divine Providence, since by it man is furnished with several means altogether necessary for the attainment of his destination. But what is to society more essential than authority, and more important than the vesting of authority in a fit holder? And is, moreover, as God is the first and immediate source of authority, the appointment of the persons who are to exercise it not also chiefly His work, so much so that nobody can perform that act unless ordered or commissioned by Him? There is hence no doubt that the designation of rulers is a particular object of

His care, and that when men, in whatever manner, co-operate in it, they act, notwithstanding their freedom, under His universal and supreme superintendence.

From this consideration the conclusion is drawn that the legitimate rulers are designated to hold their power, also, by God himself, not as though, according to King James's theory, men were not called in to concur in this appointment, but because the human agency is therein instrumental in the hands of God. In this sense governments are said by many Catholic writers to have been put in power, not by merely human but by divine right, since they receive authority directly from on high, and are destined to possess it by divine dispensation. Not all ancient authors have adopted this way of speaking. Still this at least was once a custom universal in Christendom, approved of by jurists as well as theologians, that those lawfully intrusted with supreme civil power were called rulers *by the grace of God*. That title embodied a great Christian idea, implanted again in the mind by Christian religion; it expressed the conviction of the sacred character of magistrates, of their appointment, not by the mere will of men, but chiefly by Divine Providence. It would, however, be wrong to think this appellation to be due only to kings and emperors, though they in particular were honored with it, for republics may be brought into being by the course of human events, the exigency of circumstances, and the consent of men, just as rightfully as monarchies, and hence republican no less than monarchical governments exist by the will and grace of God.

With this conclusion we have reached the end of our discussion; we have traced back civil authority to God as its true source; we have proved that, taken abstractly, it flows from His Divine Sovereignty, and considered concretely, obtains existence in determinate holders by the care of His supreme Providence. Proceeding from the simplest and plainest principles, we have thus developed the theory which Christian philosophers ever maintained, the Church of God inculcated in all ages, and Divine Revelation undoubtedly contains. For the doctrine of the divine origin of power is, in all its main features, found not only in the ecclesiastical documents, in the writings of the Fathers, the briefs and bulls of the Roman Pontiffs, but also in Holy Writ.<sup>1</sup> But we have explained also a system which is for many an abomination, because decried in the non-Catholic world as a destruction of freedom and a support of tyranny. We therefore, before concluding, have yet

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<sup>1</sup> As to the divine origin of power, taken abstractly, see Proverbs viii., 15; Wisdom 6, 3; Romans xiii., 1; I. St. Peter ii., 13. As to the designation of the holders of power by Divine Providence, see Ecclesiasticus x., 4, 8, 17; xvii., 14; Job xxxiv., 30.

to show what bearing the theory expounded has on public life. This once being understood, all the objections raised against it and of late again circulated by the press will easily prove misconceptions or malicious inventions.

What, then, are its effects? What advantages has it for the rulers and for the subjects? It is plain at first sight that the holders of authority delegated by God are surrounded with the highest splendor and majesty possible. They stand before the people as ministers of God, invested, not with human, but with divine power, and issue orders and enact laws, not in their own name, but by authorization from on high. Their character is above that of governors set up by the will of men in proportion as God is higher than His creatures, and His wisdom and power is greater than that of all the nations of the earth. Still there is in this nothing of that deification of princes which we meet in heathen antiquity. The rulers remain mortal men, subject to human frailty; only the authority with which they are clothed is Divine, and this they have not of themselves, but of God; it is but for a time lent to them, as the light of the sun is thrown upon the moon. Authority of a Divine character, furthermore, enables governments to exercise control over the subjects with great energy and efficacy. For it works primarily, not on their bodies, though it allows coercion if necessary, but on their consciences; it binds their free wills with a tie that no passion, no egotistic tendency, however vehement, can shake off, and lays them under an obligation which, being valid in the sight of God, cannot be infringed without the heaviest of all penalties,—the loss of happiness. Thus it is sufficient to subject us to order, not only before the eyes of others, but also in secret; not only when we are weak and devoid of the means of resistance, but also when we have the physical power to defy its commands with impunity. What is merely human sovereignty, which, being but the power of compulsion, maintains a certain external order through the material force wielded by the stronger, if compared with this Divinely established rule, which, being moral and Divine, governs the will by the inviolable law of morality and justice?

Steadfastness and firmness is another important advantage which power derives from its Divine origin. Stability, we said in the previous article, is of indispensable necessity for the efficacy and success of a government, and we charged the modern systems with deficiency on the score that they rendered governmental power liable to endless changes. Yet never is the administration of public affairs set so far above the fluctuations of human mutability as when it is grounded on Divine right. No will of the predominant party, not even the people, is then powerful enough

to lessen or abolish the essential prerogatives of the rulers; for they were established by the eternal law of God. No political agitations, no freaks of the populace, no machinations of the ambitious will easily transfer power from one individual to another, from this to that body of holders; for its vesting must, according to the intention of the Supreme Sovereign, be regulated by laws according to the dictates of reason, and the possession of it once lawfully obtained, depending less on the will of man than on Divine Providence, has become an inviolable right. Every attempt, therefore, to outrage the persons of the rulers, or to deprive them of their power, or to plot against their administration, will be criminal; and the more will such acts be universally detested and abhorred, the deeper the conviction of the Divine origin of authority has been rooted.

Is not, however, this majesty, efficacy, and stability of power a temptation to abuse for its possessors? There is no reason for such misgivings. Conscious of having received their authority in trust, not for their own advantage, but for the public good, the rulers must know the people to be committed to their care, and not to their arbitrariness. If they nevertheless misuse their eminent position for their private interest or the gratification of their passions, it cannot escape them that they are guilty of an enormous crime, certain to be punished by the Supreme Judge in heaven. Oppressors cannot but hear in their conscience the threat uttered against them in the Book of Wisdom (vi., 4): "Power is given you by the Lord, and strength by the Most High, who will examine your works, and search out your thoughts: because, being ministers of this kingdom, you have not judged rightly, nor kept the law of justice, nor walked according to the will of God. Horribly and speedily will he appear to you, for a most severe judgment shall be for them that bear rule. For to him that is little, mercy is granted; but the mighty shall be mightily tormented." This fear of the Supreme Lord and Omniscient Judge will be more powerful with governors than that of the sovereign people, which may be deceived and kept down by the force of arms. The nation itself, when clothed with sovereignty, is restrained from tyranny by the responsibility under which it is to God no less than kings; for it, too, is bound by the Divine law, and has power, not of itself, but from the Creator. The theory expounded, therefore, does not prop the absoluteness of Oriental monarchs, or serve the lusts of princes, or yield to the fickleness of the dominant multitude; it combines strength with justice, the constant care for our well-being with sway.

Of no less importance are the advantages which from these views result for the people. As the Divine character of power

raises and upholds the governors, and yet deters them from misrule and despotism, so it most efficaciously induces the governed to obedience, and nevertheless protects their rights and liberty. The thought that authority is ordained of God, and that those who are invested with it are His ministers, forcibly commands submission, because it brings to our cognizance a Divine obligation to comply with the laws and orders issued. Yet at the same time it gives sweetness to obedience, because it shows what is enjoined on us to be the will and disposition of Him who, with infinite wisdom and bounty, intends but our happiness. In those circumstances in particular in which allegiance requires greater sacrifices on our part, at the time of public dangers and calamities, authority that is known to come from God and to be possessed rightfully will in general be obeyed, not with fear alone and reverence, but also with reliance, if not on the persons of the rulers, at least in God's Providence. A nation imbued with such ideas will, upon the whole, be law-abiding and quiet, and even under the most burdensome duties, when all legal means of redress are exhausted, not resort to violence, but recur to God, who has in His hands the hearts of kings and establishes governments as He pleases. Nowhere will less compulsion be necessary to enforce the laws, nowhere will peace, tranquillity, and order be productive of greater prosperity than where the power of the government is derived from the Source of all good.

Nor are, for this reason, the people stripped of their dignity and rights, or delivered up to the tyranny of princes. We might mention that obedience itself is highly dignified, if yielded not to human, but to Divine power. But now let us rather consider the nature of Divine authority, to see how little it tends to the oppression or degradation of the subjects. True, according to the opinion we defended, it abides in the organs fitted for its exercise, and not in the multitude. Yet for that it has not become for this reason a heavy burden. It exists in society as the power of seeing is in man, though directly seated in the eyes, and as the head is in the body, though distinct from all other members; it exists on account of society, because the latter cannot be at all without the former, and hence from the institution of the one by Nature the existence of the other necessarily follows; it exists for society, because its only end and purpose is the public welfare. Modern politicians boast of having made a great discovery in behalf of liberty when they proclaimed the principle that the government is for the people and not the people for the government. The axiom was no novelty; it is in no theory of power so necessarily implied as in the Catholic, and has, indeed, at all times been inculcated by Catholic writers. St. Thomas, the angelic doctor of the Middle



Agès, reminds the princes of it in very grave terms. "The kingdom," says he, "is not made for the king, but the king for the kingdom; for God has constituted kings to rule and govern, and to secure to every one the possession of his rights; such is the aim of their institution; but if kings, turning things to their own profit, should act otherwise, they are no longer kings, but tyrants."<sup>1</sup> Nay, in the opinion of ancient as well as modern theologians, it is so essential to authority to benefit and protect the people that laws enacted by it evidently in opposition to equity and to the common weal, are null and void, and can lay no claim to obedience.

Moreover, the theory of the Divine origin of authority affords all possible means to prevent oppression. It lays no hindrance to the clothing of power in several persons, or to the election of the magistrates by the people. It excludes no real improvement invented for a good and just administration; it admits of all forms of government, of the republican no less than the monarchical. What is of still greater importance and still better secures our liberty, are the limits it fixes to authority. According to it the state's sovereignty is not boundless and absolute, but altogether subject to a higher rule, the eternal and natural law, in conformity with which it must always act. There are prior to it other rights and duties in private life, in domestic and religious society, which it must protect, but cannot change or abolish. It is itself, in the great order of the rational creation, but a limited and subordinate sphere ordained only for the purpose of promoting temporal prosperity. Now this limitation not only sets us, in many regards, beyond the reach of the civil government, but also removes from it unbounded, all-absorbing absolutism, the chief cause of tyranny. When, therefore, modern philosophers and politicians denounce the Catholic theory as a support of oppressors, they entangle themselves in an evident self-contradiction. They assert that authority, to be safe from misuse, must be intrusted to many holders, who watch and counterbalance one another. Yet, at the same time, whilst on that account they extol modern institutions as bulwarks of freedom, and warn us against Catholic despotism, they concentrate in the civil sovereign all possible power, and give him control over all things, over policy, commerce, science, religion, without granting us the possibility of appealing to a higher authority. How is this consistent? Do they not accumulate while we divide power? Do they not render it altogether unlimited, whereas we carefully limit it and make it dependent on a higher rule? Where, therefore, is there danger of tyranny?

Let us refer the decision of this question to history. What

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<sup>1</sup> *De Regimine Principum*, lib. iii., p. 11.

maxims were acted upon whenever a government turned out tyrannical? The rulers dared to outrage, by their policy, justice and morality, render religion subservient to political interests, encroach on the rights and the liberty of families and individuals. Of the subjects, too, many partook of their iniquity out of selfishness, betrayed the Church to the state, and cowardly gave up their primordial natural rights; for a sound and moral nation can by no dynasty, however bold and mighty, be for a long time degraded into slavery. It was, hence, the obliteration of the principles of the Catholic theory in both princes and subjects that made oppression possible; it was unbounded sway, usurped by the one and ceded by the other, that fostered and consolidated tyranny.

Another fact, if reflected on without prejudice, must strike every thoughtful mind and convince it of the truth we assert. The Catholic Church has always upheld the Divine origin of civil power, yet the distinction of this power from domestic and from unjust authority. Has she, therefore, been the friend of tyrants? She was the very one that put the greatest hindrance to their oppressive measures. When nobody ventured to resist the mighty who trampled on the individual and on the laws of justice, she, conscious of being intrusted with supernatural power, power independent of the state, rose fearlessly to rebuke the oppressor and to defend the oppressed, though frequently herself fettered, insulted, wounded. Not seldom, from her struggles with the haughty kings and emperors, the rays of liberty burst forth on whole nations. For instance, we may go back to the times of William Rufus and St. Anselm of Canterbury, of Henry II. and St. Thomas à Becket, of the Emperor Henry IV. and St. Gregory VII., of Frederick Barbarossa and Pope Alexander III., of Napoleon I. and Pius VII. Conversely, tyrants and governments wielded absolute power, always hostile to the Church; they all endeavored to render her subject to their laws or to destroy her. Either the one or the other was thought to be a necessary condition of their absolute rule. In fact, absolutism and oppression, even in matters of conscience, never grew ranker than after the time of the Reformation, when the spiritual power had been swallowed up by the temporal, when the state had been declared to be absolutely supreme, the source of all right, the all-ruling centre of human life. Liberty, then, we infer from all this, is on the side of the divinely established, well-limited power, and not on that of the absolute, all-powerful, atheistical state.

By these few remarks we think we have shown to evidence the great and wholesome consequences of the Catholic theory of civil power. It wonderfully combines power with liberty, obedience with personal dignity; it fits out the government to put order by its laws in the state, and at the same time ennobles the subjects and

protects their rights; it establishes irresistible sway over us, yet defines and balances it so that it is bound to maintain justice and to produce prosperity. It is for such excellence that a splendor of Divine wisdom shines forth from this scheme. Who could not see in this organization of society a Divine plan, a lustre of reason and a profusion of the bounty of God, as in the marvellous harmony of the universe we cannot but acknowledge a reflection of the divine intellect? For an order comprising so many things, so admirably reconciling freedom with necessity, so equal and just in all its relations, so firm as to its foundation, so effective and beneficent in its operations, cannot be the invention of a human mind.

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### THE PHILOSOPHY OF INTROSPECTION.

THE history of the past of mankind is the history of those radical changes in its life which are wrought by the march of time on one hand, and by the progress of civilization on the other. Of these changes, political, social and religious, the human race leaves an imprint behind in the art, science and literature of each period, and in nearly every domain of knowledge belonging to that period. New modes of thought obtain currency, new habits are acquired, inventions and discoveries are made, facilitating their diffusion; and all this very forcibly impresses upon observant minds the fact that life, after all, is but a continuous change, applied either to the individual or to society at large. In this way progress and civilization have become identified in the popular mind with the idea that they are simply synonyms of the term "change." We are born into this world, we live a little while in it, we die and pass away from it. The child is born and becomes an infant, the infant grows into manhood or womanhood, reaches a point of culmination, declines perhaps into old age, and then life ends. This is the brief history which tells the fate of all mortals; and what else is it but a record of continuous transformation? Change, ever-recurring change, appears, therefore, as the most marked characteristic of life; as a fact undisputed, because indisputable.

The theory of "change" applies, indeed, to life in all its phases, but there runs through life at the same time an undercurrent of an entirely different character. Between the narrow limits drawn by

birth on one hand, and by cold pitiless death on the other, there moves that stream of hope and despair, of friendship and enmity, of love and hatred, which determines for each whether his term of terrestrial existence has been one of happiness or of misery. That current depends upon agencies which remain the selfsame at all times and under all circumstances, and these silent agencies constitute in the ever-surging ocean of life the only changeless elements. If we glance back over a period of some two thousand years, we see that the civilization of Greece and Rome was superseded by that of the Middle Ages, and that mediæval civilization in turn gave way to that of modern times. Yet, the desire for happiness, for instance, dwelt as strongly in the breast of the Greek and Roman, and of the semi-barbarians which swept over Europe in the fourth and fifth centuries, as it does in the generations of our times. The same passions ruled in antiquity and in mediæval times whose violent throbbings cause so much apprehension in our days. Nations appear and disappear, but the perennial longings of the human heart are transmitted unchanged, as a patrimony not dependent upon time and place and surroundings, not subjected to their disintegrating influence, but immaculate, in pristine virginity, in every human breast.

Now these elements of life possess a very vital importance whenever any issue, involving the entirety of life, is being dealt with. For, it must obviously lead to erroneous conclusions to take cognizance of the outward manifestations of human activity only, and to ignore the inner springs of life. And this, it seems to us, has been one of the most fruitful sources of error in the formation of opinions regarding the question of religion and its issues. Our times appear deeply concerned with subjects like "the decline of faith," "the decay of Christianity," "the disintegration of the Church," and the like. It is pretty generally recognized, what even the most rudimentary knowledge of the past teaches us, namely, that religion and life are correlative terms. But not a few neglected to inquire into, or if they did, failed to grasp the true relationship subsisting between them, and, in consequence thereof, life- or death-sentences have been pronounced upon one creed or another with an air of gravity and with all serious earnestness, which are, at best, *ægri somnia vana*. Religion, let it be emphasized, is an expression of human nature only when it is stripped of all appendages of time and place. The outward life of mankind is being cast into fresh moulds and is taking new shape and form with every age, but the inner life presents always the selfsame characteristics. These considerations make it self-evident that no opinion deserves to be entitled to the serious attention of society, unless it be based upon a careful study of man's inner

structure, and the extent to which a religious system corresponds with his manifold wants.

These general remarks, we hope, have cleared the ground sufficiently to let us perceive that the introspection of life alone, or rather of the unchangeable elements of life, furnishes the means of formulating a view worth having, upon any of the issues with which we are here indirectly concerned.

The points of contact between religion and humanity are many. The evidence of the past compels us to concede that some sort of "belief" presents itself as an irrepressible want of human nature. And if we inspect all creeds of which we possess any knowledge, with a view to singling out an element common to all, we again encounter "belief." Thus "belief" is one point of contact. Again, right and wrong are distinctions drawn between certain lines of action by religion as well as by society, so that morality may be said to form another point of contact. Again, happiness, a happiness untarnished by any shadow, stands ever as an ideal before man's elevated ambition, for which he has endeavored to reach out at all times. And happiness, a happiness undefiled, is the promise of the future, held out by nearly all religions to their adherents. Here, then, we have some precincts which religion and humanity occupy between themselves. It is manifest, moreover, from the very nature of the case, that in the inner structure of human nature there must be given *that* which religion is intended to complement, to perfect, to elevate, to satisfy; and whatever religion performs this office in the most perfect and complete manner, *that* religion and that *alone*, we are warranted in predicating, will be the one to which the theory of the survival of the fittest will apply.

We proceed now to examine more minutely some of the common territory. The most patent, and consequently the least disputed and at the same time also the most prominent, element of religious feeling consists in what is called "conscience," a power of which we know very little besides the fact that it does exist. It may be defined as the consciousness of right and wrong. It descends upon all human beings as an unquestioned birthright. Perhaps it may be urged that the notions as to what is right and what wrong, differ so widely that conscience cannot be taken as a central and common force of universal human nature. It is quite true that the notions of right and wrong have differed and do differ, but this is a matter with which we are here not concerned at all. It suffices entirely for our purpose that the consciousness of right and wrong, as an abstract perception of the intellect, inseparable from human nature, links the cultured agnostic of the nineteenth century to his half-savage ancestor. We do not inquire *why* the notions

of the one are crude, raw, uncouth, and those of the other developed into a delicate sensibility; but we ask simply, why is this notion extant in both? To this query but one answer can be made, which is not alone acceptable to reason, but likewise borne out by experience. Conscience is a universal patrimony, because of a universal intuitive knowledge, no matter how indefinite, that some standard of right and wrong has been established by some power above us, and that we are bound to conform our lives to this standard. This implies a belief, again quite indefinite, that right conduct is rewarded, and wrong conduct punished; in other words, that we are endowed with free-will, and impair or advance our prospects of reaching that happiness for which we cannot help longing by the choice which we make for the shaping of our conduct through life. Whether the innate desire for happiness take the form of looking forward towards reaching Nirvana, or of hoping for a communion of saints, with direct intercourse with the Deity and participation in divine felicity, does not matter in the least. Dogmatism lies in this search far beyond our sphere, since its issues run in strata which we are not at all investigating at present. Thus belief, faith, that fundamental principle of all religious systems, owes its existence to a want of human nature; for, as we have seen, conscience, the root of all belief, rests only and solely upon the intuitive knowledge of a power, superhuman and greater than ourselves, that made a standard of right and wrong for us. Religion springs, therefore, from nature itself, and is as old as nature.

The general consideration of the necessity of religion enables us, however, to draw some very important conclusions. In the first place the necessity of a definite form of belief appears no longer doubtful, and all religions of the past present themselves simply as attempts to furnish humanity that requisite definite belief. In the second place, it is quite clear that but *one* religion can be in full accord with human nature, for the coexistence of two *systems* means necessarily the coexistence of two different standards of morality, which is an absurd monstrosity and logically impossible, if they are, as they would have to be, absolute standards.

Retracing our steps into the past again, we will ascertain now how far the creeds in force prior to the advent of Christianity responded to that universal craving for a definite belief, which the analysis of conscience established as a prime requisite of human nature. As regards classic Paganism, as it lived and ruled in the popular mind of Greece and Rome, the most striking fact, as Mr. W. S. Lilly, in a paper, "Supernaturalism, Mediæval and Classic," so well observes, is the wellnigh total absence from it of any idea at all nearly corresponding to that which the term "God" conveys, more or less distinctly, to the European mind of the present

day. Deep down in the heart of antiquity, underlying all religious conceptions, was the idea of a Supreme Will, irresistible, inscrutable, inexorable. This vague, mysterious, awful power was personified as "*Fatum*," which ruled not only over the generations of mortal men, but likewise over the immortal anthropomorphic deities, and formed the nearest approximation to what we understand by the word "God." This all-pervading fatalism is the key to the religions and philosophies of Paganism. The indefiniteness and obscurity of this notion of a Supreme Ruler failed, of course, to offer any satisfaction to the imperative demand of human nature for a definite belief, and led the innate tendency to believe to put out shoots in other directions. Thus we find a belief in invisible realities, surrounding man on every side, and a belief in powers and agencies, superhuman and directly and intimately affecting man. Nor is this the only effect produced by the absence of a less certain idea of God. It disabled ancient Polytheism, nay, rendered it absolutely powerless to represent any ethical idea or to establish any standard by which life should be governed. It had nothing to offer to the inquiries of a restless heart. The office of all propitiatory sacrifices consisted merely in assuaging the fear of that righteous retribution, of the existence of which the teachings of conscience gave warning. Inadequate and impotent as the creeds of Paganism were, they were on that account doomed to crumble to pieces when brought in contact with a religious system less wanting in the most essential requisite, namely, adaptation to man's nature.

Before the advent of Christianity there existed but one theistic conception in which men could and did believe, namely, the one possessed by the Hebrews and transmitted by them from generation to generation. The Jews alone knew God as a living God, the fountain of life, supreme Lawgiver and Judge of men, yet a merciful God, listening to prayers and standing in direct relationship with the people. The elect tribe of Northern Semites had a definite God, and hence a definite law, yet an impassable gulf separated, as it were, the finite creature from the Infinite, preventing human nature from rising to the inaccessible heights on which He was enthroned. He was too far removed from humanity to be approached with other feelings than those of awe and fear. Thus even the Jewish faith did not come up fully to the requirements of humanity in that sphere. More had to be given than was given to the Hebrews, in order to encompass mankind's clamorings, and Christianity, at last, gave it.

The mediæval era is ushered in with the God-man as central figure. The bright beams of light which the new religion shed profusely soon chased away Paganism's gloomy and dark vision

of fate, and turned the feelings of awe and fear of the Hebrew conception into those of love and friendship. The Word made flesh was God, indeed, but was man also, full of compassion, of love, of sympathy, ever ready to lift our burdens and attracting by His luminous beauty all alike. The Incarnation is the bridge which forever spans the shores of divinity and humanity, and by the Cross life's perplexing mysteries were solved. Life was no longer a hopeless struggle, happiness no longer beyond the reach of mortal arm. The sting of death was removed, the keen edge of suffering taken away. Passion and virtue, which had occupied overlapping territories, were assigned districts of their own, and between these a line of demarcation was drawn. Society was furnished a code of ethics, which to this day has been admitted by believers as well as unbelievers to be unsurpassed in its matchless perfection. To be sure, there was much left that still remained unfathomable, but though Christianity promulgated what defied comprehension, nothing was beyond apprehension of human reason and intelligence. Even in its most general aspect, the Christian religion touches the secret springs of human nature, satisfies its yearnings, and fills the void into which all preceding creeds had been emptied in vain.

Christianity followed a period in which the material universe and the senses whereby it appeals to us had been all in all to mankind. They were removed from the horizon upon which the gaze of society had been fastened for so long, and other objects, worthy of intense contemplation, placed there instead. This world receded from the views of society before the dazzling brightness of the world to come. The fulfilment of the hope of centuries generated, as was to be expected, an ecstasy in the human heart, which found vent in that severe asceticism of which mediæval history renders many, to us rather astonishing, accounts. The war with man's lower nature was waged then all the more fiercely because of the undisputed and long-continued sway of the passions before the inauguration of this war. Recoiling from that loathsome dominion, the very force of the rebound led to a total spiritualization of life. The victor's crown was not expected here below, but was seen only beyond the grave. These reflections suggest themselves very forcibly as the correct explanation of the ascetic tendency of the Middle Ages, a tendency which has been very severely and very adversely criticised, though the facts warrant only the interpretation which we put upon it.

As the one great foundation of all religions lies in the voice of conscience, in the sense of the infinite, in man's spiritual aspirations, in the need of faith, in short a need universal and unchangeable, so does the strongest evidence of Christianity lie in its unique



accord with every want of man's inner nature. History itself bears out this assertion, for the history of Christianity is the history of the superiority of all Christian nations. As soon as the Western world was filled with the teachings of Christ, the supremacy of the people inhabiting it was established. Progress and civilization appear only as allies of Christianity, so much so that wherever the soil is not first fertilized by it, the engrafting of civilized ideas, refined habits, and cultured social life is altogether impossible. The most avowed atheists even are honest enough to grant that the religion given by Christ to mankind surpasses all preceding systems, while it is a fact recognized by every observant mind of every age since the beginning of our era, that the services rendered by Christianity to mankind in spheres outside of religious teaching are simply immense. Yet, notwithstanding this general encomium of praise bestowed upon it, there has grown up in our times a doubt and a suspicion regarding the future of Christianity with its two thousand years of life. It would be superfluous to say more than simply to state the fact that the downfall of Christianity is not only predicted but believed in by a numerically growing portion of society. The weight to be attached to prognostications of that kind depends, as has been remarked before, upon this test of unfailing character,—can a religious system more fully and more thoroughly in accord with human nature be conceived or not? But a good deal, if not all of what has so recently been predicated of Christianity, does not require an inquiry into an abstract problem. It is simply necessary to define clearly the different meaning of the term "Christianity" when applied to mediæval and to modern times.

Up to the time of the Reformation the Christian religion was practically a unit and coextensive with Catholicity. Since then, however, the word Christianity has been used somewhat loosely as comprising Catholicity and Protestantism. Between these two forms of religion there are radical differences, which render it obviously clear that what may be truthfully asserted of the one need not apply at all to the other. Christianity and Catholicity were once interchangeable terms, but they have ceased to be so, and hence the fatal confusion.

Protestantism is, at best, Christianity on sufferance. Apart from a theistic conception of God it has little in common with Catholicity. The more conservative Protestant denominations preserve, of course, a greater semblance to original Christianity than the more advanced, liberal churches, of which not a few are openly disavowed by the former as not Christian. With dissensions in the family we have here, however, nothing to do. Since its origin Protestantism has been suffering from internal disintegration,

the process of splitting up, a process very marked and very rapid, is still going on. It does not matter how near to the line which forever divides the Catholic Church from Protestantism some sects may approach, how far others stand off; for that line is like the equator, a mathematical line in its distinctness. Whosoever is not north of it is necessarily south.

Now Protestantism, in general, was an attempt on the part of its founders to effect a compromise between the material world of old and the supernatural world of Christianity. The life of the passions, strong at all times, revolted against the severe discipline of mediæval times, introduced into these by the fervor of ecstasy. With the lapse of years that fervor lost its intensity, and in proportion as it subsided did the rule of passions make headway, until towards the close of the fifteenth century it had acquired an overpowering ascendancy and crept into Church and society. Reformation was, indeed, needed within and without. Within, where it was brought about by legitimate means, the end was accomplished, and it was accomplished solely because the Christian religion was left unchanged in its entirety. Without, however, it resulted in vain endeavors to reconcile the irreconcilable, and hence its failure. The uncompromising attitude of Christianity towards materialism of any kind displeased the Reformers. Some concessions to man's lower nature were therefore made, and so much thrown overboard as was too directly in opposition with these concessions. In the course of time materialism overshadowed more and more the fragments of Christianity, which still had been retained, and, by degrees, the principle of private judgment cut loose from all those indispensable adjuncts of religion, without which it can neither fulfil its own mission nor satisfy the human heart.

That a few shabby tinsels of Christianity do not appeal with any force to men of intelligence who recognize the true mission of religion, is not in the least to be wondered at. Nor, again, can we wonder that this portion of society, after having ceased to believe in the creed of a Protestant church, turns with serious expectations to the physical sciences which have achieved so much, and believes them to hold the promise of evolving a religious system less out of joint with human nature than the one they abandoned with the hopeless reluctance of despair. It is rather natural that the religion-seeking world should turn in that very direction, for they perceive that accord with nature is the *sine quâ non* of religion. Looking for that, and knowing that the scientists unravel nature's mysteries, the situation itself seems to point out that they have chosen the right path. Yet if they look to science for the lost treasure they deceive themselves, like those scientists who indulge in the same hopefulness. Science can never unravel more than

the one part of human nature which is open to inspection of the closest and most minute character. If it gives, some day, a full and correct account of man's physical nature, its mission will be ended. The voice of the heart will ever tell many things which the senses cannot and do not report, and reveal much that is, indeed, not opposed to the senses, but above the senses. Conscience, free-will, moral responsibility, they are not matter, substance, in fine, material, in the strictest sense of the word. They will ever reach out into and belong to the non-physical order. The negation of the latter implies the negation of all three. For, can moral responsibility be rationally conceived without one to whom we are responsible? Is free-will not a farce if the distinctions between right and wrong are withdrawn? Is conscience thinkable without some sort of faith? Yet, strange to observe, the very ones who emphatically deny the existence of a supernatural order, and of a God in the Christian acceptation of the term, declare in the same breath moral responsibility not abrogated, free-will not impaired, conscience not annulled. It is certain, at all events, that science could only establish a Godless religious cult, and to that the consent of man's nature can never be obtained for any length of time, because it would soon prove itself incapable of standing that crucial test to which we have referred already, "full accord with the wants of human nature;" a test which the religions of the future will have to stand, as well as those of the past.

It may not be superfluous to single out one case in which the incompetency of Protestantism to stand this test is well brought to light.

Confession, as is well known, is in the Catholic Church not only a sacrament, but a matter of obligation upon all its members without exception. It is, therefore, beyond question a very characteristic mark of Catholicity, *i. e.*, Christianity. Protestantism refuses to recognize confession as a tenet of vital import, either as a matter of belief or as of any practical value in regard to human nature. Ritualism, in its most advanced form, goes so far as to accept confession as a sacramental rite, whatever that may mean, but it leaves it optional with its members to avail themselves of it. Outside of the small body of Ritualists, confession is tabooed, abhorred, shunned. Now, then, what we have to examine into is not whether auricular confession has been abused or not, nor whether such a tremendous power as the one of forgiving sins has been lodged with the priesthood, nor, again, whether it was wise to intrust into the safekeeping of frail human nature so enormous a prerogative; all this is here quite foreign matter and perfectly irrelevant. What we have to ascertain is simply this: Does confession correspond

to a want of human nature, or does it not? Is there something within our structure which makes us desirous of an unburdening? In short, is there any need for confession as a sacrament and as a binding obligation, or is there none?

Confession would be turned at once into a ridiculous absurdity if all men lived without ever swerving or being liable to swerve from the standard of absolute righteousness. It is very plain that if there is nothing to confess, confession is superfluous. But it is only necessary to recall the very general outcry that has been raised at the time of the proclamation of the dogma of infallibility, in order to be able to assert positively that, by universal consent, human nature is considered liable to do wrong. Infallibility, of course, does not mean impeccability, but it was largely understood to imply as much, which was the cause of the very just and very general protest. Human society was thus perfectly unwilling to admit that but one human being at a time, and that an old and virtuous man as a rule, could possibly be exempt from going astray. We may draw from this verdict the inference that all mortals, without exception, that is to say, the whole race, in all its component parts, are considered liable to transgress the divine law. Now, if this universal liability does exist, it is fair to presume that a good many individuals leave now and then the narrow paths of righteousness. And if so, why should not those who offend God, whom they adore as their Creator and Father, feel towards Him the same generous impulse which prompts a well-brought-up child, if it breaks anything which it was forbidden to touch, to run up to his parents, own up the mischievous deed, and implore among tears their forgiveness? That sentiment in children is not found fault with by the most confirmed unbeliever, for it strikes home in its touching simplicity. But the selfsame feeling evinced by the children of God towards Him, their heavenly Father, is made sport of. Both cases are exactly alike; there is transgression in the one, there is transgression in the other. And so are the motives alike, be they love or fear; that is to say, sorrow for the transgression, or the dread of punishment. Nay, further than this: we venture to assert boldly that any parent would much rather have his child run up, less on account of an anticipation of being chastised, than because of real sorrow for having done something which will grieve the parent. It is human nature to feel so as parents, matter and substance and all their properties notwithstanding. And the Catholic Church teaches that precisely the same relationship exists between God and man, and proclaims that sorrow over sins resulting from love far exceeds a contrition prompted by fear. Nor is this all. Society readily acknowledges that a wrong confessed is

half atoned for. There is the further evidence of criminals who escape the hand of justice, but who find no rest until their deeds are confessed, and who therefore surrender themselves. From all these considerations it seems that confession must be regarded as an evidence of good-will on the part of the wrongdoer to right the wrong. If there are consciences dulled to such an extent that such desire rise no more in them, it is to be hoped their number forms an infinitesimal fraction of human society. For all, except such, confession appears as a means devised by Supreme Wisdom for an end, which end is to help human frailty onward, to encourage the despondent, to lift up the outcast, in fine, to succor nature when succor is needed. Can it be said that confession does not meet frail mortals half-way?

The future of Christianity has, thus, not yet been dimmed by any shadows. It cannot be doubtful as long as it preserves those integral characteristics which stamp upon it the seal of genuineness through nature itself. Whatever doleful predictions are made apply not to Catholicity, the only true religion. Christianity is not Protestantism, and should not be confounded with it. Christianity is always Catholic, Protestantism always exclusive. The ship of society lost the old moorings, the cargo of science shifted in the hold, the compass pointed in the wrong direction, and thus it is drifting with the high tide. When the ebb tide sets in, and the breakers ahead will be seen, society will verify the compass, and, guided by the unfailing yearnings of the heart, it will make land and find again the God-man, who stands there with the beacon-light of truth, whom to know is to possess life, but of whom St. Augustine truly said, "*non cognoscitur nisi amando.*"

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## BOOK NOTICES.

THE STORY OF THE SCOTTISH REFORMATION. By *A. Wilmot, F.R.G.S.* London: Burns and Oates. 1883.

The true history of the "Reformation in Scotland" remains still to be written. Anti-Catholic historians have expended more labor and skill in explaining away or varnishing over its horrible atrocities than in their accounts of the Reformation movement in any other country. Their purpose indeed required it, for in no other country was the great revolt against the Church accompanied with more cruelty, treachery and heinous crimes than there. John Knox, who was its heart and soul, was the personification of coarseness, vulgarity, brutality and utter disregard of truth and honor. He was at once a coward and a bully, an arrant, shameless hypocrite, and the instigator, abetter and apologist of assassination. Even anti-Catholic historians furnish in their one-sided statements abundant testimony that though great abuses had come to exist in the administration and discipline of the Church in Scotland, and of the Prelates and Priests led unedifying lives, yet the so-called Reformation movement had not its root and origin in any sincere desire to correct those abuses, but in the ambition of turbulent nobles and the fanaticism and craving for notoriety and for gain of rude and coarse demagogues, who found in the preaching of the new doctrines an easy means of becoming prominent.

As for Catholic authors, they have written sketches rather than histories of the Reformation in Scotland, or made special studies of some particular parts of it. Perhaps this is fortunate. Until a few years back the available material for a full history of the Scottish Reformation was very scanty. Many important papers that have recently been discovered were unknown or supposed to have been irrecoverably lost or destroyed. Others were beyond reach, being kept from examination among the secret state papers of the English government. But, partly through the spirit of research and investigation of original sources of history which is a prominent characteristic of our times, and partly through the freer examination of its archives, which the government of England has permitted during late years, many valuable documents and papers have become known, which throw light on a number of matters, connected with Scottish history in the sixteenth century that previously were very obscure.

The time, therefore, seems to have arrived when some competent hand should treat exhaustively the Reformation movement in Scotland, and paint in their real colors the motives and characters of the prominent leaders and supporters of that movement—a movement that involved more of confusion, treachery, falsehood, and cold-blooded atrocities than almost any other that history records.

The work before us does not claim to be a history but rather a popular sketch—"the story" of the Scottish Reformation. It is brief, and touches only the salient points of the movement. Its first chapter, which is introductory, is a valuable popular sketch of Scotland under her earlier Catholic kings. At the close of the thirteenth century, Scotland, in comparison with her natural resources and despite the

unfavorable influences of frequent hostilities with England, and the turbulence of semi-independent feudal chieftains, was, to use the words of a Protestant writer in the *Edinburgh Review*, "a rich, prosperous, and happy country." In contrast with this he proves, employing exclusively the testimony of non-Catholic writers, Macaulay, Buckle, Cockburn, Irving, Tyler, Giles, Lord John Russell, Charteris, Tallock, and others, the miserable social, religious, and industrial condition of Scotland, after Protestantism had acquired full sway and done its bad work; that there was neither civil nor religious liberty; that representation of the people in Parliament was a complete farce; that the commissioners of the burghs were mere retainers of the great nobles; that the Scottish Kirk was an organized system of cruel grinding tyranny, to which resistance became impossible, and under which the Presbyterian ministers enforced intolerable and almost incredible pretensions, interfering not only with the general government of the country, but with the domestic and private concerns of every individual in it; that they fostered a system of Phariseism and hypocrisy, united with ignorance, superstition and immorality; that numbers of infirm and aged women were burned as witches; that there was no free press, no free public meetings, and no better trial by jury even in political cases (except treason) than by jurors who were named in court by the presiding judge; that learning was positively discouraged, many of the Scottish divines of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries declaiming against it; that education was neglected, and universities languished; and that barn-like structures took the places of the noble temples of Catholicism, which the fanatical leaders of the Reformation and their deluded followers had destroyed. As for music, painting, architecture, and the cultivation of the fine arts generally, and of polite literature, a persistent hatred of them characterized the Presbyterian Church of Scotland. These statements, as we have already remarked, are all supported by the testimony of non-Catholic writers.

To those who have only a superficial acquaintance with the history of Scotland, and its condition previous to the sixteenth century, the rapid progress of the Reformation movement in that country seems to be difficult of explanation. The author of the work before us states some of the causes very clearly. He shows that, in great degree, it was the work of an oligarchy.

The nobles of Scotland were very powerful. In their pride and their semi-independence they were constantly engaged in savage warfare, sometimes among themselves, more frequently with their sovereign. They murdered James I., rebelled against James II., murdered James III., imprisoned James V., confined Mary in the Castle of Lochleven, and afterwards deposed her. Their numerous conspiracies form almost a framework to Scottish history. They were a scourge and curse to the country. War and rapine were their principal employments, and insecurity so generally prevailed that peaceful pursuits were almost impossible. Savage incursions from the Highlands and frequent, sanguinary, and long-continued wars with England desolated the country. The policy of the English government, even when nominally at peace with Scotland, aggravated this condition. That government constantly had Scottish nobles in its pay, and constantly fomented conspiracies and rebellions. The conformation of the country favored this turbulence of the nobles. Its fens and morasses, lakes and mountains rendered many of their retreats almost inaccessible.

As for the people they were divided into clans, and were serfs or dependents of their feudal chieftains. There was no middle station between

proud and powerful landlords and those who, having no property to lose, were ready to obey their every behest, and engage in any tumult they instigated. For independent yeomen and prosperous merchants, tradesmen, and artisans, there was no possible ground to stand on. As for the burgesses or inhabitants of towns, they were completely under the sway of powerful nobles who ruled them with an iron hand.

This state of things became still worse during the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Elizabeth; throughout all which period the rulers of England constantly supported and bribed with money and pensions many of the Scottish nobles, who formed an irresistible party of traitors both to the Catholic Church and the secular sovereign of Scotland. A number of apostate priests, of infamous morals, John Knox prominently of their number, were used as their tools and helpers.

In addition to these facts, the almost constant warfare by which Scotland had been cursed, not only between her nobles, but between them and her kings, and with England, had produced an exceedingly unfavorable influence upon education, upon morals, and upon ecclesiastical discipline and administration. This is so obvious that it is unnecessary to dilate upon it. Scotland, too, from her geographical position, was very remote from Rome. Frequent and immediate communication with the Holy Roman See was almost impossible. And all history proves that nations have become corrupt in proportion to their separation and alienation from the visible Head of the Church. Thus in Scotland the secular power tyrannized over Church dignitaries, and owing to their remoteness from Rome and the unfrequency of their communications with the Holy Roman See, they failed to obtain the spiritual strength and support necessary to enable them to resist. They became, with some exceptions, mere dependents on the secular power. The secular power also thrust its own creatures into sacred offices, and maintained them there contrary to the canons of the Church. Illegitimate children of James V., for instance, were appointed abbots and priors of Holyrood, Kelso, Melrose, Coldingham, and St. Andrew's. They received the incomes of benefices, but committed their charge to others. They seldom took orders, yet they ranked as clergymen; and by their vices they brought disgrace upon the whole clerical body. That a sad degeneration of clerical morals should result from this was inevitable. The doctrine of the Church remained incorrupt and unchanged, but grievous scandals necessarily came to exist. And these scandals furnished a pretext which ambitious, rebellious, proud, ignorant, and fanatical men eagerly seized upon for denouncing the Church, which opposed, condemned, and strove to eradicate the abuses from which these scandals arose.

The author then sketches, furnishing abundant proof for all he says from Protestant authorities, the horrible story of the Scottish Reformation, its atrocities and revolting crimes, the coarseness, cruelty, hypocrisy, and treachery of its chief promoters, Ruthven, Lindsay, Buchanan, Morton, Bothwell, Maitland, Murray, and Knox; a band of scoundrels, notorious profligates, who were alike Pharisees and hypocrites in religion, and traitors to their country, in constant communication with the English crown, receiving its money, revealing to it the secrets of the government of Scotland, and making themselves the paid tools of Elizabeth and her counsellors. Prominent in the dreary recital of constant conspiracy and crime is the account of John Knox, fitly characterized by Dr. Johnson as "the ruffian of the Reformation." He shows by indisputable proofs, that Knox habitually resorted to falsehood, treachery, and murder, and defended them as means that, when necessary to accomplish certain ends, were justifiable.



With regard to the author's estimate of the unfortunate Mary, Queen of Scotland, he lays himself open to criticism in several ways. His opinions, perhaps, are too dogmatically expressed respecting points about which interminable controversy has been waged, and which we see no prospect of definitely deciding, though recent investigations have shed additional light upon them. His account of her vacillations and indecision, of her relation to the murder of Darnley, her subsequent marriage with Bothwell, and her alleged connection with plots and conspiracies intended not only to release her from imprisonment in England, but also to assassinate Elizabeth, will be regarded as too favorable by some, and not sufficiently so by very many others.

The style of the work is defective; in some places inexcusably rough and inaccurate. There are a number of typographical errors, too, which show careless proof-reading.

MEDIEVAL CIVILIZATION. By *George Burton Adams*, Professor of History in Drury College. New York: D. Appleton and Company. 1883.

To write history truly three things are necessary: First, to ascertain the real facts; second, to arrange and state them properly, and with due regard to their actual relations one to another, and due regard, also, to their causes and consequences; third, to properly explain and exhibit their interior meaning and significance. To achieve any one of these requisites is a work of great difficulty; the attainment of all is even approximately possible to very few.

With respect to the first condition, great progress has been made of late years through the labors of antiquarians and the researches of explorers of the original sources of history, the discovery of recently discovered manuscripts supposed to have been irrecoverably lost, and the opening to public or private examination of government archives and other depositories of papers and documents which, from reasons of state policy or other motives, have been jealously kept secret. The study of these historical materials and the searching criticism to which they have been subjected, have thrown light upon many subjects of history which heretofore have been involved in seemingly hopeless obscurity and confusion.

Progress, too, though not equally great, has been made in the second requisite—the proper arrangement of historical facts and of their resulting consequences. But as to the third, the exhibition of the real interior significance of the facts and events narrated, a like remark cannot be made. Historical writers of the present age, it is true, ostensibly aim at this. Indeed, they professedly make it the chief object and design of their works. They choose positions, which they regard as central, from which to view the events they describe. They form theories according to which they explain facts, giving prominence by a species of rhetorical perspective to those which fit into and confirm their theory, and placing obscurely and with diminished proportions in the background those which are irreconcilable with their preconceived idea.

But this is not history; it is a perversion of history. And it is all the more effective, because of the seeming fairness and candor of the writer, who, apparently keeping his own ideas in reserve, is yet suggesting them on every page. The *proton pseudos* of this school of historians, and it is now the popular school, is not in the fact that they have a philosophy of history before they begin to write, which serves as a clue to guide them through the labyrinth of facts and events of past ages,—for, without some such philosophy, they would be mere chroniclers.

The error is in selecting a point of view of their own choosing, instead of adopting that which divine revelation makes known. All history is but the exhibition in time of God's will, carrying out His purposes on earth through human factors, leaving them in perfect possession of their own free will. Any other standpoint than this from which to view history is necessarily false. For from no other standpoint can due prominence be given to what, even considered in the light of mere human reason, is the most momentous fact of all ages—the Incarnation, and to what of all other institutions is the most powerful and far-reaching in its influence—the Church.

Yet history is now commonly written from every other standpoint than this. The whole tendency of our age, outside of the Catholic Church, is to ignore it. The events of past times are looked at and attempted to be explained from purely natural causes, as though God did not exist, or, if existing, had no concern in the movements of mankind, and no power to direct or control them. The existence of Christianity, its diffusion, influences and effects; the existence of the Church, its organization, its power, relation to civilization, secular government, literature, art, morality, and all the concerns of society, are attempted to be explained as simply the evolution of human thought and action.

This is clearly the underlying idea of the work before us. Mediæval Christendom, according to the author, was formed "by the force of certain ideas and of certain institutions, in which those ideas were embodied, the scattered fragments of which were artificially held together, as it were, until a natural and organic unity could begin to arise." "The first of these, the Holy Roman Empire, was an idea, a sentiment, a belief, the product of memory and imagination" "The other, the Roman Church, was a great institution, an institution founded in part upon this same belief. . . . The idea embodied in the theory of the Holy Roman Empire out of the idea which the later Romans held, an idea made familiar to us in the lines of Virgil :

" His ego nec metas rerum, nec tempora pono;  
Imperium sine fine dedi—"

. . . . "This, then, was the idea, the belief, created by memory and the imagination, which acted as one of the great forces to prevent Europe from splitting into fragments. . . . But this theory had its counterpart. Beside the one representative of God in matters temporal, sat the one representative of God in matters spiritual. In the theory, the one Holy Roman Emperor has his complement in the one Holy Father, the head of the Catholic Church." . . . "The steps by which the Roman ecclesiastical system was built up form one of the most interesting subjects of study in the history of civilization. . . . It has been said by Macaulay that there is not, and never was on this earth, a work of human policy so well deserving of examination as the Roman Catholic Church."

This is the author's ruling hypothesis. The Church is a system of human policy. Its unity is a part of that system and one of its products. Its organization and growth are the results of purely human thought and human action. Its influence and power are products of the same causes.

Thus, the Catholic Church, according to our author, was, on the whole, a beneficial institution during the Middle Ages, and assisted in establishing civil order, and promoting art and literature, because it suited those times. But it has remained stationary, while society has constantly advanced. Consequently, it has fallen behind in the onward

movement of humanity, and is now an obstacle in the way of that movement. "The Roman Catholic Church," to quote again, "is no important contribution to the permanent civilization of the race. No great work of to-day is building upon it, as there is upon the scientific work of the Greeks, or upon the 'gospel of John. It was a scaffold erected that the building might go on, but no stone itself wrought into the walls."

The Middle Ages "were dark ages—that is, they were ignorant and superstitious ages, and could not have been otherwise. . . . A pure Christianity, could it have been maintained, might have furnished the conditions of progress in knowledge. But Christianity had fallen into the hands of ignorant, and, worse still, into the hands of selfish men, and, though its true light continued to shine from century to century, yet it shone but dimly, and in its proper place men had set up a misleading *ignis fatuus*."

After this statement of the author's leading idea, it is unnecessary to criticise details. Suffice it to say that, according to this author, the Popes were simply ecclesiastical politicians, ruled by like motives to those which actuated secular princes, though frequently less sagacious and very commonly more obstinate and domineering than the kings and emperors over whom they claimed to exercise supremacy. As regards religion, superstition was the prevailing characteristic of Catholicity, while the Waldensian and Albigensian movements were "attempts to introduce a purer Christian life and practice," and Wycliff and John Huss were forerunners of Luther and the Reformation, which movement, as regards religion, "means a return to primitive Christianity," and, as regards knowledge, "means that ignorance and superstition have been so far subdued."

That the author is not up with the times in his historical studies—even from a non-Catholic view—is so evident from the exhibit we have made of his general ideas, as scarcely to require explicit mention. His work abounds in misstatements of historical facts, which no one acquainted with more recent researches in history could honestly make.

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LEAVES FROM THE ANNALS OF THE SISTERS OF MERCY. In three volumes. Volume II. Containing Sketches of the Order in England, at the Crimea, in Scotland, Australia, and New Zealand. By a Member of the Order of Mercy, Authoress of the "Life of Catherine McAuley," "Life of St. Alphonsus," "Life of Venerable Clement M. Hoffbauer," "Glimpses of Pleasant Homes," etc. New York: The Catholic Publication Society. 1883.

The author, in her preface to this volume, says, "We disclaim intending to give a complete history of the Order of Mercy. We have merely described," she says, "what we have seen or what circumstances have brought to our knowledge. And we have kept chiefly to its earlier years and placed upon the candlestick, to shine to all the household, those valiant groups who now rest from their labors." The work, it seems, was at first "intended for private circulation only," and "the immense sale of the first volume was a genuine surprise" to the writer. It certainly was no surprise to those who have read that volume. The scenes and incidents described, the early struggles of the Order for existence and ecclesiastical approval, the self-denying, arduous and blessed labors of the Sisters, are narrated in such admirable manner that readers could scarcely fail to be both deeply interested and edified.

The second volume narrates the establishment of the Order and the

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<sup>1</sup> The omission of the capital letter to "Gospel" is the author's.

labors of its members in England, at the Crimea during the war of England, France, Piedmont, and Turkey, against Russia, in Scotland, and in Australia and New Zealand.

The accounts of the establishment of the Order in the "Channel Islands," beginning with Guernsey, and of the labors of the Sisters in the Crimea, are to us specially interesting. Upon Guernsey soil, up to 1868, no nun's foot had rested for over three centuries. The bigotry of the Protestants was such that many were enrolled in a society which binds them by oath, "never to speak to a priest or nun and never to enter a Catholic Church." The Catholic priest, "so holy and zealous as to be styled a second *Curé d'Ars*, was anxious to have a convent, but felt timid in inviting nuns to so poor a country." By direct interposition of the Blessed Virgin the way was opened. Four Sisters of the Order were sent from Brighton. The works of mercy they instituted, instructing the ignorant, protecting orphans, visiting the sick, etc., increased with the labor they expended on them, and now fifteen Sisters are doing the work of thirty among the simple and poor of that island, who are almost as separated from the current of the world's life which sweeps around them as though they were inhabitants of another planet. A number of conversions have been made of Protestants, and so great is the persecution to which they are subjected by the Protestant population that numbers of these converts have been obliged to leave the island. Very many bad Catholics, chiefly of the free-thinking class, have been reclaimed and converted. The pupils attending the schools of the Order exhibit exemplary docility, and their number has increased until the Sisters find their energies taxed to the utmost to instruct them. Alderney, an island rock "rising out of the midst of seething waves," measuring only four miles in length and two in breadth, has a convent of the Order of Mercy, "poor and humble as the stable of Bethlehem." The humorous and comical descriptions of the visits of the Sisters to the rude and ignorant but quaint, simple-hearted inhabitants of these islands, their conversations with them on the roads, in the fields, and at their homes, and their success in reclaiming them to attention to their religious duties, are very amusing, and at the same time instructive and edifying.

Even more interesting, though in another way, are the chapters which give an account of the labors of the Sisters in the Crimea. The English government was in the greatest need of their services, yet requested them with a hesitation and timidity that could have scarcely been greater, had it been proposed to it to avail itself of the assistance of an unknown order of beings from the planet Jupiter or one of the other distant planets. But as soon as the Sisters reached the scene of their labors, their success in reducing chaos to order, their patient submission to all manner of self-denial, their quiet efficiency and the successful results attending their care of the sick and wounded, not only quickly won the hearts of the soldiers, but the unlimited confidence of the officers; so that the slightest expression of a wish on their part carried with it the force of a command, and where Lady Nightingale was opposed and resisted, the Sisters were consulted with and their suggestions promptly adopted. Before their arrival Lady Nightingale was in despair, and had practically failed in performing what she had planned and hoped to do. In fact her efforts plainly were failures. The Sisters co-operated with her, supported her, gave efficiency and system to the operations of which she was nominally the head, and allowed her to have all the public prestige of what was accomplished through their labors. But the officers, from the General commanding down, and the common soldiers,

all well understood to whose patience, labors, attention, and untiring energy the blessed results were due. On the return to England, along with the English soldiers, of those of the Sisters whose labors had not been closed by death in the Crimea, the populace were inclined to hoot them on their landing. But at the first demonstration of disrespect, the soldiers levelled their muskets, and would have fired and charged upon the mob, had they not been restrained by their officers, one of whom in indignant terms rebuked the mob and eloquently eulogized the Sisters. Letters from the Inspector-General of Hospitals, British Deputy Surveyor in Chief, from the Commanding General, and from heads of different departments of the British government, and one from the Sultan of Turkey accompanying a donation of £230, testified in the strongest terms to the extent and value of the services rendered by the Sisters.

Want of space prevents us from referring to the facts connected with the establishment and growth of the Order in England, Scotland, Australia and New Zealand, which are recounted in the volume before us. It is not a history nor yet a narrative strictly speaking, but narration, description letters from the Sisters and letters to them, anecdotes, incidents and occurrences, amusing, comical, serious and pathetic, are pleasantly intermingled.

THE LIFE OF MARTIN LUTHER. By *Julius K stlin*, Professor at Halle. Translated from the German. Edited by John G. Morris, D.D., LL.D. Philadelphia: Lutheran Publication Society. 1883.

THE LIFE OF MARTIN LUTHER. Compiled from reliable sources, by *Rev. William Strang*. Fr. Pustet & Co., New York and Cincinnati. 1883.

It is by no means too strong a statement of the fact to say that all modern Protestant accounts of Luther's life and character are simply romances. They do not describe him as he was, but as they would have him to be. They do not dare to let him speak out in his own coarse, wicked, and habitually blasphemous language. His furious bursts of passion, akin to those of a madman or a demon; his unblushing confessions of his own wickedness, made from time to time in defiance of decency, and as though an overpowering demoniacal spirit possessed him, and compelled him to publish his own shame; his tergiversations and self-contradictions and falsehoods; his self-confessed lust, and open, public drunken orgies, and the obscene expressions which abound in his writings and his sermons, are all passed over in silence by Protestant writers on Luther. They make quotations from his works, but they are selected and expurgated quotations, with extensive omissions; and the language of the passages that are quoted is changed and softened down so as not to offend decency and propriety. To publish, in a literal English translation, some of Luther's discourses—that on matrimony, for instance,—would subject the publishers to indictment for publishing obscenity, while the publication of others would subject them, in like manner, to the charge of blasphemy.

These very characteristics of Luther constitute a serious difficulty to Catholic students and writers exposing fully to public view what Luther really was, and to their depicting him in his true colors. They are compelled to exercise a certain degree of reticence, and to abstain from giving to the public, in their actual coarseness and rudeness and revolting indecency, the proofs which Luther himself furnishes in his life and writings, and which his contemporaries fully confirm, of his shameless, defiant wickedness.

These may seem to non-Catholics,—who have accepted without investigation, or with only superficial investigation, the ideal but utterly false portrait of Luther, which Protestant writers have painted,—strong, perhaps unwarranted assertions. Yet the proofs that they are the simple truth, are more than sufficient. They abound in Luther's own writings, as we have already said, in those of his co-laborers and followers, in those of other Protestant "Reformers" who differed with him, quarrelled with him, opposed him, and denounced him, as well as in the writings of Catholics of the age in which he lived.

It may seem strange, too, at first thought, that Protestant members of sects whose founders Luther violently denounced, and who in turn denounced him with equal violence, should now unite with professed Lutherans, in concealing his true character, and eulogising him as a sincere and holy man. The explanation is easy and obvious. However they may differ in religious opinions from those which professedly, but to a large extent no longer really, believe what is still called Lutheran doctrine, they realize that Luther was the chief founder and promoter of the revolt against the authority of the Church, which is miscalled "the Reformation." However, therefore, Luther may have opposed the opinions of the sects to which they adhere, and however strenuously the founders of those sects may have opposed Luther, they cannot now denounce or disparage him without exposing the rottenness and utter instability of the basis on which Protestantism fundamentally rests. Moreover, among all Protestant sects, definite religious opinions, or doctrines, as they style them, are no longer considered of vital importance. They change, too, as incessantly as the shifting figures of a child's kaleidoscope.

The first above-mentioned work is now regarded by Lutherans in Germany as a classic biography of Luther, and we doubt not that the English translation before us will be held in like esteem in this country. Its author has evidently given much labor to its preparation, and, evidently, is aware that the intelligent will no longer, unhesitatingly and without allowance, accept the ordinary Protestant accounts of Luther and of the corruptions of the Catholic Church. Consequently he avoids the grosser falsehoods and misrepresentations of these Protestant *romances*, mis-called histories, and adopts a tone of studied calmness and moderation in his statements. "This course," says the American editor, "necessarily divests the book of that superficial and, I may say, dramatic character which is the chief attraction of so many popular lives."

The author of the work styles it "a life picture" . . . "offered to the cultured readers of Germany." So far as it is a "picture" at all, it is one not of the actual Luther but of an ideal Luther, according to the author's conceptions. No portrait painter has displayed more skill in idealizing an actually ugly face by softening its coarse features, and changing its rude expression into one of amiability, than has the author in toning down and minimizing ugly facts in Luther's history where mention of them could not be avoided. Numerous references are made to Luther's writings. The preface says that analyses are given of them all (though we have not been able to find analyses of a number of them), but the manner in which the "analyses" are made suggests the idea that the writer has preferred, for obvious reasons, to "analyze" them in his own language rather than to summarize them in Luther's own words. Numerous brief quotations, it is true, are given, but they are always those in which as little as possible of Luther's characteristic violence, coarseness, bitterness of spirit and venom, appear. No one would suppose, from the author's account of Luther's disputations with Catholics and with "Re-

formers" who agreed with him in common hatred of the Catholic Church, that these disputations were other than theological discussions conducted on Luther's side with strict regard for truth and with Christian moderation, calmness, and courtesy. Occasional admissions, it is true, are made that Luther spoke or wrote "in the fervent language of indignation," but these acknowledgments are made in such a way that they conceal rather than express the truth with regard to his habitual passion, rage, abusive personalities, and use of epithets that outraged all decency.

Skilful *suppressio veri* is a striking characteristic of the work. Luther's continual inconsistencies and self-contradictions, his arrogance, violence and fury, of which even his friends bitterly complain, the venomous spirit which runs through all his controversial writings, those against fellow-Reformers who dared to differ from him as well as those against the Church and the Papacy, are entirely kept out of view. So, too, no one would suspect from reading it that Luther was ever, not to say habitually, profane and obscene. With reference to this, as it plainly appears in many of his writings and in his famous Table-Talk, the author says: "At times expressions and allusions would fall from his (Luther's) lips that seem too unrefined for our ears. But it is at least unpolished naturalness, nothing ambiguous or grossly vulgar."

In short this "Life of Luther" is a life of him, not as he *was*, but as he *was not*.

The second work, above-mentioned, is the production of a Catholic clergyman, who has aimed at giving, for the information of general readers rather than of scholars, a truthful account of who and what Luther was, and of the manner in which he kindled a flame in Europe, which spread with so great rapidity and was so destructive in its effects to morals, to faith, and to the true interests of mankind.

In a volume of small size, the Rev. author has well performed the task he assumed, delicate and difficult as it was, for reasons already given. In brief space he has recounted Luther's real history, and depicted him in his true character. Avoiding unnecessary employment of theological terminology and needless historical details, he has exhibited with sufficient clearness, and in proper manner, the successive steps of Luther's downward course in heresy and schism. He has also narrated concisely, yet with enough fulness to furnish an intelligible idea of the action of the Church, first to reclaim Luther, and then to oppose the spread of his heretical opinions, and also the reason why the revolt against the Church, headed and chiefly guided by Luther, spread with such rapidity.

With the writer's estimates of some of the personages who were prominent in connection with the movement, we do not agree. His account of Erasmus, whom we regard as a trimmer, a literary dilettanti, and "bohemian," destitute of all religious earnestness, eager to air his wit on every and any occasion and subject, and willing to use his pen as would best promote his interests, and secure him notoriety or fame, we think is entirely too favorable. So, too, his statement of the course pursued by Charles V., who then, whatever he may have become in after life, and when he resigned his crown and retired entirely from public life, was more of a politician than a Christian, and who permitted motives of ambition and seeming expediency to rule his actions, and sometimes to cause him to oppose and persecute the Church and its Sovereign Pontiff.

We would also have been glad to have seen a fuller exposition of Luther's denial of the freedom of the human will and the pernicious

effects of that heretical doctrine, and also of his equally pernicious heresy in denying the merits and indeed the possibility of good works. Yet perhaps we could scarcely expect this in the compass of the small volume to which the Rev. author has confined himself.

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SERMON AND DISCOURSES. By the Most Rev. *John McHale, D.D.*, Archbishop of Tuam. Edited by Thomas McHale, D.D., Ph.D. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son, New York: The Catholic Publication Company. 1883.

A volume of sermons, thoughtful, scholarly, and prepared with great care as regards form as well as matter, by the late Archbishop McHale, is about the last thing that would be expected by one who had only a superficial acquaintance with the character of that truly great prelate. A life of incessant activity is not favorable to study. Nor does the necessity of having constantly to deal with difficult and exciting questions requiring practical solution, usually dispose those upon whom such necessity presses to persevere in scholarly pursuits, even where there is a natural inclination to them. Yet though Archbishop McHale's life was emphatically one of action, and of action requiring constant exertion, and often involving bodily exposure, fatigue and danger, he was not less distinguished as a scholar, than as a zealous, self-denying, and untiring worker in the vineyard of our Divine Lord.

The volume before us is a striking proof of this. Among the thirty discourses it contains there is not one that has, either in thought or expression, any marks of carelessness or haste in its preparation. They treat on subjects of first importance, and treat them lucidly yet profoundly and exhaustively. As regards style they are specimens of pure, terse, elegant, strong English.

In the arrangement of these sermons and discourses in the volume before us, those on great truths of religion and detached moral subjects are placed first in order. Then follow those delivered on Church festivals. After these are a number of discourses delivered on special occasions, such as charity sermons, the Profession of a Nun, the Dedication of a church, the Consecration of a Bishop; sermons delivered at the Synods of Thurles and Tuam, and then four discourses addressed at different times to the theological students of the College of Maynooth.

During the winter of 1831-32 Archbishop McHale delivered by request a series of sermons in the Church of Gesù e Maria at Rome. They were so highly esteemed that four of them, treating severally on Death, on the Sacrament of Penance, on the General Judgment, and on the Preaching of St. John the Baptist, were translated into Italian, and published in that language by the then Abbate de Luca, now Cardinal.

The following quotation, taken almost at random from a sermon of Archbishop McHale on Education, will serve to show the clearness and power of statement and argument which characterize all his discourses:

"Let it not be imagined that the peculiar refinements of any country, or its extraordinary advances in civilization, render it less necessary to insist on the predominance of religion in its colleges and schools. In no state of society should education be placed beyond its tutelage; but its vigilance is more particularly required when wealth increases the violence of the passions, and when luxury spreads around the contagion of depraved example. An artificial refinement of manners is no index whatever of innocence, and the examples of the ancient Egyptians, Greeks and Romans unquestionably show how frequent is the alliance between vice and science, between a high state of civilization and the most humiliating corruption."



After a brief but very forcible picture of this alliance of vice and science, of immorality and civilization, among the peoples above mentioned, Archbishop McHale thus refers to our own age:

"A similar corruption keeps pace in modern times with the progress of the arts and sciences, among all people whose morals are not controlled by strong religious convictions and protected by the fences of a strict religious discipline. 'Man is prone to evil from his youth,' says the inspired writer, and to curb the growing propensity to vice by training him to the discipline of virtue, becomes, no less than the infusion of knowledge, an essential part of his education. Where virtue, then, is not inculcated by precept and enforced by example, where the early buddings of vice are not nipped as soon as they appear, there the young cannot be placed with safety to society or to themselves. Much less should they be suffered to be trained where the shoots of vice grow and spread with a rank luxuriance. Where there are unsound notions of faith there must be a corresponding decay of morality, and hence, for the protection of the one and the other, the young heirs of God's kingdom should be kept aloof from all schools where, by contact with error and bad practices, their faith might be tainted and their innocence destroyed."

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PIOUS AFFECTIONS TOWARDS GOD AND THE SAINTS; Meditations for Every Day in the Year and for the Principal Festivals. From the Latin of Ven-Nicolas Lancicius, of the Society of Jesus. With Preface by George Porter, of the same Society. London: Burns & Oates. 1883.

Father Lancicius, the author of these Meditations, was for some years, by appointment of the General of the Society of Jesus, Father Claudius Aquarina, Spiritual Father and Confessor to the Roman College. Subsequently he taught theology and Holy Scripture in the College of Wilna, and then became Rector and Provincial. He died on the 16th of May, 1652.

His writings, which are chiefly ascetical, show him a true child of St. Ignatius of Loyola, formed on the doctrine of the Spiritual Exercises, the influence of which, too, can easily be traced in the volume before us. Each Meditation is brief; perhaps they may be thought by some to be too brief. But Father Lancicius explains that he purposely made them brief, concisely summarizing the points in order that the person meditating might himself develop the points and reason on them. This accords with the directions of St. Ignatius on this subject. The brevity of the Meditations have another practical merit. They require so little time to read them, that all excuse is taken away, even from the busiest who are disposed to pious reading, for omitting daily to resort to this excellent aid to devout reflection. The matter of the Meditations, it is scarcely necessary to add, is excellent.

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THE ILLUSTRATED CATHOLIC FAMILY ANNUAL FOR 1884. With Calendars calculated for Different Parallels of Latitude, and adapted for use throughout the United States. New York: The Catholic Publication Society.

The Illustrated Catholic Family Annual for 1884 is fully up to the standard of previous years. In addition to the matter usual to almanacs and calendars, it contains a large amount of other important information and interesting reading; also well-executed woodcuts of famous abbeys, convents and churches, and portraits of many eminent ecclesiastics and religious.







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